This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

Digitized by Google

Per. 3977 e. 140

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR

APRIL, ... JULY, 1837.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.
PUBLIUS SYRUS.

VOL. LXV.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE AND COMPANY,

FOR LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMAN, LONDON; AND ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK, EDINBURGH.

1837.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS OF NO. CXXXI.

Page

ART. I. Geology and Mineralogy considered with reference to Natural Theology. By the Rev. William Buckland, D.D., Canon of Christ's Church, and Reader in Geology and Mineralogy in the University of Oxford, . . . 1

II. Journal of a Residence in Norway during the years 1834, 1835, and 1836; made with a view to Enquire into the Moral and Political Economy of that Country, and the Condition of its Inhabitants. By Samuel Laing, Esq. 39

III. 1. A Letter to the Right Honourable Viscount Melbourne, on the Causes of the Recent Derangement in the Money Market. By Robert Torrens, Esq., F.R.S.

2. The Causes and Consequences of the Pressure upon the Money Market; with a Statement of the Action of the Bank of England from the 1st October, 1833, to the 27th December, 1836. By J. Horsley Palmer, Esq.

3. Reflections suggested by a perusal of the Pamphlet of Mr Horsley Palmer. By S. J. Loyd, Esq.

4. Reply to the Reflections, &c., of Mr S. J. Loyd. By J. H. Palmer, Esq.

5. Observations on the Recent Statement of J. H. Palmer, Esq. By Samson Ricardo, Esq.

6. The Cause of the Present Money Crisis explained; in Answer to the Pamphlet of Mr Horsley Palmer. By W. Bennison, Esq.

7. A Defence of Joint-Stock Banks. By David Salomons, Esq. 61

IV. Coleccion de obras y documentos relativos a la Historia Antigua y Moderna de las Provincias Del Rio de la Plata, ilustrados con notas y disertaciones. Por Pedro de Angelis, ... 87

Digitized by Google

Page

ART. V. 1. Du Sucre de Canne et du Sucre de Betterave.
2. Question des Sucres. Par J. B. Delaunay, . 110

VI. Report of the Proceedings of the Section of the British Association on the Mechanical Arts, at the Meeting held at Bristol, in September, 1836, ... 119

VII. 1. An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, written in Egypt during the years 1833, 1834, and 1835; partly from Notes made during a former Visit to that Country, in the years 1825, 1826, 1827, and 1828. By Edward William Lane.

2. Rambles in Egypt and Candia, with Details of the Military Power and Resources of those Countries; and Observations on the Government, Policy, and Commercial System of Mohammed Ali. By C. Rochfort Scott, Captain H. P. Royal Staff Corps, ... 146

VIII. 1. Letter from W. R. Hamilton, Esq. to the Earl of Elgin, on the New Houses of Parliament.

2. Second Letter from W. R. Hamilton, Esq. to the Earl of Elgin, on the propriety of adopting the Greek style of Architecture in the construction of the New Houses of Parliament, ... 174

IX. 1. Attila, a Romance. By the Author of the Gipsy, &c. (G. P. R. James, Esq.)

2. Rookwood, a Romance. By W. Harrison Ainsworth, Esq.

3. Crichton. By W. Harrison Ainsworth, Esq., . . 180

X. The Life of Oliver Goldsmith, M.B. From a variety of original sources. By James Prior, F.S.A., . . 204

XI. Speech of Thomas Wyse, Esq. M.P., in the House of Commons, on Tuesday May 19, 1835, on moving for leave to bring in a Bill for the establishment of a Board of National Education, and the advancement of Elementary Education in Ireland, ... 245

Note to the Article in No. CXXIX., entitled, 'Recent Publications on the War in Spain,' 265

List of New Publications, ... 267

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS OF No. CXXXII.

		Page
ART. I.	The Works of Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England. A new Edition. By Basil Montagu, Esq.	1
II.	1. The Great Metropolis. By the Author of 'Random Recollections of the Lords and Commons.' First Series.	
	2. The Great Metropolis. Second Series.	104
III.	1. Miscellaneous Works and Correspondence of the Rev. James Bradley, D.D., F.R.S., Astronomer-Royal, Savilian Professor of Astronomy in the University of Oxford.	
	2. Supplement to Dr Bradley's Miscellaneous Works, with an account of Harriot's Astronomical Papers,	119
IV.	Strafford; a Tragedy: in Five Acts. By J. Browning, Esq.	132
V.	Athens, its Rise and Fall; with Views of the Literature, Philosophy, and Social Life of the Athenian People. By Edward Lytton Bulwer, Esq., M.P.	151
VI.	A Letter to Lord John Russell, M.P., on the Abolition of Church-Rates, the Cost of Parliamentary Bishops, and the Appropriation of Cathedral and Episcopal Property. By Richard Moorsom, Esq.	178
VII.	England under Seven Administrations. By Albany Fonblanque, Esq.	196
VIII.	1. First Report from his Majesty's Commissioners on Criminal Law. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 30th July, 1834.	
	2. Second Report from his Majesty's Commissioners on Criminal Law. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 20th June, 1836,	214

Digitized by Google

Page

ART. IX. Enquiry into the Circumstances that have occasioned the present Embarrassments in the Trade between Great Britain and the United States of America, ... 221

X. The Bride of Messina; a Tragedy, from the German of F. V. Schiller. By George Irvine, Esq. . . . 239

XI. A Letter to the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons, containing a Narrative of the Circumstances connected with the Proceedings against C. Bolton, Esq. of Hull, and others, for a Breach of Privilege, in commencing and prosecuting an action against the Warden of the Fleet Prison, for suffering R. C. Burton, Esq. M.P., to go out of his custody in obedience to an order of the House. By A. Rosser, ... 252

XII. Speech of the Honourable Fox Maule, M.P. for the County of Perth, at a Public Meeting of the Electors of that County, held 7th July, 1837, ... 265

Note to the Article entitled 'Modern Egypt and the Modern 'Egyptians,' in No. CXXXI. 283

List of New Publications, ... 284

Index, ... 294

Digitized by Google

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW.

APRIL, 1837.

No. CXXXI.

ART. I.—*Geology and Mineralogy considered with reference to Natural Theology.* By the Rev. WILLIAM BUCKLAND, D. D., Canon of Christ's Church, and Reader in Geology and Mineralogy in the University of Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1836.

To trace the history of remote events, and to investigate the manners of ancient nations, has given occupation to the highest talents of the philosopher and the antiquary; and in this interesting enquiry, mouldering records, decaying monuments, fabulous legends, and the sibylline leaves of tradition, have yielded their respective tributes to the ancient history of man. But though the course of civilisation has suffered no interruption, and no physical convulsions have disturbed the later progress of our species, yet the details, even of probable history, carry us back but a little way into the dark recesses of antiquity, and we soon reach the epoch when truth and fable are inseparably blended. At this limit of our knowledge the records of inspiration fortunately come to our aid. From them we learn the origin of the human family—the early history of our race—the catastrophe which swept them from the face of the earth—the repeopling of the globe, and the dispersion into distant lands of the various tribes which animated its surface.

This brief chronicle, even when extended by the minuter details of profane history, is but the monograph of a single genus of living beings, which, in its undisturbed occupation of the globe, has suffered no change in its physical or intellectual organization. Endowed with superior intelligence, man regarded

Digitized by Google

himself as the undisputed sovereign of the world around him. The cattle on a thousand hills were at his disposal—the mighty deep yielded her treasures to his skill—and the savage denizens of the mountain and the forest became tributary to his power. His charter for these vested rights he found in the inspired page; and from the command to subdue the earth, and to exercise dominion over its living tenants, he drew the inference that their final cause was to increase his luxuries, and to extend his dominion.

These views of the ancient history of the world, though universally received, have been singularly modified by the lights of modern science. Within the bowels of the earth the geologist has discovered the hieroglyphics of her primæval annals during thousands of years before it was occupied by his own race. Inscribed on marble tablets—encased in the pedestals of the everlasting hills—these symbols have been preserved from the destroying power of man and the elements; and time has respected the only records of its own lengthened duration. Gathered in fragments from remote countries, and at distant periods, the elements of this new language were at first rude and mysterious. The leaves to which it had been consigned often perished during their developement, and it required the united services of thousands of labourers to decipher one sentence of the subterranean record. The disclosures thus made, though by no means ambiguous, were at first received with distrust and fear. The few who were first admitted to its secrets, anticipated the conflict between science and religion; and dreaded that the geologist, like the astronomer, might be summoned to the bar of some modern inquisition. Conscious, however, that one truth could never be at variance with another, the patient geologists pursued their labour; and in less than half a century, they have created a new department of knowledge, which, in point of philosophical importance and scientific interest, will not yield to the most exalted of the physical sciences. They have made all antiquity modern, by carrying us back to periods that preceded its commencement —they have outstripped the theologian, by discovering the true interpretation of the first page of sacred writ—and have proved, by infallible evidence, that, previous to the creation of man, the earth was inhabited by races of animals that were successively overwhelmed by great and destructive convulsions; and that new races, different from those which preceded them, and from those which now occupy our globe, were created by the immediate interposition of divine power.

The preoccupancy of the earth by the animal world during cycles of long endurance, and its present joint tenancy by man

Digitized by Google

and the lower creation, are two striking facts which hold out to us unequivocal indications of the future. The present is doubtless the first cycle of the intellectual occupation of the globe; and when we consult the past, we read in its buried monuments, that this also must terminate. May not this, then, be the first of a series of cycles, at whose close the existing races of living beings, and the gorgeous fabrics of national vanity, shall yield their haughty relics to the sport and desolation of the elements? Even the sacred volume forewarns us of the coming day, when the elements shall melt with fervent heat,—when the earth, and the works that are therein, shall be burnt up;—and when new heavens and a new earth shall replace the ruins of a world.

These views of the former and the future condition of the earth may appear even to some of our well-informed readers as bordering upon the marvellous; while others will not fail to consider them as incompatible with the sober deductions of reason. The natural history of our early days extended no farther than the class of creations which the earth's surface presented to our view; and the order of things which were offered to our contemplation had no higher origin than the hebdomadal arrangements which preceded the creation of man. No well ascertained facts or striking deductions run counter to the pious conviction that the earth and all that was therein were created in the short period of six days; nor were these convictions shaken, when facts, perplexing and unaccountable, did press themselves upon the notice of geologists. In the prevailing opinions respecting an universal deluge, the geologist found a ready explanation of all his difficulties. This was the catastrophe to which he referred the existence of marine deposits at the tops of the highest mountains; and to its irruptions he ascribed the inequalities on the earth's surface—the marks of violent action which have dislocated and upheaved even its solid strata—whilst its competency to account for these diversified phenomena was eked out by the encroaching power of the sea—the bursting of lakes—the devastations of the avalanche and the glacier—the sand-floods of tropical climates, and the local desolations of the volcano and the earthquake.

In this dark age of geology her science rested on the two assumptions that the world was made in six days, and was afterwards overwhelmed in the waters of an universal deluge; and hence arose a series of erroneous positions impregnable to human reason, because guarded with all the sanctities of religious belief. The primitive waters of the globe were held to be an universal menstruum, capable of dissolving the most refractory substances, and the primitive mountains themselves, the metallic

Digitized by Google

ores, the hardest gems, and even the adamant itself, were supposed to be chemical precipitates from this chaotic fluid. In this way did the rude architects of our planet surround its nucleus with a succession of universal formations, like the coats of an onion, and hand it over to the apprentice skill of diurnal operations, to fashion it into the picturesque, the beautiful, and the sublime.

We should have experienced some difficulty in believing that such doctrines had recommended themselves to the acceptance of sound minds, and still more that they had been taught in the present age, and in our own universities, had we not seen in the history of the past, and in the events of our own day, that the highest demands of truth, and the best interests of mankind, are invariably sacrificed when religion is intruded into questions of science and civil policy. Prejudice is then arrayed against knowledge; and reason stands the shackled victim of ignorance and fanaticism. The persecution of Galileo for maintaining doctrines which had been previously demonstrated by a pious and exemplary ecclesiastic, is fraught with deep instruction to every friend of religion; but a still more impressive lesson is now read to them in the recent triumphs of geological discovery. That science which was branded as antichristian, and even atheistical, has placed its most obnoxious doctrines beyond the reach of cavil; and has converted these very doctrines into the most powerful auxiliaries both of natural and revealed religion.

The rapidity with which this revolution has been effected is not the least of its remarkable characters. The persecution and the triumph are events within our own recollection; and several of the parties are now enjoying, in the maturity of age, the ascendancy of the opinions for which they so ardently combated. Although Moro, and some of the Italian geologists, obtained in the phenomena of fossil remains a glimpse of the dawning truth, yet it was not upon this field that the great struggle was to be maintained between truth and error. Our countryman, Dr Hutton, had the honour of sustaining the first assault from the enemies of reason. In his 'Dissertation on the 'Theory of the Earth,' which he read to the Royal Society of Edinburgh in the spring of 1785, and which has never been sufficiently appreciated for the soundness and ingenuity of its argument, he renounced at once the attempt to reconcile the phenomena of geology with the recent creation of the world; and, from the present state of our globe, he endeavoured to trace the causes which have operated in the past, and which are likely to continue in the future. 'The Mosaic history,' says he, 'places 'the beginning of man at no great distance; and there has not

Digitized by Google

'been found, in natural history, any document by which a high 'antiquity might be attributed to the human race. But this is 'not the case with regard to the inferior species of animals, par- 'ticularly those which inhabit the ocean and its shores. We 'find in natural history monuments which prove that these ani- 'mals had long existed, and we thus procure a measure for the 'computation of a period of time extremely remote, though far 'from being precisely ascertained. * * * It is thus that, 'in finding the relics of the animals of every kind in the solid 'body of our earth, a natural history of those animals is proved, 'which includes a certain portion of time; and for the ascertain- 'ing this portion of time, we must again have recourse to the 'regular operations of this world. We shall thus arrive at facts 'which indicate a period to which no other species of chronology 'is able to remount. * * * We find the marks of marine 'animals in the most solid parts of the earth; consequently these 'solid parts have been formed after the ocean was inhabited by 'these animals, which are proper to that fluid medium. If, 'therefore, we knew the natural history of these solid parts, and 'could trace the operations of the globe, by which they had been 'formed, we would have some means for computing the time 'through which those species of animals have continued to 'live.' * * * And he concludes his essay with the follow- ing remarkable passages:—'This, however, alters nothing with 'regard to the nature of those operations of the globe. The 'system is still the same. It only protracts the indefinite space 'of time in its existence, while it gives us a view of another dis- 'tinct period of the living world; that is to say, the world which 'we inhabit is composed of the materials, not of the earth which 'was the immediate predecessor of the present, but of the earth, 'which in ascending from the present, we consider as the third, 'and which had preceded the land that was above the surface of 'the sea, while our present land was yet beneath the waters of 'the ocean. There are three distinct successive periods of ex- 'istence, and each of these is, in our measurement of time, a thing 'of indefinite duration.

'We have now got to the end of our reasoning; we have no 'data further to conclude immediately from that which actually 'is: but we have got enough; we have the satisfaction to find, 'that in nature there is wisdom, system, and consistency. For 'having, in the natural history of this earth, seen a succession of 'worlds, we may from this conclude that there is a system in 'nature, in like manner as, from seeing revolutions of the planets, 'it is calculated that there is a system by which they are intend- 'ed to continue those revolutions. But if the succession of

Digitized by Google

'worlds is established in the system of nature, it is in vain to 'look for any thing higher in the origin of the earth. The 'result, therefore, of our present enquiry is, that we find no 'vestige of a beginning—no prospect of an end.'

These enlarged and philosophical views, which he subsequently expanded into a more perfect work, attracted the attention of men of kindred genius; and in his native metropolis he found many individuals of celebrity and talent who adopted his theory, and interested themselves in its developement. The most distinguished of these were Dr Black, Professor Playfair, Sir James Hall, Sir John Leslie, Dr Hope, Lord Selkirk, Lord Meadowbank, Mr Clerk of Eldin, and his son the late Lord Eldin; and at a later period Lord Webb Seymour, Sir George Mackenzie, and Mr Allan. Cherishing for their master all the respect which profound science could command, and all the affection which private worth could inspire, many of his disciples accompanied him in his geological tours,—delineated for him the most interesting phenomena,—and assisted him in the extension of his theoretical views, and in the confirmation of them by direct experiment.

In visiting the scenery at St Abb's Head, where some of the party saw, for the first time, the clearest evidence of the theory they had espoused, they were animated with all the enthusiasm with which great truths first break upon the mind. 'We felt 'ourselves necessarily carried back to the time when the schistus 'on which we stood was yet at the bottom of the sea, and when 'the sandstone before us was only beginning to be deposited, in 'the shape of sand or mud, from the waters of a superincumbent 'ocean. An epocha still more remote presented itself, wherever 'the most ancient of these rocks, instead of standing upright in 'vertical beds, lay in horizontal planes at the bottom of the sea, 'and was not yet disturbed by that immeasurable force which 'has burst asunder the solid pavement of the globe. Revolu-'tions still more remote appeared in the distance of this extraordi-'nary perspective. The mind seemed to grow giddy by looking 'so far into the abyss of time; and while we listened with ear-'nestness and admiration to the philosopher who was now un-'folding to us the order and series of these wonderful events, we 'became sensible how much farther reason may sometimes go 'than imagination can venture to follow.'

These were the noble words of Professor Playfair,—a favourite disciple, who afterwards became the illustrator of the Huttonian Theory, and, by the closeness of his argument, and the richness of his eloquence, invested it with all the splendour of original discovery. Quitting the rich fields of physical science, he found

Digitized by Google

an ample equivalent in the fascination of geological enquiry. Over the wild speculations of cosmology he first threw the reins of mathematical reasoning, and guided them with all the caution of the inductive philosophy.

From this system of geology all assumptions were sedulously excluded. No inquisition was held over the 'origin of things;' and no attempts made to offend the cherished opinions of the age. In the destructive agency of gravity and the elements, the Huttonians recognised the forces by which the elevated lands were gradually worn down and transferred by the rivers to the bottom of the sea. In the volcano and the earthquake, they witnessed the energy of that subterranean power which indurated and again elevated the submarine deposits; while its actual effects were displayed in the emergence of new islands, in the formation of new mountains, and in the elevation and depression of extensive tracts of land. The great convulsions of the globe, however,—the dislocation of its strata, the upheaving of its molten bowels, and the entombment of its living occupants,—were events which man could neither have witnessed nor recorded. The tranquil deluge of the Scriptures could not have shattered the solid framework of the globe, nor burst its adamantine pavement. These were the events of successive revolutions, extending far beyond the period of his occupancy; and in tracing the remains of organic life from the most recent to the most ancient formations, we learn the mortifying lesson, that the whole duration of human society, lengthened as it seems to us, is scarcely an unit in that extended chronology which acknowledges no 'beginning,' save that 'in which the Lord created the heavens and 'the earth.'

These grand and exciting views of the alternate decay and renovation of the earth's surface, in place of being opposed to any religious principle, or employed to support any sceptical opinions, were unceasingly urged by their author as the strongest evidences of benevolent design; and were calculated by their very nature to impress on the human heart those sentiments of humility and awe, which are so readily learned, and so quickly effaced. However deeply we may feel that all earthly glory shall perish, and however forcibly it has been impressed upon us that the storied urn shall crumble, and the gorgeous palace fall, it is yet a more awful conviction that the cloud-capt hills shall find a grave in the hollows of the deep, and shall again rise above its retreating waves—majestic obelisks to the power which overwhelmed them.

These, however, were not the feelings either of rival theorists or of political divines. The one sustained their feeble argument

Digitized by Google

by an appeal to Scripture; whilst the guardians of our faith marshalled themselves against truths eternal and immutable. Dr Hutton was not in a position to feel very keenly the assaults thus made upon his theory; but Professor Playfair, who had in early life held a living in the church, and was now placed in the responsible situation of a teacher of youth in our metropolitan university, had reason to be more sensitive under the groundless charges brought against his opinions. He defended the theory of his friend with his accustomed eloquence, and his opponents must have felt, if they had any feeling, that they were equally incompetent to fathom the depths of science, and to clear up the obscurities of Scripture.

It has been well observed by Mr Lyell, 'that the party feeling excited against the Huttonian doctrines, and the open disregard of candour and temper in the controversy, will hardly be credited by our readers, unless we recall to their recollection that the mind of the English public was at that time in a state of feverish excitement. * * * The heretical volcanists were now openly assailed in England by imputations of the most illiberal kind. We cannot estimate the malevolence of such a persecution by the pain which similar insinuations might now inflict; for though charges of infidelity and atheism must at all times be odious, they were *injurious in the extreme at that moment of political excitement; and it was better, perhaps, for a man's good reception in society, that his moral character should have been traduced, than that he should become a mark for these poisoned weapons.*'*

Among the men who thus endeavoured to stem the tide of knowledge, and to set reason and revelation at variance, the most respectable were Kirwan, Deluc, and Williams; but it was not their open enemies that the Huttonians had to dread, nor was it the rebukes of the truly pious† that they were called upon to

---

* Principles of Geology, vol. i., p. 65, 67.

† Dr Hope, the learned professor of chemistry in this University, had regularly taught the Huttonian theory in the largest class ever assembled in any seminary. Feeling the inconvenience of the charges so recklessly made against its supporters, he invited the late learned and pious Dr Hunter, then professor of divinity in the University, to attend his lecture on geology; in which he had been accustomed to show that the Huttonian theory was in no respects adverse to religion, or in any way incompatible with the Mosaic account of the creation. That amiable man accepted the invitation, and though strict and uncompromising in every thing that concerned religion, he did not scruple to express his entire accordance in Dr Hope's views.

Digitized by Google

bear. The reigning faction of the day grasped with eagerness the new weapon that fanaticism had placed in their hands; and but for circumstances too recent to be detailed, Scotland might have had to bewail her scientific as well as her political martyrs. The geology of the Deluge, and of the six days, thus became an article in their political creed; and these watchmen of the temple, who had surrendered all the peculiar doctrines of their own faith, would not abate one jot of its spurious chronology. *

It was in the Royal Society of Edinburgh that the great battle was fought between the worshippers of fire and water,—between the literal interpreters of Scripture, and those gifted men who recognised the handwriting of the Creator in his works as well as in his word. The vicinity of Edinburgh was ransacked for specific facts to support or overturn the rival theories; and at successive meetings of the society the discussion of these controverted topics was carried on with all the ardour and bitterness of party strife. The successors of Kirwan and Deluc at last quitted the field, and found in the cloisters of an institution of their own the proper sphere for their monastic philosophy.†

---

* The following is part of a speech delivered by the Rev. Dr Knox in the General Assembly, in the memorable case of Mr Leslie, on the 22d May 1805:—'If Mr Leslie has, in the 16th note to his book on heat, attacked the grand principle of natural religion, he has also, it appears to me, in his 25th note, directed an attack against the truths of Revelation. Let any unprejudiced man peruse that note, and say, whether it be possible to believe that the author entertains any kind of respect for the Mosaic account of the creation. Appearances in the structure of our planet transport us, as he there affirms, far beyond the origin of animated beings, into the fathomless depths of primæval time. He talks of vast cycles familiar to philosophic minds like his, which must have rolled away before man began to be. The history of Moses, which places man very near to the first creation, must therefore be an unfounded legend! Mr Leslie attempts to prove all this, particularly in his speculations regarding the erosions upon Mount Grimsel, in Switzerland. It is truly curious to mark the various expedients which some men, calling themselves philosophers, have resorted to, in order to subvert the authority of scriptural history. One has founded his attack upon certain appearances exhibited by volcanic lava; another has resorted to the creative agency of a central fire; another, a professor too (Mr Playfair), has recourse to the obscure epochs and vain calculations of Hindoo astronomy; and Mr Leslie derives his arguments from erosions on the granite mountains of Switzerland."—(*Report*, p. 104.)

† As a specimen of the reasoning by which the Huttonian theory was assailed by its enemies, we may mention a circumstance which occurred in our own presence. Dr Richardson of Portrush, who, we believe,

Digitized by Google

It is not our design to speak of the services which the cause of geological, and we may now add, of scriptural truth, derived from those eminent friends of Dr Hutton, who are still alive. To those who are gone, we may be allowed the satisfaction of offering the tribute of a passing eulogy.

Professor Playfair and Sir James Hall were the main supporters of the new philosophy of the globe; and if we regard Cuvier as its Newton, Dr Hutton will be its Copernicus; and the honours of Kepler and Galileo will fall to the lot of Playfair and Hall. The character of Mr Playfair's mind was peculiarly fitted for this species of research. Educated in the severe school of geometry, his imagination never seduced him beyond the limits of his judgment. Slow in the admission of new facts, he was cautious in assigning them their true bearing and weight in his argument. He seized with a nice discrimination the shades and analogies by which scientific truths are separated and combined; and, drawing his stores from the widest range of physical science, his reasonings were rich in their details, convincing by their logic, and captivating by their eloquence. From his admiration of the sublime and beautiful in science, his mind was more influenced by the love of truth than the desire of fame. He was absolutely free of all the jealousies which so often disturb the

---

had signalized himself by a violent attack upon the Huttonian theory, came to Scotland on the subject of his fiorin grass. He was introduced to Sir James Hall, who requested Dr Hope and the writer of this note to meet him. It was arranged that the party should go to Salisbury Craggs to show the doctor a junction of the sandstone with the trap, which was regarded as an instructive example of that class of facts. After reaching the spot, Sir James pointed out the great disturbance which had taken place at the junction, and particularly called the attention of the Doctor to a piece of sandstone which had been whirled up during the convulsion, and enclosed in the trap. When Sir James had finished his lecture, the Doctor did not attempt to explain the facts before him on any principle of his own; nor did he recur to the shallow evasion of regarding the enclosed sandstone as contemporaneous with the trap; but he burst out into the strongest expressions of contemptuous surprise, that a theory of the earth should be founded on such small and trivial appearances! He had been accustomed, he said, to look at nature in her grandest aspects, and to trace her hand in the gigantic cliffs of the Irish coast; and he could not conceive how opinions thus formed could be shaken by such minute irregularities as those which had been shown him. The two Huttonian philosophers were confounded; and if we recollect rightly, the weight of an acre of fiorin, and the number of bullocks it would feed, formed the remaining subjects of conversation.

Digitized by Google

serenity even of great minds; and though his eye followed the chariot wheels in the race of ambition, his only anxiety was, that the competitors should reach the goal. His moral and social character exhibited in all their phases the most perfect symmetry. The mould in which his intellectual frame was cast seems to have been fashioned but for one mind, and to have been broken in pieces to give rarity and value to the work.

Sir James Hall was one of those remarkable men whose intellectual capacity could be fathomed only by such as witnessed its operations; or who felt its powerful impetus in the collision of conflicting opinions. He was the only Huttonian of that day who had studied the agency of heat in the products of Ætna and Vesuvius; and though his mind was filled with the grand views which his subject unfolded, he was less anxious to develope its principles than to establish the great facts upon which they were to rest. Hence he was led to the fine series of experiments on the effects of heat acting under compression; and in exhibiting to the senses specimens of marble formed by the action of fire, he gave the most signal support to the theory of his friend. He was one of those reasoners who take nothing for granted. He courted objections to his own opinions with as much eagerness as others seek for arguments to support them; and whilst he subjected the facts and reasonings of his opponents to the most rigorous scrutiny and cross-examination, he was anxious that his own should undergo the same ordeal. His extensive acquirements in theoretical and practical science, and the native activity of his mind, fitted him pre-eminently for investigating the philosophy of the globe; and had not a severe illness crushed in their maturity his vigorous faculties, he would have obtained a still higher place in the lists of immortality.

While geological discussions were thus agitating the Edinburgh school, the labours of many powerful minds were concurring from distant points to confirm and extend the great doctrines of the Huttonian theory. Mr William Smith had made much progress in his examination of the strata and fossil remains of England. Cuvier had begun to publish those splendid researches on comparative anatomy, which were to give laws to natural history and geology; and the establishment of the 'Geological Society of 'London' had summoned into the field of active research many skilful and indefatigable labourers. Successful as were the exertions of this society, their maxim of collecting only the *materials of future generalisations*, and of thus, as Mr Lyell expresses it, 'disarming prejudice,' was more like the cautious character of the Scotch, than the adventurous aspect of the English phi-

Digitized by Google

losophy. It was the sacrifice of high principle to the fanaticism of the hour; and was hardly to have been expected from a body of men who must have found in the Huttonian theory, which they thus set at nought, generalisations firmly established, and views of the Creator at once noble and elevating. To disarm prejudice we must not crouch under its power, but grapple with its baseness; we must not walk under its thick darkness, but dissipate it by the light of knowledge; we must not disown, but cherish the truths by which it has been scared. The successors of Galileo did not hold the Copernican system in abeyance till they had collected materials for a better generalisation; and it might have been expected of English geologists that they would have thrown their mantle over the venerable names of Hutton and of Playfair, rather than have left them under the brand of infidelity and atheism.

That the maxim of the society operated fatally upon the philosophy of geology, and transferred the highest honours of its investigation to another country, will scarcely be denied by those who have watched the progress of geology in France and in England. The field of observation was no doubt diligently and successfully cultivated by the able and active members of the Geological Society; but how could a system of insulated facts conduct to general laws, when the geologist was prohibited from looking beyond the Mosaic chronology, and when the peaceful deluge of the Scriptures was the only catastrophe to which he durst ascribe the convulsions and dislocations which had every where shaken the interior of the earth?

While our geologists were thus working in chains forged by a presumptuous theology, the unfettered genius of Cuvier was ranging over those primeval ages, when the primary rocks rose in insulated grandeur from the deep, and when the elements of life had not yet received their divine commission. From the age of solitude he passed to the busy age of life; when plants first decked the plains; when the majestic pine threw its picturesque shadows over the earth, and the tragic sounds of carnivorous life rung among her forests. But these plains were again to be desolated, and these sounds again to be hushed. The glories of organic life disappeared, and new forms of animal and vegetable being welcomed the dawn of a better cycle. Thus did the great magician of the Charnel-house survey from his pyramid of bones the successive ages of life and death—thus did he conjure up the spoils of pre-existing worlds—the noblest offering which reason ever laid upon the altar of its Sovereign.

These grand views, which we have more fully developed in a

Digitized by Google

former article,* did not meet with a ready reception in England. They encountered the same prejudices by which the Huttonian theory had been assailed; and even the piety of their author, and his unquestioned devotion to the Christian faith, did not protect him from the malevolence of slander. It would lead us too far from the proper object of this article were we to trace the processes by which these great truths took root in our ungenial soil; but the reader may safely infer that their progress was slow, when we state the fact, that so late as 1823, when Dr Buckland published his interesting volume, entitled *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, he had not thrown off the incubus which had pressed so fatally upon his science. He has there described an extensive and interesting class of facts which he adduces as evidence of the deluge of the Scriptures; and as the unquestionable result of that last irruption of the fountains of the deep. But in the work now before us, he has abjured this doctrine as untenable; and has found it necessary to refer the fossil spoils of the cave deposits 'to the last of the 'many geological revolutions that have been produced by violent 'irruptions of water;' and to consider many of the animals to which they belong to have 'existed during more than one geo-'logical period preceding the catastrophe by which they were 'extirpated.' This is now the universally received doctrine of the English school; and such has been the progress of liberal opinions that, in assemblies composed of Churchmen, and Dissenters, and Conservative statesmen, we have heard the walls ring with rapturous joy, when geology renounced her ecclesiastical tenure, and demanded a lease of MILLIONS OF MILLIONS† of years for the range of their enquiries.

Let us now pause a while before this great moral revolution, in

* See this Journal, No. 126, p. 279.

† Such of our readers as have studied the writings of Dr Hutton and Mr Playfair, cannot fail to have observed the delicacy with which they spoke of the length of time which geology required for its functions. They modestly asked for an indefinite period; but some of our modern writers employ language so specific and exaggerated as to alarm the timid, and rouse the very prejudices which it had been their boast to disarm. Cuvier was equally prudent; and we must say that if geologists conceive that they add dignity to their science by the rash expression of *millions of millions* of years, they mistake the feelings as well as the judgment of the public. Whatever time they can show to be necessary for the explanation of their facts will be readily yielded to them. But scientific truth will not justify the display of extravagant numbers; and though philosophy should never be sacrificed to prejudice, speculation may safely accommodate itself to timidity, by confining herself within the limits of truth.

Digitized by Google

which truth has achieved one of her noblest triumphs, and innocence obtained one of her most ample acquittals. After having for half a century 'stumbled on the dark mountains,' the Church is now feeding her flock on the green pastures of the Huttonian geology. She recognises as an impregnable truth the great principle for which Hutton and Playfair were proscribed; and has commanded the sacred scholar to accommodate his philology to the Huttonian interpretation of the language of Moses. But it is not merely the principle of time that she has conceded. The central heat, another bugbear of orthodoxy, and the igneous origin of trap rocks, have not only been embraced by the church, but by the more violent partisans of the Neptunian theory. In this manner has the Huttonian geology vindicated its scriptural and philosophical character; and, notwithstanding the vast accessions which the science has received, both in its generalisations and its facts, that theory must always be considered as forming the true basis of the philosophy of the globe.

From this vindication of our illustrious countrymen, which the occasion imperiously called for at our hands, we shall now proceed to the consideration of Dr Buckland's interesting volume. Our readers have already been made acquainted with the nature and object of Lord Bridgewater's bequest. 'The variety and 'formation of God's creatures in the animal and mineral king-'dom' were among the topics suggested by the benevolent testator; and the President of the Royal Society discharged his duty with fidelity when he placed this branch of natural theology in the hands of Dr Buckland. This eminent individual had long filled the chair of geology and mineralogy in the University of Oxford, and had acquired great reputation as a popular lecturer; while his work on Diluvial Remains, and his Communications to the Geological Society, have given him a high place among the most illustrious cultivators of the science.

The task thus assigned to Dr Buckland was unquestionably a more difficult one than fell to the lot of his colleagues. The science, which had been regarded as the enemy of revealed religion, could scarcely be expected to yield much support to natural theology. The wonders and adaptations, indeed, of living nature were so much within our reach, and appealed so forcibly to our reason, that the evidences of benevolence and design were not only not sought, but were hardly supposed to exist among the sepulchres of ancient life, and the ruins of former worlds. The moralist might, no doubt, draw his most impressive lessons from the catacombs of death; but the philosopher was not likely to find benevolent adaptations in the Golgotha of nature. But, not-

Digitized by Google

withstanding this apparent unfitness of geology to become the handmaid of natural religion, Dr Buckland has produced a work replete with the most popular and interesting details,—pregnant with the deepest instruction,—and calculated to inspire the most affectionate veneration for that great Being who has made even the convulsions of the material world subservient to the civilisation and happiness of his creatures.

The work which we are about to analyze consists of two volumes, one of which is occupied entirely with *eighty-seven* plates and their description; and we understand that the author has expended on these plates the whole of the thousand pounds bequeathed by Lord Bridgewater. It is impossible to speak too highly of this illustrative volume, both in reference to the selection of the subjects, and the style in which the engravings are executed. The plates, indeed, convey of themselves a lecture on geology to the eye of those who cannot or will not listen or read; while on those who can and will do both, it will impress more deeply the knowledge they have acquired. The first plate is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. It is a coloured imaginary section (nearly *four feet long!*) of a portion of the earth's crust, intended to express, by the insertion of names and colours, the order and disposition of the stratified rocks, and their relations to the unstratified ones, as far as they have yet been ascertained; and likewise the dispositions of intruded dykes, metalliferous veins and faults. It forms, in short, an instructive synopsis of the science of geology, and gives a most interesting picture of the ancient history of the globe,—of the revolutions it has undergone,—and of the principal plants and animals which have been found in a fossil state in its various formations.

After a brief introduction on the extent of the province of geology, in which he regards it as comprehending the entire physical history of our planet, Dr Buckland devotes a whole chapter, of nearly thirty pages, to establish the 'consistency of geological discoveries with revelation.' Although there are, doubtless, good reasons for entering upon such a discussion, yet to us in Scotland it seemed a work of supererogation. The general principle of the argument was incontrovertibly established by Galileo in his *Systema Cosmicum*, and in his celebrated letter to Castelli; and the peculiar application of that principle to the speculations of geology, was discussed to exhaustion during the Scottish controversy between the rival theorists. Even the pious Professor of Divinity in our university had adopted the explanations given by the Huttonians, and the public mind was equally tranquillized.

The question, indeed, lies within a narrow compass. The

Digitized by Google

truths of religion and of science can never be at variance. A geological truth must command our assent as powerfully as that of the existence of our own minds, or of the Deity himself; and any revelation which stands opposed to such truths must be false. The geologist has therefore nothing to do with revealed religion in his scientific enquiries. It is the office of the divine to interpret the sacred canon; and if he does it with the discrimination and learning it demands, he will never find it at variance with the deductions of science. If scripture, on the contrary, is studied by instalments, and viewed from insulated points, and interpreted literally, in its detached passages, we shall find it at variance with itself, and shall reproduce all the heresies which have disgraced the history of the Christian Church. But if we look at the sacred scheme as a whole, and generalize its individual propositions, we shall find in it a unity of doctrine, and a law of faith, as unerring as any of those which preside over the material world. In the grandeur and breadth of its creed, the wearied spirit will find its long-sought treasure of moral felicity—that mysterious bond which blends into one community nations of every language, beings of every hue, minds of every order, and hearts bleeding with every variety of grief. And, while the recognition of this principle is absolute and universal, points of science and of civil policy, and the lesser forms of discipline and worship, are left to the conscientious interpretation of individual minds; and give rise to those countless forms of ecclesiastical administration, by which the hallowed doctrine has been surrounded and embalmed.

As Dr Buckland has discussed this part of his subject with much sagacity and good taste, the following observations will be read with interest:—

'The disappointment of those who look for a detailed account of geological phenomena in the Bible, rests on a gratuitous expectation of finding therein historical information respecting all the operations of the Creator in times and places with which the human race has no concern. As reasonably might he object that the Mosaic history is imperfect, because it makes no specific mention of the satellites of Jupiter, or the rings of Saturn, as feel disappointment at not finding in it the history of geological phenomena, the details of which may be fit matter for an encyclopædia of science, but are foreign to the objects of a volume intended only to be a guide of religious belief and moral conduct.

'We may fairly ask of those persons who consider physical science a fit subject for revelation, what point they can imagine short of a communication of Omniscience at which such a revelation might have stopped, without imperfections, or omissions less in degree, but similar in kind, to that which they impute to the existing narrative of Moses?

'A revelation of so much only of astronomy as was known to Coper-

Digitized by Google

nicus would have seemed imperfect after the discoveries of Newton; and a revelation of the science of Newton would have appeared defective to La Place. A revelation of all the chemical knowledge of the eighteenth century would have been as deficient in comparison with the information of the present day as what is now known in this science will probably appear before the termination of another age. In the whole circle of the sciences there is not one to which this argument may not be extended, until we should require from revelation a full developement of all the mysterious agencies that uphold the mechanism of the material world. Such a revelation might, indeed, be suited to beings of a more exalted order than mankind; and the attainment of such knowledge of the works as well as of the ways of God may perhaps form some part of our happiness in a future state. But unless human nature had been constituted otherwise than it is, the above supposed communication of Omniscience would have been imparted to creatures utterly incapable of receiving it under any past or present moral or physical condition of the human race, and would have been also at variance with the designs of all God's other disclosures of himself, the end of which has uniformly been not to impart intellectual, but moral knowledge.

'Several hypotheses have been proposed with a view of reconciling the phenomena of geology with the brief account of creation which we find in the Mosaic narrative. Some have attempted to ascribe the formation of all the stratified rocks to the effects of the Mosaic deluge—an opinion which is irreconcilable with the enormous thickness and almost infinite subdivisions of these strata, and with the numerous and regular successions which they contain of the remains of animals and vegetables, differing more and more widely from existing species as the strata in which we find them are placed at greater depths. The facts that a large proportion of these remains belong to extinct genera, and almost all of them to extinct species, that lived, and multiplied, and died on or near the spots where they are now found, shows that the strata in which they occur were deposited slowly and gradually during long periods of time, and at widely distant intervals. These extinct animals and vegetables could, therefore, have formed no part of the creation with which we are immediately connected.

'It has been supposed by others that these strata were formed at the bottom of the sea during the interval between the creation of man and the Mosaic deluge; and that, at the time of that deluge, portions of the globe which had been previously elevated above the level of the sea, and formed the antediluvian continent, were suddenly submerged, while the ancient bed of the ocean rose to supply their place. To this hypothesis also the facts I shall subsequently advance offer insuperable objections."

Having removed this stumblingblock — this huge boulder which has been rolled from the Scottish capital to the plains of England—Dr Buckland proceeds to point out the evidences of design in the inorganic structures of the globe, and in the fossil remains which these structures contain.

That the earth was fitted up for the occupation of man and the lower animals, and that it has been so constructed as to place

Digitized by Google

within his reach all those products of the mineral kingdom, without which the domestic and the useful arts could never have existed, and which are essential to a state of high civilisation, cannot admit of a reasonable doubt.

By what process the elements of solid, fluid, and gaseous bodies were combined into those forms of matter which are found on the surface, in the atmosphere, and in the bowels of the earth, it is not the province of a sound philosophy to determine. We must take matter as we find it, and endeavour to ascertain the changes it has undergone during successive ages, the agents by which these changes have been effected, and the results to which that agency has given rise.

After the material substratum of the globe was formed, there is reason to suppose that the whole of it was reduced to a fluid state by heat; and therefore while revolving about its axis it would necessarily assume its present form of an oblate spheroid, flattened at the poles, and bulging out at the equator. In this incandescent state, the waters of the globe must have been drawn into the atmosphere in the state of steam or vapour; and when the surface had begun to cool by the radiation of its heat into the celestial spaces, these waters would necessarily be precipitated, but would for a long time remain in a state of high temperature, unfitted for the habitation of organized beings.

Dr Buckland has, we think wisely, shunned the controversy respecting the origin and locality of that interior heat which has been the principal agent in the production of geological phenomena. Whether it is the heat of the unrefrigerated and probably fluid nucleus of the globe, or the chemical result of the action of water upon the metallic bases of the earth and alkalis, is a question which belongs to other branches of science; and while it is not only possible, but in our opinion highly probable, that both these agents are at work, it would be imprudent to renounce the assistance which either of them may supply in the explanation of geological phenomena.

After the induration of the crust of the earth, the portions of it which overtopped the waters would become exposed to all the varieties of atmospheric action, and their detritus washed down and carried to the bottom of the sea. By the interior heat to which they would be afterwards subjected, these submarine deposits would be 'converted into beds of gneiss, mica slate, and 'Hornblende slate, and clay slate'—the first series of those 'derivative strata which by long continued repetition of similar 'processes have been accumulated to a thickness of many 'miles.'

That this series was the first, or that the present state of things

Digitized by Google

had a beginning, may be inferred from the total absence of organic remains throughout the lowest portions of these strata; and though the Huttonians maintained that no appearances of a beginning were exhibited in the phenomena which they had studied, yet the investigation of the subject of fossil remains which has taken place, principally since their day, has furnished the clearest indications that there was a time when neither animal nor vegetable life existed on our globe. This grand truth is thus powerfully and beautifully established by Dr Buckland:

'In these most ancient conditions, both of land and water, geology refers us to a state of things incompatible with the existence of animal and vegetable life; and thus, on the evidence of natural phenomena, establishes the important fact, that we find a starting point, on this side of which all forms, both of animal and vegetable beings, must have had a beginning.

'As in the consideration of other strata we find abundant evidence in the *presence* of organic remains, in proof of the exercise of creative power, and wisdom, and goodness, attending the progress of life through all its stages of advancement upon the surface of the globe; so, from the *absence* of organic remains in the primary strata, we may derive an important argument, showing that there was a point of time in the history of our planet (which no other researches but those of geology can possibly approach) antecedent to the beginning of either animal or vegetable life. This conclusion is the more important, because it has been the refuge of speculative philosophers to refer the origin of existing organizations either to an external succession of the same species, or to the formation of more recent from more ancient species, by successive developements, without the interposition of direct and repeated acts of creation, and thus to deny the existence of any first term in the infinite series of successions which this hypothesis assumes. Against this theory no decisive evidence has been accessible until the modern discoveries of geology had established two conclusions of the highest value in relation to this long disputed question; the first proving that existing species have had a beginning, and this at a period comparatively recent in the physical history of our globe; the second showing that they were preceded by several other systems of animal and vegetable life, respecting each of which it may no less be proved that there was a time when their existence had not commenced, and that to these more ancient systems also the doctrine of eternal succession, both retrospective and prospective, is equally inapplicable.

'Having this evidence both of the beginning and end of several systems of organized life, each affording internal proof of the repeated exercise of creative design, and wisdom, and power, we are at length conducted back to a period anterior to the earliest of these systems—a period in which we find a series of primary strata wholly destitute of organic remains; and from this circumstance we infer their depositions to have preceded the commencement of organic life. Those who con-

Digitized by Google

tend that life may have existed during the formation of the primary strata, and the animal remains have been obliterated by the effects of heat on strata nearest to the granite, do but remove to one point further backwards the first term of the finite series of organic beings, and there still remains beyond this point an antecedent period, in which a state of total fusion pervaded the entire materials of the fundamental granite, and one universal mass of incandescent elements, wholly incompatible with any condition of life which can be shown to have ever existed, formed the entire substance of the globe.'

We come now to the transition rocks, in which strata of slate and shell alternate with slaty sandstone, limestone, and conglomerate rocks. These strata bear evidence of two remarkable facts. The conglomerate rocks exhibit the action of water in a state of violent motion, while the others contain both animal and vegetable organic remains. Among the animal remains are a few fishes, several families of mollusca, many of which are extinct; the remarkable extinct family of trilobites, belonging to the order of articulated animals; and a considerable number of the radiated animals. But the remains of fossil vegetables have a peculiar interest. Those which occur in the lower beds of the transition series are few in number, and principally marine; but in the upper beds we find prodigious accumulations of land plants, exhibiting to us the earliest vegetables which were reared upon our planet, and furnishing civilized man with the most valuable products of the mineral kingdom.

'The strata in which these vegetable remains have been collected together in such vast abundance, have been justly designated by the name of the carboniferous order, or great coal formation.

. . . . . 'Besides this coal, many strata of the carboniferous order contain subordinate beds of a rich argillaceous iron ore, which the near position of the coal renders easy of reduction to a metallic state; and this reduction is further facilitated by the proximity of limestone, which is requisite as a flux to separate the metal from the ore, and usually abounds in the lower region of the carboniferous strata.

'A formation that is at once the vehicle of two such valuable mineral productions as coal and iron, assumes a place of the first importance among the sources of benefit to mankind; and this benefit is the direct result of physical changes which affected the earth at those remote periods of time when the first forms of vegetable life appeared upon its surface.

'The important uses of coal and iron, in administering to the supply of our daily wants, give to every individual amongst us, in almost every moment of our lives, a personal concern, of which but few are conscious, in the geological events of these very distant eras. We are all brought into immediate connexion with the vegetation that clothed the ancient earth, before one half of its actual surface had yet been formed. The trees of the primeval forests have not, like modern trees, undergone de-

Digitized by Google

cay, yielding back their elements to the soil and atmosphere by which they had been nourished; but treasured up in subterranean store-houses, have been transformed into enduring beds of coal, which in these later ages have become to man the sources of heat, and light, and health. My fire now burns with fuel, and my lamp is shining with the light of gas, derived from coal that has been buried for countless ages in the deep and dark recesses of the earth. We prepare our food, and maintain our forges and furnaces, and the power of our steam-engines, with the remains of plants of ancient forms and extinct species, which were swept from the earth ere the formation of the transition strata was completed. Our instruments of cutlery, the tools of our mechanics, and the countless machines which we construct, by the infinitely varied applications of iron, are derived from ore, for the most part coeval with or more ancient than the fuel by the aid of which we reduce it to its metallic state, and apply it to innumerable uses in the economy of human life.

'Thus, from the wreck of forests that waved upon the surface of the primeval lands, and from ferruginous mud that was lodged at the bottom of the primeval waters, we derive our chief supplies of coal and iron, those two fundamental elements of art and industry which contribute, more than any other mineral production of the earth, to increase the riches, and multiply the comforts, and ameliorate the condition of mankind.'

In treating of the secondary strata, which are composed of extensive beds of sand and sandstone, mixed occasionally with pebbles, and alternating with deposits of clay, and marl, and limestone, and deriving their materials from the detritus of primary and transition rocks, Dr Buckland considers them in two points of view—in their condition as dry land, destined to be the habitation of man; and in their previous state, while forming at the bottom of the waters, tenanted by innumerable organic beings, enjoying all the privileges of animal life.

'With regard to their adaptation to human uses, it may be generally stated, that the greater number of the most populous and highly civilized assemblages of mankind inhabit those portions of the earth which are composed of secondary and tertiary formations. Viewed, therefore, in their relations to that agricultural stage of human society, in which man becomes established in a settled habitation, and applies his industry to till the earth, we find in these formations which have been accumulated, in apparently accidental succession, an arrangement highly advantageous to the cultivators of their surface. The movements of the waters, by which the materials of strata have been transported to their present place, have caused them to be intermixed in such manner, and in such proportions, as are in various degrees favourable to the growth of the different vegetable productions which man requires for himself, and the domestic animals he has collected around him.

'The process is obvious whereby even solid rocks are converted into soil fit for the maintenance of vegetation, by simple exposure to atmospheric agency; the disintegration produced by the vicissitudes of heat

Digitized by Google

and cold, moisture and dryness, reduces the surface of almost all strata to a comminuted state of soil or mould, the fertility of which is usually in proportion to the compound nature of its ingredients.

'The three principal materials of all strata are the earths of flint, clay, and lime; each of these, taken singly, and in a state of purity, is comparatively barren; the admixture of a small proportion of clay gives tenacity and fertility to sand, and the further addition of calcareous earth produces a soil highly valuable to the agriculturist; and where the natural proportions are not adjusted in the most beneficial manner, the facilities afforded by the frequent juxtaposition of lime, or marl, or gypsum, for the artificial improvement of those ingredients, add materially to the earth's capability of adaptation to the important office of producing food. Hence it happens, that the great corn fields, and the greatest population of the world, are placed on strata of the secondary and tertiary formations, or on their detritus, composing still more compound, and consequently more fertile diluvial and alluvial deposits.

'Another advantage in the disposition of stratified rocks, consists in the fact that strata of lime-stone, sand, and sand-stone, which readily absorb water, alternate with beds of clay, or marl, which are impermeable to this most important fluid. All permeable strata receive rain water at their surface, whence it descends until it is arrested by an impermeable subjacent bed of clay, causing it to accumulate throughout the lower region of each porous stratum, and to form extensive reservoirs, the overflowings of which on the sides of valleys, constitute the ordinary supply of springs and rivers. These reservoirs are not only occasional crevices and caverns, but the entire space of all the small interstices of these lower parts of each permeable stratum, which are beneath the level of the nearest flowing springs. Hence, if a well be sunk to the water-bearing level of any stratum, it forms a communication with a permanent subterranean sheet of water, affording plentiful supplies to the inhabitants of upland districts, which are above the level of natural springs.

'A further benefit which man derives from the disposition of the mineral ingredients of the secondary strata, results from the extensive diffusion of muriate of soda, or common salt, throughout certain portions of these strata, especially those of the new red sand-stone formation. Had not the beneficent providence of the Creator laid up these stores of salt within the bowels of the earth, the distance of inland countries from the sea would have rendered this article of prime and daily necessity unattainable to a large proportion of mankind; but under the existing dispensation the presence of mineral salt, in strata which are dispersed generally over the interior of our continents and larger islands, is a source of health and daily enjoyment to the inhabitants of almost every region of the earth.'

The condition of animal life, during the deposition of the secondary strata, presents many points of high interest. Although these strata contain the remains of animals belonging to all the four existing divisions of the animal kingdom, the earth was not yet adapted to the warm-blooded terrestrial mammalia. The

Digitized by Google

only terrestrial mammalia which have been found in the secondary rocks, are the small marsupial quadrupeds allied to the opossum; but the peculiar feature of these strata, according to our author, is the 'prevalence of numerous and gigantic forms 'of saurian reptiles. Many of these were exclusively marine; 'others amphibious; others were terrestrial, ranging in savannahs 'and jungles clothed with a tropical vegetation, or basking on the 'margins of estuaries, lakes, and rivers. Even the air was te-'nanted with flying lizards, under the dragon form of Pterodac-'tyles. The earth was probably at that time too much covered 'with water, and these portions of land which had emerged above 'the surface were too frequently agitated by earthquakes, inun-'dations, and atmospherical irregularities, to be extensively occu-'pied by any higher order of quadrupeds than reptiles.'

In treating of the strata of the tertiary rocks, Dr Buckland introduces us to a system of new phenomena presenting formations in which the fossil remains of plants and animals approach gradually to the species of the present day. The most interesting feature of the tertiary strata, and the discovery of which we owe to Cuvier, is, that these formations were produced by repeated irruptions of the sea, occasioning repeated alternations of marine deposits with those of fresh water. In studying these formations geologists have recognised at least four distinct periods in their order of succession, distinctly marked by the different proportions between the recent and the extinct species of shells which are found in them. Mr Lyell has indicated these periods by the names *Eocene*, *Miocene*, *Older Pliocene*, and *Newer Pliocene*. In the *first* of these divisions the proportion of the recent species of shells is only 3½ per cent. In the *second* period it is 18 per cent. In the *third* it is from 35 to 50 per cent; and in the *fourth* it is from 90 to 95, the older species having now become almost extinct. Alternating with these four salt-water formations above the chalk, there is a fourfold series of other strata, containing fresh-water shells, and the remains of many terrestrial and aquatic quadrupeds.

It was in the examination of these fossil remains, found in the gypsum quarries of Montmartre, that Cuvier was led to the restoration of so many genera and species. After describing the manner in which the exuviæ of former worlds were accumulated in the cabinets of Paris, he gives the following memorable account of his researches. 'I at length found myself as if placed in a 'charnel-house, surrounded by mutilated fragments of many hun-'dred skeletons of more than twenty kinds of animals, piled con-'fusedly around me. The task assigned me was to restore them 'all to their original positions. At the voice of comparative an-

Digitized by Google

'atomy, every bone and fragment of a bone resumed its place. I 'cannot find words to express the pleasure I experienced in see- 'ing as I discovered one character, how all the consequences 'which I predicted from it were successively confirmed; the feet 'were found in accordance with the characters announced by the 'teeth; the teeth in harmony with those indicated beforehand 'by the feet. The bones of the legs and thighs, and every con- 'necting portion of the extremities were found set together pre- 'cisely as I had arranged them, before my conjectures were ve- 'rified by the discovery of the parts entire. In short, each species 'was, as it were, reconstructed from a single one of its compon- 'ent elements.'

Another remarkable feature of the first period of the tertiary formation in various parts of Europe, is the frequent intrusion of volcanic rocks; and hence, we may reasonably conjecture, that from the convulsions and changes of level which such a cause must have produced, different portions of the same district have become alternately the receptacles of salt and of fresh water.

This general view of the inorganic world, Dr Buckland concludes with an interesting chapter 'on the relation of the earth 'and its inhabitants to man;' and it gives us great pleasure to observe, that he has been led to that view of final causes which we had given in a previous review of another 'Bridgewater 'Treatise.'

Dr Buckland now proceeds to the most important and popular branch of his subject,—to give a description of the most interesting fossil organic remains, and to show that the extinct species of plants and animals which formerly occupied our planet, display, even in their fragments and relics, the same marks of wisdom and design which have been universally recognised in the existing species of organized beings.

After giving some account of the supposed cases of fossil human bones, and establishing the remarkable fact of the 'total 'absence of any vestiges of the human species throughout the 'entire series of geological formations,' our author passes to the general history of fossil organic remains:—

'It is marvellous that mankind should have gone on for so many centuries in ignorance of the fact, which is now so fully demonstrated, that no small part of the present surface of the earth is derived from the remains of animals that constituted the population of ancient seas. Many extensive plains and massive mountains form, as it were, the great charnel-houses of preceding generations, in which the petrified exuviæ of extinct races of animals and vegetables are piled into stupendous monuments of the operations of life and death, during almost immeasurable periods of past time. "At the sight of a spectacle," says Cuvier, "so

Digitized by Google

imposing, so terrible as that of the wreck of animal life, forming almost the entire soil on which we tread, it is difficult to restrain the imagination from hazarding some conjectures as to the causes by which such great effects have been produced." The deeper we descend into the strata of the earth, the higher do we ascend into the archæological history of past ages of creation. We find successive stages marked by varying forms of animal and vegetable life, and these generally differ more and more widely from existing species as we go further downwards into the receptacles of the wreck of more ancient creations. . . . .

'Besides the more obvious remains of testacea and of larger animals, minute examination discloses occasionally prodigious accumulations of microscopic shells that surprise us no less by their abundance than their extreme minuteness; the mode in which they are sometimes crowded together may be estimated from the fact that Soldani collected from less than an ounce and a half of stone found in the hills of Casciana, in Tuscany, 10,454 microscopic chambered shells. . . . . Of several species of these shells, four or five hundred weigh but a single grain; of one species he calculates that a thousand individuals would scarcely weigh one grain.'

Extraordinary as these phenomena must appear, the recent discoveries of Ehrenberg, made since the publication of Dr Buckland's work, are still more marvellous and instructive. This eminent naturalist, whose discoveries respecting the existing infusorial animals we have already noticed, has discovered *fossil animalcules*, or infusorial *organic remains;* and not only has he discovered their existence by the microscope, but he has found that they form extensive strata of tripoli, or poleschiefer (polishing slate) at Franzenbad in Bohemia,—a substance supposed to have been formed from sediments of fine volcanic ashes in quiet waters. These animals belong to the genus Baccillaria, and inhabit *siliceous* shells, the accumulation of which form the strata of polishing slate. The size of a single individual of these animalcules is about 1-288th of a line, or the 3400th part of an inch. In the polishing slate from Bilin, in which there seems no extraneous matter, and no vacuities, a *cubic line* contains, in round numbers, *twenty-three millions* of these animals, and a *cubic inch* FORTY-ONE THOUSAND MILLIONS of them. The weight of a cubic inch of the tripoli which contains them is 270 grains. Hence there are 187 millions of these animalcules in a single grain; or the siliceous coat of one of these animals is the 18 millionth part of a grain!

Since this strange discovery was made, Mr Ehrenberg has detected the same fossil animals in the *semiopal*, which is found along with the polishing slate in the tertiary strata of Bilin,—in the *chalk flints*, and even in the *semiopal* or NOBLE OPAL of the porphyritick rocks. What a singular application does this

Digitized by Google

fact exhibit of the remains of the ancient world! While our habitations are sometimes built of the solid aggregate of millions of microscopic shells,—while, as we have seen, our apartments are heated and lighted with the wreck of mighty forests that covered the primeval valleys,—the chaplet of beauty shines with the very sepulchres in which millions of animals are entombed! Thus has death become the handmaid and the ornament of life. Would that it were also its instructor and its guide!

Hitherto Dr Buckland has considered only those cases in which the remains of animals that died a natural death have been preserved 'by the processes of slow and gradual accumulations.' He now proceeds to the highly interesting phenomena which prove that animals have been destroyed by some great and sudden cause. In our own day, such phenomena are not uncommon, and arise from an excessive admixture of mud with the waters of the sea during extraordinary tempests; from a sudden increase or diminution of temperature; from the irruption of salt water into fresh water lakes and estuaries; or from the sudden occupation of a part of the sea by a body of fresh water,—from unusual land floods, or the bursting of a lake. M. Agassiz informs us, that thousands of barbel were destroyed in the river Glat by a diminution of temperature of fifteen degrees.

The effects of these destroying causes are exhibited in a more interesting manner in the phenomena of organic remains. The fishes at Monte Bolca must have died suddenly, and been speedily buried in the calcareous sediment then in the course of deposition, and to the strata of which their skeletons lie parallel. At Torre D'Orlando an entire shoal of the genus, Tetragonolepis, seems to have been destroyed at once either by some noxious impregnation of the water, or by an excess of heat. The fossil fishes of the cupriferous slate at Mansfeldt have a distorted position, as if writhing in the agonies of death,—maintaining the attitude of the rigid stage which immediately succeeds to death. To these remarkable facts Dr Buckland adds, in a subsequent chapter, a remarkable case of the cuttle-fish, which must have died suddenly and been quickly buried in the existing sediment. This conclusion is deduced from the fact, that these animals discharge the black fluid from their ink-bags in the moment of alarm; and that the fossil ink-bags are full of this fluid in a state of the most perfect preservation.

Dr Buckland concludes his general views on the subject of fossil remains with an interesting chapter on the advantages which the herbivorous races derive from those that are carnivorous. Furnished with organs for seizing and destroying their prey, it cannot be doubted that this was the function for which they

Digitized by Google

were designed. The destruction of animal life cannot be regarded as inconsistent with that general law of benevolence by which the greatest amount of enjoyment is secured to the greatest number of individuals. Life is a gift which the Creator dispenses with an equal hand to those on whom it is conferred. The amount of happiness which it brings seems to be in the inverse ratio of the time of its enjoyment; and the being that riots for a day in the light and heat of the sunbeam, would perhaps not exchange its ephemeral elysium for the protracted and often miserable centuries of an antediluvian existence. Nor does the manner in which that life is brought to a close at all affect the determinate quantity of its felicity. The religious feelings, and human sympathies, and secular interests which preside at the deathbed of man, impel us to watch with double care over sickness, and decrepitude, and age, and to protract to the last moment even the agonies by which we are appalled. In the world of instinct, however, where the affections have but a limited range, a quick and a violent death becomes the truest charity. The tiger is at once the doctor, the lawyer, the sexton, and the residuary legatee of the peaceful occupants of his native jungle.

But this law of destructive happiness is not confined, as Dr Buckland should have mentioned, to the irrational world. Though his species cannot boast of any lethal mechanism which combines, like the teeth of the Megalosaurus, the slaying power of 'the 'sabre, the knife, and the saw,' and cannot therefore charge their carnivorous deeds either upon their claws or their teeth, yet the history of man is written in the blood of his fellows, and feats of cruelty and violence emblazon the chronicle even of his amusements. In the battles of ambition, where blood-thirsty myrmidons pant for the destruction of their kind—in the enactment and toleration of sanguinary laws—in acts of ignorant and profligate legislation by which millions are starved and expatriated—and in those nameless deeds of injustice and persecution by which power does slow execution upon its victims, we may match the most sanguinary acts of the most sanguinary age of carnivorous ascendency.

Dr Buckland is now brought, in virtue of his arrangement, to consider the proofs of design exhibited in the specific structures of fossil animals. He begins with the fossil mammalia, or those animals that give suck to their young; but as the greater number of the earliest fossil animals of this class differ in few essential points from their living representatives, he selects the two extinct genera of the Dinotherium and the Megatherium—the first, the largest of the terrestrial mammalia, and the second, the

Digitized by Google

one that deviates most from the ordinary forms of animal life.

The remains of the Dinotherium occur most abundantly in Hesse-Darmstadt. Both Cuvier and Kaup calculate the size of the largest species, the Giganticum, to have been *eighteen* feet in length. Its shoulder-blade, resembling that of a mole, indicates an adaptation of the fore-leg to the purposes of digging. It differs from all other quadrupeds in carrying at the extremity of its lower jaw, which is twelve feet long, two enormous tusks, which Dr Buckland considers as instruments for raking and grubbing up the roots of large aquatic vegetables, combining the powers of the pickaxe with those of the horse-harrow. He conceives also that these tusks might be used to hook the head of the animal to the bank of a lake or river, where it might repose itself while floating on the water. Hence he regards it as a herbivorous aquatic quadruped, adapted to the lacustrine condition of the earth during the tertiary periods.

The Megatherium, which has been fully described by Cuvier, is a most extraordinary animal, nearly allied to the sloth, with the same apparent monstrosity, and many singular peculiarities of structure. An engraving, of which Dr Buckland has given a very beautiful one, is necessary to convey an idea of it; and as we cannot abridge our author's long and interesting account of its peculiar structure we must content ourselves with referring to the work itself.*

The gigantic character of these indwellers of the lakes have induced Dr Buckland to give them the precedence of the very old family of the Saurians; so that we must now go back to the early age of the secondary strata to contemplate the earth when inhabited by crocodiles and lizards 'of various forms, 'and often of gigantic size; fitted to endure the turbulence and con-'tinual convulsions of the unquiet surface of our infant world.' These strange animals were not only the principal occupants and

* Dr Buckland mentions, in a supplementary note, the discovery of a large fossil animal in the valley of the Markanda, in the Sivalic or sub-Himalayan range of hills between the Jumna and the Ganges. It exceeds in size the largest rhinoceros, and forms an important link between the Ruminantia and the Pachydermata. The head was found nearly entire; and more recently, Captain Cautley has discovered a portion of the skeleton in another part of the hills. These last portions, however, seem to have been lost. Dr Falconer's and Captain Cautley's account of the Sivatherium, will be found in the London and Edinburgh Phil. Journal, for September and October, 1836, p. 193, 277.

Digitized by Google

the dreaded tyrants of the dry land, but they exercised a dominion also over the waters of the sea.

The name of Ichthyosaurus, or fish-lizard, has been given to some of the most remarkable of these reptiles, which possess 'combinations of form and mechanical contrivances which are 'now dispersed through various classes and orders of existing 'animals, but are no longer united in the same genus.' In its general outline the Ichthyosaurus resembles the modern porpoise or grampus. It combines the snout of a porpoise, the teeth of a crocodile, the head of a lizard, the sternum of an ornithorynchus, with the paddles of a whale. It has a long and powerful tail, and the total length of some of the largest must have exceeded thirty feet.

The most extraordinary feature of this singular animal is the enormous magnitude of its *eye;* which is such, that in a skull of the Ichthyosaurus platyodon, in the collection of Mr Johnson at Bristol, the larger diameter of the orbital cavity is *fourteen inches!* The following are Dr Buckland's observations on this singular optical instrument:—

'From the quantity of light admitted in consequence of its prodigious size, it must have possessed very great powers of vision; *we have also evidence that it had both microscopic and telescopic properties.* We find on the front of the orbital cavity, in which this eye was lodged, a circular series of petrified thin bony plates, ranged around a central aperture, where once was placed the pupil; the form and thickness of each of these plates very much resembles that of the scales of an artichoke. In living animals these bony plates are fixed in the exterior or sclerotic coat of the eye, and *vary its scope of action, by altering the convexity of the cornea; by their retraction they press forward the front of the eye, and convert it into a microscope; in resuming their position, when the eye is at rest, they convert it into a telescope.*'

We have quoted this passage in order to enliven the monotony of our praise by a single note of censure; and in the hope also that Dr Buckland will remodel it in another edition. Even if the physiology of the passage were correct, we should object strongly to the statement that the eye of any animal which has the power of adjustment to different distances—and what animal has not this power?—possesses microscopic and telescopic properties. The general reader cannot fail to regard these properties as peculiarly belonging to the huge eye of the Ichthyosaurus, which Dr Buckland does not mean to insinuate. With regard to the use of the bony circle it is a most gratuitous hypothesis to make it the mechanism of adjustment to different distances. Even in the human eye, upon which we can make endless experiments, we know nothing of the mechanism of adjustment; and if

Digitized by Google

Kepler, and Newton, and the most distinguished of their successors, aided with all the skill of the optician and the anatomist, have failed in detecting this mechanism in man, it is in vain to hope that it will be discovered in the lower animals. The bony plates, described by Dr Buckland, are clearly an apparatus of protection, as he himself has so well described; and when we find that they answer such a distinct and important purpose, it is not philosophical to assign to them any equivocal function.

A remarkable phenomenon, exhibited in the Ichthyosauri, is the half-digested remains of fishes and reptiles which are found within their skeletons; and, what is more curious still, Dr Buckland has discovered the petrified fæces of these animals, to which he has given the name of Coprolites, dispersed through the strata in which their skeletons are buried. This is one of the most important discoveries in geology; and we regret that we cannot give such a detailed account of it as its importance requires. These remarkable petrifactions resemble 'oblong pebbles or kidney potatoes,' varying from two to four inches in length, and from one to two inches in diameter. Some appertain to the 'gigantic calibre' of the largest Ichthyosaurus, others are flat and amorphous. Their state of preservation is such, as to indicate *not only the food upon which* the animal lived, but the very 'dimensions, form, and structure of their stomach and intestinal canal.' Their substance, which is of a compact earthy texture, contains abundance of scales, teeth, and bones of fishes, that seem to have passed undigested through the bodies of the animal; and these bones are often those of smaller Ichthyosauri, measuring several feet in length, which must have been swallowed entire. A Russian author quoted, but not named, by Dr Buckland, makes the following eloquent observation in treating of this subject:— 'Time, which sheds a lustre over every thing that escapes its destructive power, gives us here a singular example of its influence; substances so vile in their origin, when brought to light after so many ages, become of great importance, as they serve to fill up a new chapter in the natural history of the globe.' And Dr Buckland concludes his account of the fish-lizard with an observation equally just and eloquent. 'When we see the body of an ichthyosaurus still containing the food it had eaten just before its death, and its ribs still surrounding the remains of fishes that were swallowed ten thousand, or more than ten times ten thousand years ago, all these vast intervals seem annihilated, time altogether disappears, and we are almost brought into an immediate contact with events of immeasurably distant periods, as with the affairs of yesterday.'

Coeval in time, and closely allied in structure to the Ichthyo-

Digitized by Google

saurus, is the Plesiosaurus; a new genus, established and named by our two distinguished countrymen, the Rev. Mr Conybeare and Mr de la Beche. About five or six species of this genus have been discovered, some of which had attained a prodigious size and length; but the Plesiosaurus dolichodeiros, discovered in the lias of Lyme Regis in 1823, is the best known and the most remarkable. Cuvier might well observe that that animal 'was the most *heterochite*, and the one that deserved most the 'name of a monster,'—which, united to the head of a lizard, the teeth of a crocodile, a swan neck of enormous length, like the body of a serpent, the trunk and tail of an ordinary quadruped, the ribs of a cameleon, and the paddle legs of a whale.

The last of the marine Saurians described by Dr Buckland, is the Mososaurus or great animal of Maestricht. A head of this animal, almost perfect, was discovered near that city in 1780, and though it had baffled every naturalist, Cuvier was able, from the examination of the jaws and teeth alone, and even from a single tooth, and before he had seen a single vertebra or a bone of any of its extremities, to announce the character of the entire skeleton. Adrian Camper, indeed, had first suggested, but Cuvier had the honour of demonstrating, that it was a gigantic marine reptile, nearly allied to the monitors,—a race of lizards which frequent the marshes and the banks of rivers in tropical climates. It has 133 vertebræ, and instead of legs, four large paddles like the whale. Hence it seems to have lived entirely in water, and 'though it was of such vast proportions, compared with the living 'genera of these families, it formed a link intermediate between the 'monitors and the iguanas. However strange it may appear to find 'its dimensions so much exceeding those of any existing lizard, or 'to find marine genera in the order of the Saurians, in which 'there exists at this time no species capable of living in the sea, it 'is scarcely less strange than the analogous deviations in the mega-'losaurus and iguanodon, which afford examples of still greater 'expansion of the type of the monitor and iguana into colossal 'forms adapted to move upon the land.'

Anomalous as the marine Saurians are, the flying Saurians are still more so. Cuvier considers this genus, to which he has given the name of Pterodactyle, as the most extraordinary of all the beings that have come under his notice; and as that which, if we saw alive, would appear most unlike to any thing that nature presents to us. Eight species, varying from the size of a snipe to that of a cormorant, have been discovered. Externally, the Pterodactyle resembles our bats and vampyres. Its head and neck is like that of a bird. Its wings have the proportion and form of those of bats, and they have fingers projecting from these

Digitized by Google

wings, terminated by long hooks like the curved claw on the bat's thumb; and their bodies and tail approximate to those of common mammalia. Dr Buckland conjectures that the Pterodactyle had also the power of swimming, like the vampyre bat of the island of Bonin.

Next to the flying Saurians our author places the gigantic terrestrial Saurians—the megalosaurus and the iguanodon. The genus megalosaurus was established by Dr Buckland in 1824, from specimens found in the Oolitic slate of Stonesfield, near Oxford. Cuvier conceives it to have been an enormous reptile, measuring from forty to fifty feet in length, and partaking of the structure of the crocodile and monitor. The form of its teeth shows it to have been in a high degree carnivorous, and it is supposed to have fed on smaller reptiles,—such as crocodiles and tortoises, whose remains are found in abundance in the same strata. The most important part of this land lizard yet found, is a fragment of the lower jaw, containing many teeth, whose mechanism combines the properties of the knife, the sabre, and the saw.

The genus Iguanodon, or the gigantic terrestrial Saurian, we owe to the indefatigable labours of Mr Mantell, who discovered its insulated bones in the Wealden freshwater formation of the South of England. So lately as 1834, a very large part of the skeleton of this animal has been found in more recent strata in the quarries of Kentish Rag near Maidstone. This skeleton is now in Mr Mantell's museum, and confirms nearly all his deductions from the insulated bones he had previously found. From the analogy between this herbivorous animal, and the modern iguana, he has computed the dimensions of the iguanodon; and found its total length to be seventy feet, its tail fifty-two and a half feet long, and its body fourteen and a half feet round.

Passing over the amphibious saurians allied to crocodiles, which do not differ greatly from existing genera, we come to the fossil tortoises or testudinata, which have acquired special honour among fossil animals, by having left the traces of their footsteps distinctly imprinted on the solid rock. This curious discovery was made by Dr Henry Duncan of Ruthwell, who observed them on sandstone in the quarry of Corncockle muir in Dumfries-shire; and similar impressions have been recently observed in several quarries of grey sandstone at the village of Hessberg, near Hildburghausen, in Saxony. The specimens discovered by Dr Duncan have been carefully preserved by him, and placed in the summer-house of his garden, where we have had the good fortune of seeing them. The beauty and distinctness of the footsteps are poorly represented in the best engravings, or even in the plaster casts we have seen; and it is impossible to look at them without the instantane-

Digitized by Google

ous conviction that an animal has walked over the sandstone when in a soft condition. Dr Buckland has come to the conclusion that the footsteps were those of land tortoises; in consequence of comparing the impressions made by an Emys and Testudo Græca while walking over soft sand and clay, and upon unbaked pie-crust. Sir William Jardine has observed similar impressions in quarries near Corncockle muir; and they have also been discovered in the red sandstone quarries of Craigs, near Dumfries. But the most remarkable of all the footsteps that have yet been discovered are those recently described and figured by Professor Hitchcock, in the American 'Journal of Science.' They occur in the new red sandstone of the valley of the Connecticut, and belong to two gigantic birds which are now extinct. One series of these impressions belong to a bird twice the size of an ostrich, whose foot measured *fifteen inches* in length, exclusive of the largest claw, which was two inches long. Six of these footsteps appeared in regular succession, at distances varying from four to six feet. Another series of these gigantic footsteps exhibits the marks of three toes of a more slender character. The foot has been from fifteen to sixteen inches long, exclusive of a curious appendage extending eight or nine inches behind the heel, and apparently intended,—according to Dr Buckland, like a snow shoe, to sustain the weight of a heavy animal walking upon a soft bottom. 'The impressions of this appendage resemble those of wiry feathers, or coarse 'bristles, which seem to have sunk into the mud and sand nearly an 'inch deep; the toes had sunk much deeper, and round their impressions the mud was raised into a ridge several inches high, like 'that around the track of an elephant in clay. The length of the 'step of this bird appears to have been sometimes six feet.' Dr Buckland has illustrated his description of these most singular phenomena with no fewer than *six* large plates.

The next subject which engages our author's attention is the most important one of Fossil fishes. Hitherto our knowledge of existing fishes has been very imperfect. Cuvier had undertaken their classification some time before his death, and had observed no fewer than *eight thousand* different species; but seeing the impossibility of overtaking such a task, he consigned all his materials into the hands of Professor Agassiz of Neuchatel, who has distinguished himself above all other naturalists in this department of Natural History. He has given a new classification of existing species, founded on the character of their *scales*. In his first order of the Placoideans, the scales consist of *broad* plates of enamel, passing, as in the *shark*, into points. The second order of the Ganoideans is distinguished by angular scales, with a *bright* sur-

Digitized by Google

face of enamel, as in the bony pike and sturgeon. The third order of Ctenoidians have their scales jagged or *pectinated* like a comb, as in the perch; and his fourth order of Cycloideans has the scales smooth at the margin, and often ornamented with various figures, as in the herring and salmon.

The distinction between the fossil and the recent species, and the formations in which they occur, is one of the most important topics in Geology. Professor Agassiz has extended the number of fossil genera to 200, containing more than 850 species. According to this eminent naturalist, no existing genus occurs among the fossil fishes in any stratum older than the chalk formation. In the inferior chalk there is only *one* living genus,—the Fistularia; in the true chalk *five*, while in the tertiary strata of Monte Bolca there are *thirty-nine* existing, and *thirty-eight* extinct genera. The two orders of Placoideans and Ganoideans only existed before the commencement of the chalk formations. The Ctenoideans and Cycloideans, which contain three-fourths of the eight thousand known species of existing fishes, appear in the chalk strata for the first time, when all the fossil genera of the two first orders had become extinct.

The great importance of the character, derived from the scales, may be deduced from the fact, that the enamelled state of the scales of those fishes, which existed in the earlier epochs, rendered them more enduring than the bones; and the character is besides so invariable, that a single scale is often sufficient to determine the animal to which it belonged.

The fossil remains of the mollusca, whether of the naked genera or of those protected by a shell, furnish Dr Buckland with new proofs of Divine wisdom. Among these bodies we have carnivorous and herbivorous races; the former being provided with a proboscis armed with teeth like those of a rasp, for perforating the shells of their prey, and extracting through the aperture the juices which are to feed them; while the latter have jaws formed for feeding upon vegetables. The naked mollusca, however, exhibit the most interesting phenomena. The cuttle-fish, it is well known, protects itself from its enemies, by ejecting from a bladder-shaped sac, a black and viscid ink which hides it in the surrounding opacity which it creates. This ink-bag, distended as during the life of the animal, has been found in a fossil state by Miss Mary Anning, in the lias of Lyme Regis; the ink itself being preserved in a dried state, with its original bulk not greatly diminished, and possessing all its properties of a pigment. Besides the ink-bag, there was found also a *horny pen*, like the pen of a recent loligo, and retaining traces even of its minutest fibres of growth.

Digitized by Google

Dr Buckland proceeds at great length to discuss the natural theology of fossil shells; and illustrates his descriptions and his arguments with numerous and splendid engravings. But our waning limits remind us, that whilst we are discussing the length of time, we are encroaching on the shortness of our space; and we must therefore pass, with an accelerated velocity, over the remainder of the work,—substituting our meagre abstract in place of the copious and fervid eloquence of the author. In the chambered shells of the nautili and the ammonites there are many beautiful adaptations. They are provided with elegant hydraulic apparatuses for enabling them to advance beneath the water, and at other times to rise and float upon its surface. The chambers of the nautilus perform the functions of air-vessels, or floats, by which it can rise or sink by varying its specific gravity; and while it floats with its expanded arms, it moves in a retrograde direction by the reaction of the water which it ejects from a funnel. In the construction of the kindred ammonites are found the same beautiful mechanism. Its delicate shell resists the external pressure of the sea by transverse stays and bracings, which combine lightness with strength; and the edges of their supports adorn the exterior shell with a succession of graceful forms like the most elegant embroidery.

In the fossil Belemnites we find the same phenomenon of an ink-bag which the cuttle-fish enjoys, and some of these bags are nearly a foot in length.

The Nammulites, the greater number of which are microscopic, furnish our author with the materials of an interesting section. Their shells, which resemble a piece of money, have their air chambers like the nautilus; and at an early epoch, they must have floated in countless swarms upon the sea. In the later members of the secondary, and in many of the tertiary strata, they are piled on each other like grains of corn in a heap; they abound in the limestone which composes some of the Pyramids and the Sphinx; and they often form much of the entire bulk of many extensive mountains.

The Trilobites are objects of still higher interest. They are distributed most extensively over the globe, and form an entirely extinct race of crustaceous animals, equally remarkable for their antiquity, and their strange peculiarities of configuration. Not a single trilobite has been found in any strata newer than the carboniferous series.* The structure of their eyes, which have been pre-

* Dr Leach's genus serolis is the only recent one which approaches to the trilobites.

Digitized by Google

served during incalculable ages in the early strata of the transition formation, calls forth the eloquence and ingenuity of our author. We have, in a previous article, given a brief notice of the eyes of insects and crustacea;* and shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the results deduced by Dr Buckland. The existence of such eyes among the most ancient forms of animal life, and their occurrence in the limulu during the middle periods of geological chronology, when the secondary strata were deposited, give us positive information, not only respecting the condition of the sea and the atmosphere of these olden times, but also of the relation of these two media to light. The waters which admitted light to the eye of the trilobite 'could not have been the imaginary tur-'bid and chaotic fluid' of the Neptunian geologists; and the atmosphere which conveyed that light to the deep, could not have differed materially from its present condition. 'The mutual re-'lations, too, of light to the eye, and of the eye to light, were 'the same at the time when crustaceans, endowed with the 'faculty of vision, were first placed at the bottom of the primeval 'seas, as at the present moment.'

The sections on fossil spiders, scorpions, insects, and the chapter on fossil radiated animals, or zoophytes, including the encrinites and the pentacrenites, are full of interest. The vast beds of entrochal marble that extend over Europe and America are often as entirely composed of the petrified bones of encrinites, 'as a 'corn-rick is composed of straws.'—'Man,' as our author elo-'quently remarks, 'employs it to construct his palace and adorn 'his sepulchre; but there are few who know and fewer still who 'duly appreciate the surprising fact, that much of this marble is 'composed of the skeletons of millions of organized beings, once 'endowed with life and susceptible of enjoyment.'

The Briarean pentacrinite, so called, from the number of its side arms, is remarkable for the number of bones in its fingers, and tentaculæ, and side arms. Dr Buckland computes them at a hundred and fifty thousand; and to these he adds three hundred thousand fasciculi of fibres, equivalent to muscles in the body of a single pentacrinite.

The proofs of design in the structure of fossil plants, furnish our author with the materials of an instructive chapter. The number and species of living plants amounts at present to about 50,000 species. The fossil plants yet described do not exceed 500. Nearly 300 of these are obtained from the transition series, and almost wholly from the coal formation. Another hun-

---

* See this Journal, No. 121, p. 178.

Digitized by Google

dred have been found in the strata of the secondary series, and upwards of a hundred from formations of the tertiary series.

The plants of the *first* period consist chiefly of ferns and gigantic equisetacæ; and of families intermediate between existing lycopodeaceæ and coniferæ, and a few coniferæ.

Those of the *second* period consist of ferns, cycadeæ, and coniferæ, with a few liliaceæ; the ferns being one-third of the whole.

The plants of the *third* period approach closely to our existing species.

Sea weeds occur in the strata coeval with the most ancient animals; and their continuance throughout all subsequent formations, of a marine origin, has been established by M. A. Brongniart.

The indications of climate which may be drawn from plants and animals, especially those which are terrestrial, may in a future state of our knowledge throw much light upon the early meteorology of our planet.

In this chapter Dr Buckland has given a very interesting account of the plants to which we may trace the origin of coal. He describes the fossil plants in the Newcastle coal pits; but in the coal mines of Bohemia he observed the finest examples of distinctly preserved vegetable remains. 'The most elaborate 'imitations of living foliage upon the painted ceilings of Italian 'palaces bear no comparison with the beauteous profusion of ex-'tinct vegetable forms by which the galleries are overhung. 'The roof is covered with a canopy of gorgeous tapestry, enrich-'ed with festoons of most graceful foliage, flung in wild 'irregular profusion over every portion of its surface.' . . . 'The spectator feels himself transported, as if by enchantment, 'into the forests of another world. He beholds trees, of forms 'and characters now unknown upon the surface of the earth, 'presented to his senses almost in the beauty and vigour of their 'primeval life—their scaly stems and bending branches, with 'their delicate apparatus of foliage, are all spread forth before 'him, little impaired by the lapse of countless ages, and bearing 'faithful records of extinct systems of vegetation which began 'and terminated in times of which these relics are the infallible 'historians.'

Dr Buckland's work is terminated with six short, but interesting chapters, of a general but very interesting nature. He considers the proofs of design which are exhibited in the disposition of the strata of the coal formation,—in the disturbing forces which have given origin to mineral veins, and placed the useful metals in the most advantageous positions,—and in the physical forces of a more particular nature, by which strata have been sunk or ele-

Digitized by Google

vated, inclined, and twisted, and broken, and dislocated, to produce all that variety of character and of form which marks the surface of the globe. He treats of the adaptation of the earth to afford supplies of water through the medium of springs; and he gives us much curious information on the subject of Artesian wells. His last chapter explains the proofs of design in the structure and composition of unorganized mineral bodies; and he concludes with an eloquent and glowing peroration on the unity of the Deity; the proofs of successive creations; the connexion of religion and science; and the end of all secular knowledge—'to 'penetrate our understanding with profound and sensible per-'ceptions of the "high veneration man's intellect owes to 'God."'

Such is a brief, we fear, indeed, a too condensed, analysis of Dr Buckland's work,—a work as much distinguished for the industry and research which it indicates, as for its scientific principles and philosophical views. The extraordinary and inestimable facts which he has brought under the grasp of the general reader, have been illustrated by numerous and splendid embellishments; and while his descriptions of them are clothed in simple and perspicuous language, the general views to which they lead have been presented to us in the highest tone of a lofty and impressive eloquence. We have ourselves never perused a work more truly fascinating, or more deeply calculated to leave abiding impressions on the heart; and if this shall be the general opinion, we are sure that it will be the source of higher gratification to the author than the more desired, though on his part equally deserved, meed of literary renown.

In the course of our analysis we have been occasionally perplexed to discover the cause of that exciting interest which this volume awakens even in minds familiar with the grander phenomena of nature. That the wonders of fossil geology are the latest acquisitions of Natural Theology is certainly not the reason why they appear to be the most interesting. In the living mechanisms around us, and in the most familiar functions of animal physiology, we have superabundant proofs of matchless skill and benevolent adaptation; but the mind of man, prejudiced even in its piety, does not appreciate as it ought, these miracles of power. There is something unclean about animal bodies, and their functions, and their products, which deters all but professional men from their study, and therefore robs them of their inherent claims as incentives to piety and as proofs of design. But the case is wholly altered when we are introduced to fossil skeletons; and examine the structure and functions of animals that inhabited the earth long before its occupation by man.

Digitized by Google

With them nothing mortal has the least association. Time has invested them with a hallowed and mystic aspect; the green waves have washed them in their coral bed; and after ages of ablution in a tempestuous ocean, the ordeal of a central fire has completed their purification. The bones, and the integuments, and the meanest products of animal life have thus become sainted relics, which the most sensitive may handle, and the most delicate may prize.

Thus ennobled in its character, the natural theology of animal remains appeals forcibly to the mind, even when we consider these remains only as insulated structures dislodged from the interior of the earth; but when we view them in reference to the physical history of the globe, and consider them as the *individual beings* of that series of creations which the Almighty has successively extinguished, and successively renewed, they acquire an importance above that of all other objects of secular enquiry. The celestial creations, imposing though they be in magnitude, do not equal them in interest. It is only with life and its associations—with life that has been—and with life that is to be, that human sympathies are indissolubly enchained. It is beside the grave alone, or when bending over its victims, that man thinks wisely and feels righteously. When ranging, therefore, among the cemeteries of primeval death, the extinction and the renewal of life are continually pressed upon his notice. Among the prostrate relics of a once breathing world, he reads the lesson of his own mortality; and in the new forms of being which have marked the commencement of every succeeding cycle, he recognises the life-giving hand by which the elements of his own mouldered frame are to be purified and recombined.

ART. II.—*Journal of a Residence in Norway during the years* 1834, 1835, *and* 1836; *made with a view to Inquire into the Moral and Political Economy of that Country, and the Condition of its Inhabitants.* By SAMUEL LAING, Esq. London: Longman. 1836.

IT is now nearly three-and-twenty years since public attention was directed towards Norway, by circumstances exciting a lively and general interest. The forcible transference of that country from the Crown of Denmark to that of Sweden, was the last occurrence which gave rise amongst us to any lengthened discussion respecting the fate and fortunes of its people. Since

Digitized by Google

that transaction—the character of which we exposed at the time, and which, though aided by the then existing British Ministry, in defiance of every principle of international law, has had a more favourable result than could have been expected—the Norwegians have been steadily consolidating the remarkably free constitution to which the events of that period gave birth; and advancing in wealth and prosperity, notwithstanding the restrictions we continue to place on the most important article of their commerce—restrictions no less detrimental to our own general interests than to theirs.

Neither the picturesque beauty of their country, nor their peculiar institutions, seem to divert towards them any great portion of that tide of travellers which is annually directed southward, almost with the regularity of a law of nature. Occasionally, indeed, a more philosophic observer, turning from the refinements of the south to scenes less visited, and a state of society, the basis of whose structure is totally different from that of any other European nation, reminds us, that between the central mountain chain of the Scandinavian peninsula, and the indented coasts which front the northern ocean, there is a people dwelling in rich valleys, and on bold mountains, by the side of broad rivers and still and deep lakes and inlets, and whose ancestors hold a conspicuous place in the early history of our own country;—from whose ancient institutions one at least that we most value in our own is derived;*—whose annals are chiefly marked by noble struggles in support of national independence;—the hardy virtues of whose honest, frank, and generous character are tempered by the refining influence of the possession of property, and a generally diffused prosperity; and who live under laws, in the modelling of which the spirit of feudalism has had no share, and under a constitution almost as purely democratic as that of America.

We are indebted to Mr Laing for much interesting information on the political and social condition of this people. Attracted to that country by the peculiarities it presents, he has made himself well acquainted with it by a residence there of nearly two years. He mixed freely with all classes, and identified himself with their interests, by hiring and managing a farm for twelve months. The spot he selected was in the fertile valley of Værdal; in a latitude nearly four degrees farther north than the northermost point of our island. It is thickly inhabited by the Bonder, or small proprietors—a class which forms one of the chief characteristics of Norway. Throughout

* Trial by Jury.

Digitized by Google

his work he displays an enlarged sympathy with the various conditions of man, combined with no slight practical knowledge of the details of common life; and when with this is united a power of observing with intelligence, and correctly appreciating the effects of a form of polity, and of social arrangements so different from those with which we are most conversant, it is plain that a value is given to his book far exceeding that usually possessed by the class to which it belongs. Facts and incidents illustrating the character and mode of life of this singular people, and descriptions of the bold and beautiful scenery amidst which they dwell, are thrown together with little attention, indeed, to order, but perhaps with as much connexion as is usually found in books of travels. They are such as cannot fail to excite the attention of the political philosopher; whilst the general reader will find himself repaid by no inconsiderable portion of information and amusement. In addition to the sources of more general interest —the peculiarities of a northern climate, the attractions of scenery, the productions of nature, and the course of domestic life— a condition of society is brought under review entirely different in original structure, and in results, from that of those countries whose institutions have received their impress from the feudal institutions. From the first dawn of its history to the present day, a remarkable degree of practical freedom has been preserved, under various modifications of government. For a thousand years the law of succession to property has been that of equal partition among the children, yet without producing minute subdivision. The population consists chiefly of a class of small proprietors living on their estates in comfort and independence— estimable for the possession of intelligence, habits of civilisation, moral and manly virtues, polite and easy manners, kind and benevolent dispositions—and willingly acknowledging the distinctions which naturally flow from superior cultivation and refinement. Crime is rare, and the sentence of 'loss of honour,' is the penalty which the peasant holds in the greatest dread. Most of the strong contrasts, and other causes of irritation, which disturb other nations, are unknown. A church establishment, watchful to preserve the affections of the people, does not provoke dissent. The elective franchise is safely intrusted to the great body of the people;—the majority of whom possess landed property, and are raised by it in their own estimation, and in the scale of social beings. There is no titled aristocracy, yet no lack of decent refinement. The Second Chamber is composed of a section of the First. The Executive has only a suspensive *veto;* and liberty is secured by a free press and trial by jury.

Here, then, exist in simultaneous action, most of those principles

Digitized by Google

of government about which opinion is so much divided, and which are usually said to be utterly inconsistent with the security and well-being of society. Here the philosopher may study them in operation, and mark the good or evil with which they are accompanied—not in a new but in an old nation—not where all is fluctuating, but where social institutions have been fixed for ages; not amidst the rudeness and violence, and insolence and precipitancy, which are said to be inseparable from democracy, but in conjunction with caution, firmness, and self-restraint,—with order and calmness, prosperity and progression. Here is freedom of the press without licentiousness; a very widely-extended right of suffrage, without the apprehension of the Government being hurried into devious courses by impulse and passion; a general abundance of the means of living, and but little poverty; cheerfulness, hospitality, kindliness of demeanour among all; a peasantry hardy and strong, respectful, and independent; no titled aristocracy, yet a general politeness and a due recognition of the claims of superiority, whether of wealth or intelligence; a respect for the laws, and a reverence for religion; a patriotic zeal for the institutions under which they live, and a wise and moderate firmness in maintaining them.

It is obvious that such a phenomenon in Europe as a Constitution thoroughly democratic,—one also which has now held on its course of independence and wisdom during more than twenty years,—is not only an object of curiosity and interest, but deserves, in a philosophical point of view, the most attentive consideration. Men of all shades of opinion may naturally be anxious to know what is the mode of life, what the cast of thought, the habits, manners, customs, laws, of a people who seem to be able to master, with the easy skilfulness of complete familiarity, a state engine of such formidable power; and one whose irrepressible energies are supposed, on the least defect of management, inevitably to cause its own destruction, and that of all near it. The man who reposes in comfort only under the shelter of strong government, as it is called, whether in the form of aristocracy or pure autocracy, will search through it to discover the elements of terror and disorganization. He who indulges a hope that the great body of the people in a country may, by means of education and the possession of property, arrive at that degree of intelligence and self-command as to be able to exercise an influence over the management of their affairs, without endangering the rights of others, will fix a regardful eye on the state of society in Norway; in order to see what is the result of the experiment, in one country at least of the Old World, as far as it has yet been tried. We will

Digitized by Google

supply some materials for these various speculations, by giving Mr Laing's succinct account of the structure of the Storthing, or Parliament, its powers and duties; of the electoral body and the mode of election.

'The Norwegian people enjoy a greater share of political liberty, have the framing and administering of their own laws more entirely in their own hands, than any European nation of the present times. I shall attempt to give a brief outline of their constitution. The Parliament, or Storthing, is elected and assembled once in three years, and sits for three months, or until the business is despatched. A special or extraordinary Storthing may be summoned in the interval, if extraordinary circumstances, as the death of the sovereign, war or peace, should require it, but its powers do not extend to any alteration in the laws or constitution. Each Storthing settles the taxes for the ensuing three years; enacts, repeals, or alters laws; opens loans on the credit of the state; fixes the appropriation and administration of the revenue; grants the fixed sums to be applied to the different branches of expenditure—the establishments of the king, the viceroy, or members of the royal family; revises all pay and pension lists, and all civil and clerical promotions, and makes such alterations as it deems proper in any interim grants made since the former Storthing. It also regulates the currency, appoints five revisors, who shall every year examine all accounts of Government, and publish printed abstracts of them. There are laid before it verified copies of all treaties, and the minutes of all public departments, excepting those of the highest military command. The Storthing impeaches and tries before a division of its own body all ministers of state, judges, and also its own members. Besides these great and controlling powers, fixed by the ground-law, as it is called, passed and agreed to by the king and nation on the 17th May, 1814, the Storthing receives the oaths of the king on coming of age, or ascending the throne, or of any regents appointed during a minority; and in case of a failure of the royal line, it could proceed, as in 1814, to elect, in conjunction with Sweden, a new dynasty. This body, when elected, divides itself into two houses; the whole Storthing choosing from among its members one-fourth, who constitute the Lagthing, or upper house; their functions resembling those of our House of Lords, deliberative, and judicial in cases of impeachment; the other three-fourths constitute the Odelsthing, or House of Commons; and all proposed enactments must initiate in this division. A counsellor of state may, on the part of the executive, give in writing any proposals for new laws; but has no vote; and the initiative of laws is not vested in government alone, either in theory or practice.

'In addition to these extensive legislative and controlling powers, the Storthing enjoys a right not known in any other European monarchy. After a bill has been passed in the Odelsthing, or lower house, it is sent to the Lagthing, or upper house, where it is deliberated upon, and passed, rejected, or sent back with amendments to the lower house, nearly as in our two houses of Parliament; it then requires the sanction of the king to become law. But if a bill has passed through both divi-

Digitized by Google

sions in three successive Storthings, on the third occasion it becomes the law of the land without the royal assent. The ground-law, sworn to between the king and the people in 1814, fixes and defines this right so distinctly, that it cannot be got over, without overturning that compact. It presumes that, if, during six successive years, the nation by its representatives three times declares a measure beneficial, the king's ministers must be wrong, and the nation right. This right has not remained dormant. The abolition of hereditary nobility in Norway was made law by its exertion. This legislative body is elected in the following way.

'Every native Norwegian of twenty-five years of age, who has been for five years owner or life-renter of land paying scat or tax, or who is a burgess of any town, or possesses there a house or land to the value of 150 dollars (L.30), is entitled to elect and to be elected; but for this last privilege, he must be not under thirty years of age, must have resided for ten years in Norway, and must neither be in any department of the state or court, nor on the pension list, nor in the counting-house or bureau of any officer of state, or of the court.

'The country is divided into election districts, corresponding to the amts, or counties, and sub-districts, corresponding to the parishes. Registers of the qualified voters in each sub-district are kept by the minister, and also by the foged, or bailie. Each town with a 150 voters makes a sub-district; but if the number of voters be under 150, it must be joined to the nearest town. In or before the month of December of each third year, the electors or voters assemble in the parish church, and proceed, after the constitution and ground-laws are read, to choose their election men, in such proportions, that in towns, one is chosen from among themselves by every 50 voters. In the country, every 100 voters, or under, if the sub-district contain only a smaller number, elect one; from 100 to 200 voters elect two; from 200 to 300 voters elect three; and so on. In case an election-man, from sickness or other cause, cannot attend the district meeting, he who had the next number of votes is his substitute. In towns within eight days, and in the country within a month, after these election-men are chosen, they assemble at the place appointed for the district or county election; and there elect from among themselves, or from among the other qualified voters in the district, the representatives to Parliament, or Storthing, in such proportion, that for towns one-fourth of the number of election-men are chosen, that is, from three to six elect one, from seven to ten two, from eleven to fourteen three, and from fifteen to eighteen four representatives, which is the greatest number any town can send to Storthing. In the country one-tenth is the number any district is entitled to send. From five to fourteen election-men elect one, from fifteen to twenty-four two, from twenty-five to thirty-four three, and above that number four, being the greatest number any district or county can send. These proportions are founded on the principle, that the towns in Norway should, as nearly as possible, return one-third, and the country two-thirds, of the whole body, which should not consist of under seventy-five, nor above one hundred members.

Digitized by Google

'The Storthing meets on the first business day of February, and continues its session until April 30. All the meetings now described take place *suo jure*, by the terms of the constitution; and not under any writ or proclamation from the king. An extraordinary Storthing, convened by royal authority, can only pass interim acts, until the next regular Storthing, by which they must be ratified, in order to continue in force. The election and meeting of the regular body cannot be postponed or controlled in any way by the executive power, and do not depend, in any shape, on its co-operation. This is really the Magna Charta of Norway.'

These are great and extraordinary powers. It is not a little curious to see, in that quarter of Europe, a representative assembly in which the dominant authority so completely resides; —which meets *suo jure*, without writ or proclamation, every three years; which, besides the ordinary functions of such an assembly, reviews at every triennial meeting all pay and pension lists, and all civil and clerical appointments; and whose decisions become law after having passed three successive Storthings, without reference to the will of the Executive. The franchise, in the country at least, is as low as it well can be; since even the housemen, or agricultural labourers, who receive as part of their remuneration for their labour, a house and a small portion of land, are usually tenants for life, and consequently have the right of voting.

Each town and district elects as many substitutes as it elects representatives; so that, in case of illness or death of the one, the substitute, or 'suppleant,' is sent for, and takes his seat. The franchise, it is to be observed, is not connected with the place, as in England, but with the number of electors; and expands or contracts as they increase or diminish. It is a self-acting principle of parliamentary reform; and is obtained by simply considering the elective franchise a privilege belonging to the constituency, according to their numbers. The number of members may consequently be different, in different Storthings; but the variation cannot be great, or of any practical importance. The representative is paid a certain sum per day during his attendance, and his travelling expenses.* Whether the desire to obtain this allowance had any influence on the elections or not, Mr Laing remarks that its advantages are great in a country where few, except the highest functionaries, clergy, and merchants, could

* Andrew Marvel was the last member of an English Parliament who received a stipend for his attendance.

Digitized by Google

afford to leave their homes and employments, and live at Christiania during the session at their own expense. 'The represen-'tation of the country would, therefore, fall entirely into the 'hands of those few who, from the very circumstance of being 'above the ordinary business of the country, would necessarily 'be, as in England, the least acquainted with its interests or 'affairs. The Bonder class, also, although deficient in the 'higher branches of education, or in extended views on political 'subjects, do not want good sound sense; and a man chosen by 'several thousand of his fellow-parishioners to be their election-'man, and again selected by his fellow election-men, each as 'willing to take the representative's allowance as he is, must be 'a man distinguished for his judgment and character. He can 'neither be a fool nor a knave.'

Describing the composition of a Storthing at which he was present, Mr. Laing says—

'This Storthing consists of twenty-two persons in civil offices, three in military, sixteen in clerical, four lawyers, fourteen mercantile men, thirty-seven landowners. Of the civil functionaries, eleven are connected with executive function, the others with judicial. I have included in this class one rector of a school, and one collector of taxes. Of the clerical, four are parish clerks or precentors (kirke sanger), not clergymen. Of the mercantile, some are landed proprietors as well as merchants, some country dealers. The mercantile towns, as Bergen, Dronthiem, and Christiania, are not represented entirely by mercantile men, but by men of high reputation from various professions. Of the landowners, with the exception of one or two who possess more than one farm, the thirty-seven are substantial bonder: proprietors only of the farms they live on. It appears from this analysis of the composition of the Storthing, that there is no foundation for the objection to the daily allowance, as the class of bonder have not sent any undue proportion of their own numbers, but have chosen representatives from other professions. A much more important inference may be drawn,—that, while the qualification is as low as it well can be, and the education of the electors is also but low, there is still such an amount of good sense in a community at large, that, where undue influence, bribery, delusion, or party spirit, are not at work (and by the machinery of the middle wheel of election-men, these are entirely excluded), a great majority of educated and enlightened men will be elected to do their business. In this representative body there are nearly sixty members, who, from their professions, must have enjoyed the best education which the country affords, and must be among its most able men; and there are only thirty-seven who may be presumed, from their occupation, not to have habits of business, although they are likely to possess great natural talents and judgment. The representatives of this class, in former Storthings, have, I understand, often proved the most efficient members, after they got acquainted with the routine of business.'

Digitized by Google

Two main points of similarity with the Constitution of America may here be noticed. First, that population is taken as the basis of representation; and, secondly, the delegation of the electoral powers of the nation to a body which represents it. It is to be observed, however, that in America, the latter principle is confined to the election of the Senate and of the President; while in Norway, there being but one representative chamber, it is applied to the whole. The American Senate is elected by the legislative Assembly in each State—two members by each; and, for the purpose of electing the President, a certain number of special electors is deputed at the time by the whole electoral body. M. de Tocqueville remarks upon the results of this double action as salutary. Its success in Norway, in producing purity of election, and in procuring the best men for the service of the State,—taken with the drawback of its alleged tendency to deaden the interest in public affairs for want of direct communication between the constituent and representative,—gives it a claim to consideration in this country, where the problem of the best mode of affording adequate protection to the voter is yet to be solved.

The following extract will show their modes of procedure, and also their manner of constituting a Second Chamber. We earnestly hope that the future conduct of that branch of our own Legislature will be such, as not to force upon the country the necessity of considering upon what other principle, besides the hereditary, a body of that kind may be formed :—

'The first proceeding of the Storthing is to elect its president, or speaker, and its secretary. This is done once a-week. A president has much in his power, in the form in which he may propose the question to be voted upon to the House, and in the turn of expression that may be given to proceedings or motions in writing them in the protocol. Great jealousy is therefore exercised by the Storthing in preserving the nomination of president and secretary in their own hands. It was one of the rejected propositions of the Cabinet in 1824, that the King should have the nomination.

'The next proceeding is to examine the writs, or full powers of the members from their constituents, to ascertain that all are duly elected. The Storthing then proceeds to elect what is equivalent to our House of Peers, the Lagthing, or division in which the deliberative functions of the legislative body are invested. This consists of one-fourth of the members of the Storthing, being in the present assembly twenty-four, who are voted for by the whole body; and they form a separate House, and sit in a different chamber, with their own president and secretary, also elected by themselves weekly. The functions of the Lagthing are not exactly the same as those of our House of Lords, but are more confined. No bill can have its initiative there. It can only receive bills

Digitized by Google

from the other House, the Odelsthing; deliberate upon what is sent up to it, and approve, or reject, or send back the bill, with proposed amendments. It is also the court before which, aided by the Hoieste-ret Court, which is an independent branch of the state, the Lower House, the Odelsthing, may impeach Ministers of State. The composition of this House of Lords, which does its business quite as well as a House of Bishops, Dukes, and Barons, may be an object of curiosity to our British Radicals. It consists, in the present Storthing, of eight persons in civil offices, five in clerical functions, two lawyers, and nine bonder, or peasants; in all twenty-four. They are not elected to the Lagthing with any reference to profession or rank, but simply from the opinion their fellow-members in the Storthing may have formed of their judgment, knowledge, and fitness for deliberative function.

'Of the whole ninety-six members of the present Storthing, forty-five have sat in one or more preceding Storthings; the rest are new members.

'The mode of procedure differs in some important respects from that of the British Parliament. The Storthing consists, in fact, of three Houses—the Lagthing of twenty-four members, the Odelsthing of seventy-two, and the entire Storthing consisting of the whole ninety-six united in one House. In this latter all motions are made and discussed; and, if entertained, are referred to committees to report upon to the Storthing. The report, when received back from its committee, is debated and voted upon; and if approved, a bill in terms of the report is ordered to be brought into the Odelsthing. This House entertains or rejects the proposed bill, frames and discusses the enactments, if it is not rejected *in toto*, and sends it up to the Lagthing, or Upper House, to be deliberated upon, approved, rejected, or amended. The Storthing appoints standing committees at the beginning of the session, for each branch of the public business. These have to revise and report upon the proceedings of each department during the preceding three years; and every motion or petition to Storthing is, if not rejected at once, referred to the proper committee in the first instance, to report upon to the House.'

The calm tenor of their proceedings, undisturbed by party violence, forms a strong contrast with that struggle between the aristocratic and popular party, which takes place amongst us on every subject involving general principles of government or policy. With them the influence of the aristocracy, which never had been great, was quietly extinguished by their constitution, at its formation in 1814; and their attention is keenly alive to prevent even the smallest innovation on the principles then established. The attempts, however, to control their independence, have been neither few nor inconsiderable; but they have all been strenuously resisted by the Storthing, though with equal temper and firmness. Should the demonstration of military force, resorted to in 1821, with a view to overawe their proceedings, be repeated, it will

Digitized by Google

become necessary to consider how far the arrangements, out of which the Norwegian constitution had its origin, impose on Great Britain the obligation of guaranteeing its preservation.'

On the 8th of April, 1812, a treaty was entered into between Russia and Sweden, by which Norway, to which neither of the contracting parties had a shadow of claim, and which was attached, as an independent nation, to a country with which they were then at peace, was to be violently separated from Denmark, to which she had been united for ages, and annexed to Sweden, with which she had been for ages at enmity. Neither the partition of Poland, nor the purchase, in 1768, of the Island of Corsica by France, surpass this profligate compact, in insolent contempt for the restraints of international law. The British Ministry of the day gave in their adherence to it on the 3d of March, 1813. In the article containing our accession to the treaty, after various mutual stipulations, there is a *proviso* containing the following words:—'And his Majesty the King of Sweden engages 'that this union shall take place with every possible regard and 'consideration for the happiness *and liberty* of the people of 'Norway.' By the subsequent treaty of Kiel, concluded on the 14th of January, 1814, Denmark submitted to the dictation, and Norway was ceded. But, as may easily be supposed, the brave sons of old Norway did not passively submit to be turned over like cattle from one master to another. They rejected the hypocritical pretence that the intended transfer was for their benefit. They had no idea of a state of happiness that could be forced upon them by their hereditary enemies. They flew to arms. A diet was assembled, a constitution agreed to, and the Crown Prince of Denmark was, on the 19th of April, proclaimed king. The army of Sweden crossed the frontier; actions were fought. The British navy—then for the last time let us hope, the instrument of unjust aggression, and the assailer of national independence—appeared on the coast to perform the melancholy office of starving a brave people into submission by means of a blockade. When it was found that England had declared against them, the hope of successful resistance was abandoned. On the 14th of August a convention was signed at Moss, by which it was stipulated that the King of Sweden should accept the existing constitution; *and that no alteration should be made therein but in concert with the Diet.* On the 29th of October the Norwegian Diet resolved 'That 'Norway is to be united to Sweden, with the preservation of its 'constitution, subject to such necessary alterations as the welfare 'of the country may require, *to be considered and determined on by 'the Diet;*' and, on the 10th of November, oaths of fidelity were taken by the Diet, and the Crown Prince of Sweden delivered

Digitized by Google

to the President *the King's promise of governing according to the national laws.*

In 1821 there were some indications of that promise having been forgotten. In the Storthing of that year, a bill had been introduced which had been twice refused by the King, but which would, on passing a third time, become law. It was for the abolition of hereditary nobility in Norway. 'The feeble remains of 'that class were of foreign, and almost all of recent origin, and, 'with few exceptions, had no property to maintain a dignified 'station in society.' Large bodies of military were moved towards Christiania, for the purpose of intimidation. The greatest excitement prevailed. The fate of the constitution hung on the decision. The bill passed and became law. Propositions have since been made, in the King's name, with as little success, in almost every Storthing, to establish a new hereditary nobility—to vest in the King an absolute *veto*, and to give him the power of naturalization; in other words, to enable him to fill all offices in Norway with Swedes. Further symptoms of jealousy were manifested during the past year. The Storthing was suddenly dissolved in July, to the great hinderance of public and private business; for the budget had not passed, and many bills were in progress. The Storthing took measures for asserting its dignity. By the 'ground law,' three days' notice must be given by the King, of his intention to dissolve. For the neglect of this preliminary step, the Count Lövenskjold, minister for Norwegian affairs, was responsible. Avoiding any collision with the Crown* itself, they impeached the minister. The trial took place in September; he was found guilty, and fined. An extraordinary Storthing has since been held, which we believe passed off amicably.

The reason of the hostility so perseveringly shown on the part of the Government of Sweden is plain enough. The remarkable prosperity of Norway—the elasticity with which her resources have sprung up under the invigorating influence of freedom—the developement of her industry—the increase of her population—the surprisingly high state of her credit, manifested in some late loans—all this has had its effect on the minds of the neighbouring people: and the Swedes seem to be fast hastening to the opinion, that the predominating power of their aristocracy is not the readiest way of obtaining the ordinary results of good government. Since 1815, the improvement in the condition of Sweden has been but

* The King is popular. It is well understood in Norway that their enemies in Sweden are the nobility.

Digitized by Google

slow. Accordingly, in 1834, numerous petitions were addressed by the middle classes to the King for various reforms—for the extension of the right of election—for the assembling of all the orders in one Chamber, and the formation of a second Chamber, as in Norway—for conferring eligibility on a large middle class of proprietors not belonging to either of the Orders—for voting by ballot in the Diet—and for putting an end to mercantile monopolies, which still greatly fetter the action of industry. These petitions were also brought forward in the Diet, in the form of motions, and referred to committees, but, of course, were all ultimately rejected. The example has been attended with a better effect in Denmark. In 1832, a committee was appointed to frame a system of representation. On the 28th of May, 1834, the result of their labours was promulgated. Four provincial states were created, with a representative Chamber in each. The members have the right of initiating propositions, and of examining and deciding on those of Government. There is no appeal to any other Chamber. They are elected for six years, and meet every two. There is no feudal classification of orders, and there are other points of similarity with the Norwegian Assembly. The franchise and qualification are high; and as they are excluded from the right of voting taxes, this scheme can be considered as little more than a mode of training the people to the management of the representative system; and, consequently, of preparing them for a greater share of power. The necessity of control on the executive is, however, but slightly felt in Denmark,—so mild has been the government; and the sovereigns of that country can now boast of this further and remarkable distinction, that having received from the people, seeking shelter from the tyranny of an aristocracy, the voluntary surrender of their privileges, and having exercised unchecked power with great forbearance and liberality, they have freely undertaken to qualify them for a restoration to their rights, by establishing such institutions as shall teach how to use these rights wisely. But these are only parts of that great system of constitutional government, which is gradually forming throughout Europe, and which the old feudal, or more recent military governments, cannot be expected to look upon otherwise than with disfavour. The French Revolution, rushing, if we may so speak, over the feudalism of the continent with the rapidity and intensity of an American forest-fire, scorched or destroyed the ancient growth, and quickened the seeds of a new vegetation. Since that period, but especially between the years 1810 and 1820, the peasantry in many of the continental states have been freed from arbitrary exactions and sundry badges of feudal servitude; in others their

Digitized by Google

burdens have been much lightened, and their general condition improved. To the limited monarchies of France, Belgium, and Holland, have been added six German states, whose constitutional forms seem to exist more for the purpose of reminding the nations of promises yet to be fulfilled, than for their own intrinsic utility. Spain, Portugal, and even Greece, after ages of slavery, are going through the difficult ordeal of learning how to govern themselves. Germany, so enlightened, thoughtful, and prudent, and consequently so much more ripe for freedom, cannot long remain in the background. Italy must one day again raise her head from the dust; though it must be confessed that neither there, nor throughout the Austrian dominions in general, does the germ of political improvement show any signs of speedy activity. That the absolutists, and those who side with them, should feel hostility towards those states where limitations are placed on undue authority, is most natural; and this feeling towards Norway, on the part of Sweden, is not likely to be diminished as long as the preponderating power of that Government continues in the hands of the nobility and the clergy.

But, to return to the country, which has perhaps outstripped all others in the difficult art of combining the greatest degree of public liberty, with the greatest amount of individual happiness:—The press is perfectly free. There is no duty on newspapers; and it was anticipated that the post-office would soon be burdened with the free conveyance of all periodical publications;—a measure which was lately negatived, only because the post-office revenue had been appropriated to certain specific purposes for the three years next ensuing. Upwards of twenty newspapers are published, six or seven in Christiania alone. In type and paper they are superior to the French and German, and are conducted with considerable ability. There is no tax on advertisements. From the importance attached to little local affairs, it is evident that the mass of the people, and not merely the educated few, are the purchasers. Mr Laing adds,—'The most entire freedom of discussion exists. 'Public men and public measures are handled freely, but I can-'not say injuriously or indecorously. A watchful eye is kept 'over the conduct of men in office. No neglect or abuse passes 'unseen or unnoticed; and the temperate but firm spirit with 'which controversies are carried on, the absence of any outrage 'on the private feelings of public men, even when their conduct 'is attacked and exposed, do honour to the good taste and good 'sense of the nation, and prove that a press as free as that of the 'United States may exist, without scurrility or brutal violation 'of the sanctity of private life. Such newspapers as the Ame-'rican people read would not find editors or readers in this

Digitized by Google

'country. The people are advanced beyond that state, in which 'nothing is intelligible to them that is not mixed up with party 'and personal feelings. This sound state of the public mind 'and of the press, may be ascribed in a great measure to the 'influence of the leading newspapers.'

On the subject of education, Mr Laing says, that it is widely diffused, but not carried far. 'It is provided for in the 'country parishes by an arrangement similar to that of Scot-'land. There are parochial schoolmasters, of whom some have 'fixed houses, others live six months in one locality and six in 'another. In some of these little communities there is a great 'degree of intelligence; but it is impossible, from the great ex-'tent of country, and its being inhabited in valleys or districts 'separated by uninhabitable, and often impassable ridges, that 'instruction can be equally brought to the doors of all. The 'means of providing it are good. A small tax is levied from each 'householder, besides a small personal payment from each adult.' An earnest attention is also paid to this object by the clergy, of whose duties and position in society we will now proceed to give Mr Laing's account.

The Norwegian Church is in principle and doctrine Lutheran; and remains as it was originally moulded after the subversion of Popery. It is essentially ceremonial; almost as much so as the Roman Catholic. The altar is decorated with crosses and images, and the priest, arrayed in embroidered robes of velvet, celebrates 'High Mass' under that name. To maintain the ceremonial with decent splendour, and the clergymen in a suitable station in society, it is necessary that the parishes should be large. The incomes of the clergy are derived from tithes, commuted into a payment of grain—glebe farms, one of which the widow has for her life—offerings, and dues. There are five Bishoprics. 'The 'patronage is in the hands of the Bishops and the Norwegian 'Council of State, of which a committee has charge of all the 'affairs of the church. The Bishop recommends, and the coun-'cil presents to the vacant livings; but every appointment, with 'all the applications and certificates of the candidates, with the 'grounds of preference of the party to whom the living is given, 'must be inserted in the protocol of the committee, which is ex-'amined and revised at each Storthing by a committee appointed 'for church affairs. There is a superintending power in Nor-'way, also, of the public, exerted through the press, which checks 'any abuse of patronage in civil or clerical appointments. There 'being no party spirit, as in England, confounding right and 'wrong, opinion is decidedly but temperately expressed on pub-'lic questions, which no individual in office, however high, can

Digitized by Google

'resist. This influence is more sound and effective in Norway 'than in any country in Europe in the present day.'

There is no dissent. This arises partly from the church having no temporal power; no political existence; no interests jarring with those of the other classes of the community. Another leading cause is the great consideration in which the rite of confirmation is held. 'There is a strict examination by the bishop, or 'rural dean, into the young person's knowledge of his moral and 'religious duties, his capacity, acquirements, and character; and 'it is only after a long previous preparation by his parish minister, 'equal almost to a course of education—the confirmants being 'instructed singly as well as in classes—that the individual is 'presented for this examination. The certificate of having passed 'this ordeal is considered as implying a capacity for discharging 'ordinary trusts and duties. Accordingly, "A confirmed shop-'boy wants a place." "Wanted, a confirmed girl who can cook," '—are the ordinary advertisements to or from that class of the 'community: and the not being confirmed would be held equi-'valent to not having a character, either from want of conduct, 'or of ordinary capacity. * * * This simple discharge of an un-'exceptionable duty shuts out dissent from the Norwegian Church.' The clergy are described as being laborious and zealous; and as a well educated body of men. In proportion to the other professional classes in the country, they are highly paid; and the Church has always been the first profession, to which all talent is naturally directed.

It appears, as above-mentioned, that widely as its first elements are spread, education is upon the whole on a low footing. The reasons are, the cost of maintaining a young man at the schools of preliminary instruction, which are but few, and afterwards at the distant University of Christiania. Besides which, there is no undefined demand for educated labour, in the medical, legal, and commercial professions, as in more thickly peopled and commercial countries; tending to raise the standard of intellectual proficiency through all classes of the community. Professional men bring up their sons to succeed them. The extent of the demand is easily recognised; and the supply is adjusted accordingly. Another cause is the absence of religious dissent. However much this may add to domestic happiness among a people, it must detract from their intelligence, acuteness, and value for religion. A land of conformity is one of apathy or superstition. Something of both is observable in Norway. A somewhat passive state of mind ensues where there are but few causes to produce collision. But the restrictions on the free exercise of trade and industry, which we are sorry to observe

Digitized by Google

still in existence, operate perhaps with the greatest force to depress general education. Before a person can enter upon any medical or legal employment—before he can buy or sell, or manufacture—he must obtain peculiar privileges from a corporate body. 'As the expense of preparation, and the small number of prizes to be 'obtained, place the higher and learned professions out of the reach 'of the main body of the people, as objects of rational ambition, for 'which they might endeavour to bestow superior education upon 'their children; so the restrictions and monopoly system shut 'them out from various paths and employments for which inge-'nuity, with ordinary useful education, might qualify them.' We cannot believe that the enlightened legislature of Norway will permit these fetters, forged by the old monopolists of the Hanseatic league, to rest much longer upon the industry and intelligence of their country.

Of the legal system, the leading feature is a Court of Reconcilement, held in every parish; before which every cause must be carried in the first instance. Of this court we approve in all respects, except in that by which it seems to have chiefly recommended itself to Mr Laing. As the parties are not allowed to make use of professional assistance, there cannot be that full investigation into the real merits of the case, on either side, which is obtained by means of that invaluable test of truth, a skilful cross-examination. It is the more necessary with respect to this tribunal; because in all the subsequent courts to which the case may be taken, no evidence is received but that which appears on the notes of the commissioner, detailing what took place before him. He is elected every third year by the resident householders, from among themselves; and holds his court once a-month.

The punishment of death was abolished by the Danish Government about the latter end of the last century—a measure of questionable expediency, especially in a country where the secondary punishments are imperfect. But the punishment which is among the most effective, and which forms one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the country, and affords the most unequivocal proof of the very high tone of thought and feeling pervading the whole people, is that of 'The loss of Ho-'nour.' That a punishment, which in other countries is often inadequate to impose a due check on the conduct of many among the higher orders of the community, should here be used as a means of restraint on the passions and evil dispositions of a whole people, is a phenomenon in social polity which seems almost Utopian; but it appears to be a matter of daily and familiar experience among the estimable inhabitants of Norway. The following are Mr Laing's observations on this subject:—

Digitized by Google

'"Loss of honour" has been, from the earliest times, a specified effective punishment in the criminal law of Norway, standing next in degree to loss of life. The possession of property naturally diffuses through all classes the self-respect, regard for character and public opinion, circumspection of conduct, and consideration for others, which flow from, or are connected with the possession of property, and render these influential on the morals, manners, and mode of thinking of the whole body of the people. The Norwegian peasant has never, like the Swede, the Dane, the Russian, or the German, crouched beneath the cudgel of the feudal Baron's bailiff. He has the feelings and proper pride of an independent man, possessed of property, and knowing nothing above him but the law. In real high-mindedness he is the Spaniard of the north. Among a people whose national character and social condition are so formed, who are scattered in small clusters only over the country, and whose business and occupations are of the most simple kind, the loss of honour is not an unmeaning nominal punishment, as it would be among our manufacturing population. There is, and always has been, much more of the real business of the country in the hands of the people, and transacted by themselves, than in any other country of Europe. They have not merely the legislative power and election of their Storthing, which is but a late institution; but, in all times, the whole civil business of the community has been in a great measure in their own hands. It appears to be the general spirit of the udal law, that the constituted legal authorities have rather a superintending, than a managing power. The division of udal property among heirs, the guardianship of estates belonging to minors, the settling disputes by the commission of mutual agreement, the provision for the poor, the support of roads and bridges, the regulations for the fisheries, the charge and conveyance of prisoners (as jails are only in the chief town of each province), the attendance on the courts of the district as valuators, arbiters, or jurymen, are among the affairs which devolve on the people under the superintendence of the legal authorities. The exclusion from these affairs and functions, which of course the legal sentence of loss of honour produces, is a punishment so severely felt, that there are instances of culprits, after that portion of their punishment, consisting in slavery for a certain period, had been completed, returning to their chains, committing on purpose some petty offence, rather than live as outcasts under the sentence of dishonour among their former friends. It is also a remarkable trait of the open, simple, manly disposition of this nation, that a criminal very rarely, when arrested, attempts to deny or conceal any part of the fact, and usually at once makes a full avowal of all particulars; even of those which could not be proved.'

The picture of this singular people would not be complete without some few particulars of their domestic habits and mode of life. The population is chiefly divided into proprietors who possess more land than they farm; and bonder, or peasant proprietors, who live on the produce of their own estates. The incomes of the former seldom exceed 800 or 900 dollars; though there are some who possess as much as three or four thousand

Digitized by Google

pounds sterling a-year. The Norwegian valleys, crowded with the bonder farms, with their look of plenty and completeness, vie with the richest and most beautiful in Scotland. 'The crops of 'grain so rich and yellow; the houses so substantial and thickly 'set; farm after farm without interruption, each fully enclosed 'and subdivided with paling; the grass fields of so lively a green, 'as free from weeds and rubbish, and as neatly shaven as a lawn 'before a gentleman's windows; every knoll, and all the back-'ground covered with trees, and a noble clear stream running 'briskly by,' form the usual features of the landscape. The farms are generally of about forty or fifty acres each, having besides a pasturage or grass tract in the 'fjelde' (moors), where all the cattle that can be spared are kept through the summer, until the crops are taken in; and upon these outfarms there are houses and a regular dairy. Others dwell by the side of the long and deep fiords, which penetrate many miles, in a winding course, into the interior of the country; 'each,' says Mr Laing, 'in his little land-locked bay, so shut in with rocks and woods, 'that it resembles a small mountain lake. The high-water mark 'on the white beach is the only indication that it belongs to the 'ocean. There, with his house at the foot of the rocks, a green 'spot for his cows and goats, and his little skiff at anchor before 'his door, is the fishing farmer, not so well off as the rest, because 'tempted to marry improvidently, by the precarious prospect of 'being able to maintain a family by fishing.' The agricultural bonder families live abundantly; for, in consequence of the want of commerce, and the restrictions on domestic trade, they have but few means of disposing of their surplus produce, and therefore not much inducement to save it. Sugar, tea, coffee, and a few other articles of foreign produce, are almost the only things that take money out of the pocket of the housekeeper; and the store for the whole year is laid in at once. Almost all articles of common use are manufactured at home, during the long winters which suspend in a great measure all agricultural employments. There is no want of intelligence among them. It is no uncommon thing to see an advertisement for a tutor or governess for a bonder family. The manner of living is very uniform among all classes; but it is not, by any means, incompatible with a superior degree of cultivation and refinement among the wealthier proprietors. Of this class, the following sketch gives a very agreeable idea:—

'There is something pleasing and picturesque in the primitive old-fashioned household ways of the Norwegian gentry. The family-room is what we may fancy the hall to have been in an English manor-house in Queen Elizabeth's days. The floor is sprinkled with fresh bright green leaves, which have a lively effect; every thing is clean

Digitized by Google

and shining; an eight-day clock stands in one corner, a cupboard in another; benches and straight-backed wooden chairs ranged around the room; and all the family occupations are going on, and exhibit curious and interesting contrasts of ancient manners, with modern refinement, and even elegance. The carding of wool or flax is going on in one corner; two or three spinning-wheels are at work near the stove; and a young lady will get up from these old-fashioned occupations, take her guitar in the window-seat, and play and sing, or gallopade the length of the room with a sister, in a way that shows that these modern accomplishments have been as well taught as the more homely employments. The breakfast is laid out on a tray at one end of this room, which is usually spacious, occupying the breadth of the house, and lighted from both sides. People do not sit down to this meal, which consists of slices of bread and butter, smoked meat, sausages, dried fish, with the family tankard, generally of massive silver, full of ale, and with decanters of French and Norwegian brandy, of which the gentlemen take a glass at this repast. This is the breakfast of old times in England. The coffee is taken by itself an hour or two before, and generally in the bedroom. While the gentlemen are walking about, conversing and taking breakfast, the mistress is going in and out on her family affairs, servants enter for orders, neighbours drop in to hear or tell the news, the children are learning their catechism, or waltzing in the sunbeams in their own corner; and the whole is such a lively animated scene, without bustle or confusion, all is so nice and bright, and the manners of people towards each other in family intercourse are so amiable, and with such a strain of good breeding, that the traveller who wishes to be acquainted with the domestic life of the Norwegians, will find an hour very agreeable in the family-room.'

Our limits will not permit us even to allude to the many other interesting subjects scattered through Mr Laing's book, some of which—as the mode of farming, the system of corn-banks, the unchecked distillation of potatoes, and the manner of supporting and employing the houseman and agricultural labourer, their prospects and condition—are important elements in the constitution of society as there existing. We must content ourselves with one more extract, relating to the life of the bonder, and other general characteristics of this singular people.

'If there be a happy class of people in Europe, it is the Norwegian bonder. He is the owner of his little estate: he has no feu-duty or feudal service to pay to any superior. He is the king of his own land, and landlord as well as king. His poor-rate and tithes are too inconsiderable to be mentioned. His scat or land-tax is heavy, but every thing he uses is in consequence so much cheaper; and he has that which renders the heaviest tax light,—the management of it by his own representatives, and the satisfaction of publicity and economy in its application. He has the satisfaction of seeing, from Storthing to Storthing, that the taxes are diminishing, and the public debt paying off. He is well lodged; has abundance of fuel; and that quantity of land, in general, which does not place him above the necessity of personal labour,

Digitized by Google

but far above want or privation, if sickness or age should prevent him from working. He has also no class above him; nobody who can look down upon him, or whom he or his family look up to either to obtain objects of a false ambition, or to imitate out of a spirit of vanity. He has a greater variety of food than the same class in other countries; for besides what his farm produces, which is mostly consumed in his housekeeping, the fjelde, the lakes and rivers, and the fiords, afford game, fish, and other articles. He has also variety of labour, which is, perhaps, among the greatest enjoyments in the life of a labouring man: for there is recreation in change. His distant seater,* his wood-cutting for fuel, his share of the fishery in the neighbouring river or lake, give that sort of holiday work which is refreshing. His winter toil is of the same kind; as steady agricultural labour in the field is out of the question. It consists in making all the implements, furniture, and clothing that his family may require; thrashing out the crop, attending to the cattle, distilling his potatoes, brewing, and driving about to fairs or visits. The heaviest part of it is driving wood out of the forests, or bog hay from the fjelde. He has no cares for his family, because he knows what their condition will be after his death. He knows that his wife succeeds to him, and as long as she lives unmarried the only difference made by his death is, that there is one less in the family. On her death or second marriage, he knows that each of his children has a right to a share of his property; and according to their number he makes his arrangements for their either living on the land as before, or dividing it, or for being settled in other occupations, and taking a share of the value when it comes to be divided.

'There is no circumstance in the condition of the people of this country which strikes the observer more than the great equality of all classes, not only in houses, furniture, diet, and the enjoyment of the necessaries and comforts of life, but in manners, habits, and character: they all approach much more nearly to one standard than in any other country, and the standard is far from being a low one as to character, manners, and habits. In these the educated and cultivated class are, to English feelings at least, far above the higher classes in other foreign countries. They seem to have more affinity to those of our own countrymen; but the lower classes appear to have made a nearer approach to the higher than in other countries. This is probably owing to the diffusion of property going on perpetually through all the ranks of society, and carrying down with it to the lower strata its humanizing influences upon the character, the civilisation, the self-respect, the moral restraint, the independence of spirit, and the amiable manners and consideration for others in domestic intercourse, even among the lowest of the people, which in other countries are found only among the classes in easy circumstances. The cause seems to be, that between the distribution and general dissemination of property by their peculiar law of succession, and the general simplicity of the way of living, a greater proportion of the people really are in easy circumstances than in any other country

* Tract of land on the moors.

Digitized by Google

in Europe. The alternate descent and ascent of property through the whole mass of society, like heat applied to the fluid in a cauldron, has brought the whole to a nearly equal temperature. All have the ideas, habits, and character of people possessed of independent property, which they are living upon without any care about increasing it, and free from the anxiety and fever of money-making or money-losing.'

The principle of equal partition of land among all the children, retained in Norway from the earliest period, prevailed also in England before the Conquest. A relic of it remains in the law of Gavelkind, still existing in Kent. The different effects produced on society by the retention of that law in the one country, and its general disuse in the other, are remarkable. In Norway, chiefly by its operation, a high standard of sufficiency has been preserved among the middle and labouring classes. Population has been prevented from increasing too rapidly by the fear which people have of falling below the general standard. There has, therefore, been a continual prevalence and diffusion of ease and well-being. But, on account of the absence of great inequalities of condition, and therefore of many of the usual stimulants to exertion, society has been kept at a low level. Great social freedom has indeed always existed, in consequence of the land being in the hands of the mass of the people; but there has been a want of ability, until a very recent period, to combine for the preservation of their political independence. During their earlier history, their political liberties were often variable and uncertain. After the union of their crown with that of Denmark, in 1380, it appears that the Danish nobility gradually encroached upon their privileges; for when, in 1660, the crown and the people combined against the nobility, and abolished the States in Denmark, a similar revolution also took place in Norway; and that country continued under absolute government until the establishment of its constitution in 1814. Their udal laws trained them in the management of their own affairs; and produced that feeling of self-respect which the possession of property, and of land in particular, is calculated to give. These, together with the civil institutions preserved or introduced whilst they were under the Danish crown, prepared them for the large measure of freedom to which they have now attained. The evil of their udal system is its tendency to obstruct the developement of intellect, and to keep society stationary. But since 1814 they have made great progress. Stimulants to mental activity are now no longer wanting. Their continual collision with Sweden, the problem of their internal restrictions on trade and commerce, the routine of their government, and the wholesome struggles always arising in a free state, will supply them. Their land will become more productive, by the appli-

Digitized by Google

cation of science to its cultivation; their trade will also be expanded. If we open our ports to their timber, which we may one day see accomplished, their wealth will increase. And, according to the experience of the last twenty years, wealth will not materially disturb the peculiarities of their social system.

ART. III.—1. *A Letter to the Right Honourable Viscount Melbourne, on the Causes of the Recent Derangement in the Money Market.* By ROBERT TORRENS, Esq. F.R.S. London: 1837.
2. *The Causes and Consequences of the Pressure upon the Money Market, with a Statement of the Action of the Bank of England from the 1st October, 1833, to the 27th December, 1836.* By J. HORSLEY PALMER, Esq. London: 1837.
3. *Reflections suggested by a Perusal of the Pamphlet of Mr Horsley Palmer.* By S. J. LOYD, Esq. London: 1837.
4. *Reply to the Reflections, &c., of Mr S. J. Loyd.* By J. H. PALMER, Esq. London: 1837.
5. *Observations on the Recent Statement of J. H. Palmer, Esq.* By SAMSON RICARDO, Esq. London: 1837.
6. *The Cause of the Present Money Crisis Explained, in Answer to the Pamphlet of* Mr HORSLEY PALMER. By W. BENNISON, Esq. London: 1837.
7. *A Defence of Joint-Stock Banks.* By DAVID SALOMONS, Esq. London: 1837.

THE commercial and pecuniary history of Great Britain during the last twelve months, deserves to be carefully studied and meditated. In January, 1836, trade and industry were generally believed to be in the most satisfactory condition. The country was perfectly tranquil, mercantile and monied men had the greatest confidence in each other, the foreign demand for our manufactures was great beyond all former precedent, all sorts of labourers had full employment, prices were moderate, and the Bank of England had above *seven* millions of coin and bullion in her coffers. Now, as every one knows, no political convulsion has taken place in the interval, the public tranquillity has never been for a moment disturbed, the home and foreign demand for our manufactures continued till recently to be as great as ever, the gloomy anticipations that were at one time entertained with respect to the late harvest have not been realized, and many important public works have been undertaken in the course of the past year. Such being the case, a person unacquainted with the circumstances would naturally conclude, that there must now be more confidence than ever,—that the extraordinary extension of manufactures and trade must, by making most foreign countries our

Digitized by Google

debtors, have determined the balance of payments in our favour to such an extent as to render the accumulation of bullion inconvenient to the Bank. But how reasonable soever these conclusions may appear to be, not one of them, we are grieved to say, would be consistent with the fact. Instead of increasing, confidence has been wellnigh destroyed, a great derangement has taken place in commercial speculations, and instead of being increased, the stock of bullion in the Bank has been reduced from above seven, to not more than three and a half millions, and that establishment has been placed in the greatest jeopardy! Such are some of the anomalous results we have lately witnessed. It is of the greatest importance that they should be satisfactorily explained; for, till this be done, it will be impossible to devise measures calculated to prevent their recurrence; or to hinder what seem well planned commercial speculations degenerating into mere gambling adventures. No wonder, therefore, that this matter should have excited the deepest interest, and that some of the ablest amongst our commercial and monied men should have publicly stated their views with respect to it.

There seems to be a very general, we might almost say universal, concurrence of opinion among those who have given any attention to the subject, that the late and present difficulties have mainly originated in something unsound in the state of the currency. Neither, as we apprehend, can there be a doubt as to the correctness of this conclusion. There might, indeed, and most probably would be, commercial revulsions, and a fall of the exchange, even though the currency were wholly metallic, or fluctuated exactly as a metallic currency would do; but there is not the slightest reason for supposing that they would be either half so frequent, or severe, as under the existing system. A mixed currency, or a currency of coin and paper supplied like that of England, is exposed to fluctuations in its amount, and capacity of transacting business, ten times greater than any that could attach to a purely metallic currency; or to a mixed currency fluctuating according to the demand for bullion. If the currency consisted wholly of gold, or if no additional supplies of paper could be obtained except upon the deposit of an equivalent amount of gold, no general rise of prices could take place, except when there was an influx of the precious metals; and these, as every one knows, cannot be accumulated in any one country to a much more considerable degree than in others. But when individuals or associations are allowed to issue notes, or paper fitted to serve all the purposes of money, not upon a deposit of bullion, but merely upon their receiving a promise to repay it, with interest, at some future period, a new and most powerful element of variation is brought into the field. The currency no longer fluctuates as it

Digitized by Google

would do, did it consist of bullion. Most provincial bankers never look to the state of the exchange in transacting their business, but merely to the state of prices and of credit among their customers. Suppose, to illustrate the principle, that the exchange is at par, that is, that bullion is neither leaving the country nor coming in: In this case, were the currency either metallic, or issued upon a metallic basis, it would neither be increased nor diminished, whatever might be the tendency to speculate, or the variation in the price of certain articles. But, under such circumstances, the existing currency of Great Britain might, and it is most probable would, fluctuate very greatly. When any thing occurs to occasion a rise in the price of corn, or of any other leading article; to allay any previous panic or discredit; or to increase the public confidence; the spirit of speculation is immediately at work, and an increase of the issues of the joint-stock, and private banks invariably follows. The Bank of England might not, and, it is probable, in such a case would not, make any addition to her issues. But the provincial banks, seeing the exchange at par, and paying but little attention at any time to its fluctuations, by which they are only indirectly and remotely affected, would certainly increase their issues, and be more liberal of accommodation. The impulse once given, *vires acquirit eundo.* The additional facilities for obtaining money, would enable individuals to keep back a portion of their produce from market, in anticipation of an advance; the public confidence, which is always greatest when prices are rising, and the supply of money is increasing, would be still further augmented; and this in its turn would, no doubt, lead to an additional issue of notes. A period of adventitious and deceitful prosperity would most likely follow, till at length the currency becoming overloaded, there would be a continued drain upon the Bank for gold for exportation; and this, by narrowing the circulation, in London, and increasing the difficulties in the way of obtaining pecuniary accommodation there, would be sure in the end to occasion a fall of prices, and a general state of discredit and embarrassment, and it may be bankruptcy.

It is plain, therefore, that the ultimate check of paying in gold, on demand, affords no security, in a country like this, for the most indispensable requisite in a properly constituted paper currency, viz.—that *it should vary in amount and value exactly as the currency would do, were it metallic.* On the contrary, it is clear that it may be increased, while a metallic currency would have been either stationary or diminished; and conversely, and that, consequently, it may occasion fluctuations in prices, and in the exchange, that would not otherwise have been heard of.

Were these only possible and contingent occurrences, still, as

Digitized by Google

they necessarily involve consequences that must, if realized, deeply prejudice the public interests, they ought to be most sedulously provided against. But the evil we have endeavoured to depict is not merely possible or probable, but present. We have not to deal with a contingent and future, but with an existing and urgent state of things. Neither is it of new or recent occurrence. On the contrary, the bankruptcy and ruin that overspread the country in 1792, and in 1825–1826, as well as our late and present difficulties, have all had the same origin; that is, they have all grown out of the defective and vicious principles on which our paper currency has been established.

It is not necessary, in order to get a sufficiently distinct view of the circumstances which occasioned the late and present difficulties, to go farther back than January, 1836. At that epoch the exchange was either at par or slightly in our favour,—showing consequently that the currency was at its proper amount, and that it ought neither to be increased nor diminished otherwise than through the influx or efflux of bullion. But while matters were in this situation, a peculiar combination of circumstances conspired to set on foot and inflame a wild and dangerous spirit of speculation. The favourite objects to which the public attention was directed, were the formation of companies for the construction of Railways, and the establishment of Joint-Stock Banks. The ruin of those concerned was the worst evil that could result from the formation of crude schemes of the former description, or from the undertaking of works that could not reasonably be expected to yield a profitable return. But it was quite otherwise with the rage for banks. Had they been only banks of deposit, their multiplication, how little soever it might have been required, could not have been productive of any considerable inconvenience. Unfortunately, however, they were not so restricted; and, besides undertaking the care of other people's money, they almost all set about issuing money of their own. The extent to which paper mints of this description were multiplied, during the early part of the past year, would hardly be believed by any one not conversant with the facts. From 1826, when the act authorizing the formation of joint stock banks in England and Wales passed, down to the 31st of December, 1835, being a period of ten years, sixty joint stock banks had been established in England and Wales, giving an average of six banks a-year. But in 1836 a new era began—a mania for joint stock banks suddenly grew up—and such was its violence that between the 1st of January and the 26th of November, 1836, no fewer than *forty-two* of these establishments had been organized and brought into competition with those previously existing!

Digitized by Google

In point of fact, however, the number of banks created during the past year was vastly greater than appears from this statement. We believe that, at an average, each of the forty-two new banks had from four to six branches; and as these branches transact all sorts of banking business, and enjoy the same credit as the parent establishment, from which they are frequently at a great distance, they are, to all intents and purposes, so many new banks; so that, instead of forty-two, it may be safely affirmed, that about *two hundred* new joint-stock banks were opened in England and Wales in 1836! It is of importance, too, to observe, that more than three-fourths of these banks issued notes payable on demand; that many of them had a very numerous proprietary; and that, whether justly or not, most of them enjoyed at their first outset the unlimited confidence of the public. The wonder, under such circumstances, certainly is not that their issues were increased, but that they were not much more increased than they actually have been. The subjoined statement shows the amount of their issues, and those of the private banks, since the publication of the quarterly returns in 1833.

Account of the aggregate amount of Notes circulated in England and Wales by Private Banks, and by Joint Stock Banks and their Branches, distinguishing Private from Joint Stock Banks. (From Returns directed by 3 and 4 William IV.)

Quarters ending.	Private Banks.	Joint Stock Banks.	Total.
	£	£	£
28th December, 1833.	8,836,803	1,315,301	10,152,104
29th March, 1834.	8,733,400	1,458,427	10,191,827
28th June, „	8,875,795	1,642,887	10,518,682
27th Sept. „	8,370,423	1,783,689	10,154,112
28th Dec. „	8,537,655	2,122,173	10,659,828
28th March, 1835.	8,231,206	2,188,954	10,420,160
27th June, „	8,455,114	2,484,687	10,939,801
26th Sept. „	7,912,587	2,508,037	10,420,623
26th Dec. „	8,334,863	2,799,551	11,134,414
26th March, 1836.	8,353,894	3,094,025	11,447,919
25th June, „	8,614,132	3,588,064	12,202,196
24th Sept. „	7,960,121	3,969,121	11,733,945
31st Dec. „	7,753,500	4,258,197	12,011,697

It appears from this table that the issues of the joint-stock banks have been increased between the 26th of December, 1835, and the 31st December, 1836, from L.2,799,551, to L.4,258,197, being an increase of L.1,458,646, or of above fifty per cent! And it will be recollected, that in January, 1836, when this increase began, the exchange was but slightly

Digitized by Google

in our favour, and that the currency was either full or very nearly so. What, therefore, was to be expected, but that the excessive multiplication of banks, and the addition to their issues, should depress the exchange and occasion a heavy drain for bullion? The difficulties that grew out of this state of things could not possibly take any one by surprise who is acquainted with the most obvious principles. The symptoms were glaringly obvious. '*The commonest observer must,*' as Mr Horsley Palmer has truly stated, '*have seen the gathering clouds and dreaded the consequences.*'

But we should vastly underrate the effect of this sudden and unprecedented multiplication of banks, if we estimated their influence on the currency, by the mere addition they made to the issue of notes. This, in truth, was the least part of their effect. The immense mass of bills, checks, and other substitutes for money, which they were the means of putting into circulation, were of themselves far more than sufficient to occasion a redundancy of the currency, though they had not issued a single note. It is true that their excessive multiplication led to the suppression of a few private banks; and to a contraction of the issues and business of several of those that still went on. But the preceding table shows that the diminution of the private, was much less than the increase of the joint-stock issues; and, with respect to the other part of their business, there can be no comparison. The facilities given by the joint-stock banks to the discount of even the worst species of paper, the loans they made on the pledge of their own stock, combined with the economized use of money resulting from many thousands of their partners using checks who, for the most part had previously used notes or coins, all contributed to swell the amount of currency beyond all reasonable bounds;—to add very powerful incentives to the spirit of speculation, and, in the last place, to depress the exchange, and bring about that drain for bullion that has so much reduced the stock in the coffers of the bank.

Having thus briefly endeavoured to exhibit the extraordinary increase of joint-stock banks in 1836, we have next to enquire into the contemporary conduct of the Bank of England. Early in the year, it became obvious to every one acquainted with the mere elementary principles of money and commerce, that the inordinate increase of joint-stock banks would very speedily render the currency redundant; and that, unless the Bank acted with equal sagacity and vigour, she would be placed in a situation of extreme hazard. The stock of bullion in the Bank's coffers at the commencement of the year was, as already stated, little above *seven* millions; being about *three* millions under the proportion, as compared with her liabilities, which was necessary, according to the evidence of Mr H. Palmer in 1832, to give her

Digitized by Google

adequate security. And while her bullion was thus reduced, all sorts of wild and delusive projects were afloat; every day was giving birth to a new bank in some part of the country; vast quantities of American and other securities were, at the same time, brought for sale into our markets; and, in March, one of the principal officers of the Bank of the United States arrived in London for the avowed purpose of negotiating a loan, which he effected, on behalf of that establishment! The fancied security of the greater number of merchants and money dealers, and the reckless eagerness with which they contracted new engagements, while they were thus being brought to the very edge of a precipice, is a fact as instructive as it is humiliating. That a dangerous crisis was at hand was, however, clear to every one not a slave to mere routine practice, or who had the slightest knowledge of principle. The leading Bank directors were sensible of the coming storm; and the question, whether they acted in this emergency prudently and vigorously, and with a due regard to the safety of the Bank and the public interests, is one of equal difficulty and importance; and forms one of the principal topics discussed in the numerous pamphlets quoted at the head of this article. The conduct of the Bank during the past year has been ably defended by Mr Horsley Palmer, and ably impugned by Mr Loyd. Perhaps it will be found that it is of a mixed character; and that in some parts it is censurable, whilst in others it deserves to be applauded. In order the better to enable the reader justly to appreciate the points under discussion, we subjoin the following table of the issues, liabilities, and bullion of the bank from January, 1836, to March, 1837.

Quarters ending	Circulation.	Deposits.	Securities.	Bullion. Gold.	Bullion. Silver.
	£	£	£	£	£
12th January, 1836.	17,262,000	19,169,000	31,954,000	6,625,000	451,000
9th February, ,,	17,427,000	18,366,000	31,022,000	6,957,000	514,000
8th March, ,,	17,739,000	16,966,000	29,806,000	7,153,000	548,000
5th April, ,,	18,063,000	14,751,000	27,927,000	7,239,000	562,000
3d May, ,,	18,154,000	13,747,000	27,042,000	7,214,000	568,000
31st May, ,,	18,051,000	13,273,000	26,534,000	7,088,000	575,000
28th June, ,,	17,899,000	13,810,000	27,153,000	6,784,000	578,000
26th July, ,,	17,940,000	14,495,000	28,315,000	6,351,000	575,000
23d August, ,,	18,061,000	14,796,000	29,345,000	5,766,000	559,000
20th September, ,,	18,147,000	14,118,000	29,406,000	5,211,000	508,000
18th October, ,,	17,936,000	13,324,000	28,845,000	4,810,000	447,000
15th November, ,,	17,543,000	12,682,000	28,134,000	4,558,000	375,000
13th December, ,,	17,361,000	13,330,000	28,971,000	4,545,000	
14th January, 1837.	17,422,000	14,354,000	30,565,000	4,287,000	
12th February, ,,	17,868,000	14,230,000	31,085,000	4,032,000	
7th March, ,,	18,178,000	13,260,000	30,579,000	4,048,000	

Digitized by Google

It is seen from the account of bullion in the coffers of the Bank in this table, that it was increased above L.700,000 in the quarter ended the 5th of April, 1836, when it began to fall off. It further appears, that the issues of the Bank were increased during the same period about L.800,000. Under ordinary circumstances, such an increase, being nearly identical with the increase of bullion in the Bank, would have been quite unobjectionable; but considering the peculiar position in which the Bank was then placed, we are clear that, instead of increasing, she ought to have narrowed her issues. This would certainly have been, as Mr H. Palmer has stated, acting in anticipation of events likely to occur; and have violated the principle by which the Bank professes to be guided of allowing the public to regulate the currency for itself through the demand for bullion. But there are not many absolute principles; that is, there are not many that will admit of being rigidly enforced at all times and under all circumstances; and we do not think that this is one of that small number. Had the Bank been the sole issuer of currency, the principle might and ought to have been enforced; but under the actual circumstances of the case it should have been modified. It is true, that to have acted in the way we have suggested, would have been 'anticipating.' But the stock of bullion in the Bank was below its proper level; and there was not, and could not be so much as the shadow of a doubt, that the waters were already out, and the winds beginning to blow. Every moderately well-informed man, and none more clearly than Mr Horsley Palmer, foresaw the coming tempest; and, on the same principle that a prudent commander, on the first symptoms of an approaching storm, reefs his sails, lowers his topmasts, locks down his hatches, and sets his pumps in order, ought the Bank to have anticipated and prepared for the crisis she knew she could not possibly escape. Every newspaper that got within her walls contained accounts of the opening of new banks in all parts of the country; there was a rapid and all but universal rise of prices; every day was adding to the enormous mass of American securities and bills; the exchange was gradually falling; and every thing portended, in a manner not to be mistaken, the near approach of the period when the Bank would be called upon to stand in the gap, and to give gold for paper till the currency had again recovered its value. The danger she had to encounter was alike imminent and certain; and it surely was the bounden duty of the Bank to have made every preparation for coming successfully out of the trial to which she was to be exposed.

By adding to her issues from January to April, 1836, the Bank certainly contributed to strengthen the joint-stock mania, and tempted well-conducted banks also unduly to extend their issues. The Bank, they might have said, upon whom the brunt of any

Digitized by Google

derangement must fall, is increasing her issues; the currency is therefore clearly deficient, and we may safely increase ours. Hence it is clear that the adherence of the Bank to principle was in this instance productive of mischief. And it is the more to be regretted, as the Bank is seldom equally inflexible on the other side. She has, on various occasions, yielded to the pressure of external circumstances, and increased her issues in the anticipation of events, when she well knew that such increase was contrary to her own rule and to strict principle.

When, however, the exchange did set fairly against the country in the latter end of April, the Bank took the most proper methods for meeting the drain for bullion. She, it will be borne in mind, has, whether beneficially or not we need not stop to enquire, a sort of double character. Besides issuing notes in exchange for bullion, she issues them in discount of mercantile paper, and on deposits of convertible securities, &c. Now, it is clear that when paper begins to get scarce in the metropolis, in consequence of a demand for bullion on the Bank, there will be a greater demand upon her for discounts; and if she do not contrive, in one way or other, to check this demand, it will be impossible for her to reduce the issues, or, consequently, to lessen the demand for gold. There are, however, only two ways in which the Bank can effect this necessary contraction of discounts. She must either reject great numbers of the bills sent in to be negotiated; or she must raise the rate of interest so as to make fewer be sent in. The latter is uniformly almost the wisest course. If the Bank proceed by rejecting bills she exposes herself to the imputation of acting partially and unfairly; and though such charges are generally made without the least foundation, she can hardly help doing what is almost as bad, that is, acting arbitrarily and capriciously. The parties whose bills are rejected have frequently good grounds for complaints; and they never fail to ascribe the worst motives to the Bank, and to proclaim that she is answerable for all the difficulties in which they may be involved. But though nothing of this sort happened, still the rejection of bills to narrow the circulation should never be resorted to except in cases of necessity. The contraction ought, in as far as possible, to be brought about by a general and equal pressure, and not by throwing the whole burden on the shoulders of Messrs A, B, and C, who should bear no more than their fair proportion. The Bank directors, impressed with a sense of the justice of what has now been stated, raised the rate of interest in June from four to four and a half per cent; but as the drain for gold still continued, and the increasing demand for discounts prevented the contraction that would otherwise have been effected, the interest was still further raised in August to five per cent, at which rate it has since continued.

Digitized by Google

The effect of this rise in the rate of interest on the part of the Bank, intended as it was known to be to assist her efforts to narrow the currency, so as to meet the drain for bullion, had a powerful influence. The market rate of interest in the metropolis immediately rose to the rate fixed by the Bank, or a little higher; a feeling of suspicion and distrust was generated; American securities ceased to be in demand; a severe check was given to the abusive and dangerous practice of rediscounting, which had been carried on to an enormous extent by many of the country banks; and not a few of the latter began to find themselves in a very perilous situation. It is, however, of importance to observe, that, though speaking generally, the engagements and issues of the private banks have been very considerably diminished, this does not appear to have been the case with the joint-stock banks. On the contrary, the latter went on increasing their issues, as if bullion, instead of leaving, had been continuously flowing into the coffers of the Bank;—the amount of their notes in circulation during the quarters ended the 26th of March, 25th June, 24th September, and 31st December, 1836, being respectively L.3,094,025, L.3,588,064, L. 3,969,121, and L. 4,258,197;—making an increase of L.1,164,172, or at the rate of no less than *thirty-seven* per cent; though from April to September there had been a heavy drain of bullion from the country, and none had been imported from September to December. *This*, were there nothing else to allege against them, strikingly exemplifies the extreme inexpediency of vesting the power to issue paper in numerous bodies, having conflicting interests, and being only remotely affected by the exchange. Perhaps, however, it will be said that they only followed the example set by the Bank of England, and that her issues, which amounted to L.18,063,800 on the 5th of April, when the drain was beginning to take effect, were hardly at all diminished in the subsequent months when it was at its height, and amounted to L.18,061,000 on the 23d August. But this is at most only a non-reduction, and can never be alleged as an excuse for a great and rapid increase. In truth and reality, however, the whole statement is fallacious. In estimating the issues of the Bank of England, we must, if we would arrive at any sound conclusions, separate between her London and her country issues. The latter depend upon entirely different principles, and are noways connected with the former. They principally come in the place of the paper of country banks that has been by agreement withdrawn to make room for them, and they are always *less* in amount than the paper so withdrawn. It is plain, therefore, that the Bank may consistently increase her country circulation at the very time that she is exerting herself to

Digitized by Google

diminish the circulation generally; and conversely. It is by the state of the London circulation, of which she has a monopoly, and which becomes a standard for the rest of the empire, that her proceedings with respect to the currency are to be estimated. And if we refer to this, which is the only unerring test, it will be found that the London circulation, which amounted on the 1st of October, 1833, to L.16,500,000, was reduced, on the 27th of December, 1836, to L.13,500,000; being a deduction of three from sixteen and a half millions, or of eighteen per cent. During the past year the London and country issues were respectively as follows:—

1836.			
March 29.	London issues, . . .	14,400,000	
	Branch Banks, do. . . .	3,600,000	
			18,000,000
June 28.	London, ...	14,200,000	
	Branch Banks, . . .	3,700,000	
			17,900,000
Sept. 27.	London, ...	14,500,000	
	Branch Banks, . . .	3,600,000	
			18,100,000
Dec. 27.	London, ...	13,500,000	
	Branch Banks, . . .	3,800,000	
			17,300,000

—Mr Palmer's *Tract*, p. 17.

It is clear from this statement that the London issues of the Bank were materially reduced during the course of last year. Whether they should have been more reduced, is a point as to which we shall afterwards have something to say. But of the fact that they were reduced there can be no manner of doubt; and had the issues of the joint-stock and other banks been reduced in the same proportion, or had they even continued stationary at their amount on the 25th of March, there is reason to think that the drain for bullion might have been easily dealt with, and that the stock of bullion in the coffers of the Bank would have been at this moment at least double what it really is.

However, despite the contrary action of the joint-stock banks, the contraction of the London circulation, the rise in the rate of interest to five per cent, combined with 'the moral apprehen-'sion it excited in all prudent minds that there was mischief abroad,' produced, as already stated, a powerful reaction. The blind and undistinguishing confidence that had previously prevailed, was shaken, and it became much less easy to obtain pecuniary accommodation in London; and as the number of bills afloat, and the facilities for obtaining fresh discounts were both reduced, prices began rapidly to give way. In consequence of this altered

Digitized by Google

state of things, the drain upon the Bank for gold gradually declined; and since the 1st of September there has been either *none demanded for exportation*, or *none worth notice.* *

It is true, however, that there has been, between the 1st of September and the present moment (30th March, 1837,) a reduction of from L.1,500,000 to L.2,000,000 in the stock of bullion held by the Bank; and that this heavy reduction has not been accompanied by any corresponding diminution even of her London issues. This apparent contradiction of all sound principle, and especially of the peculiar principle by which the Bank professes to regulate the amount of paper afloat, has been

---

* The following table, prepared at the Custom House, is said to exhibit the export of bullion from London in 1836. But considerable quantities are exported without being entered, and it cannot be much depended on. The exports to the United States principally take place from Liverpool.

Quantity and Value of the Precious Metals Exported to Foreign Countries in 1836:—The Value calculated at the Average Price of Bullion in London in 1836.

Countries to which Exported.	Gold in Bars and Coin.	Value at L.3, 17s. 9d. per oz.	Silver in Bars and Coin.	Value at 4s 11¼d. per oz.	Total Value.
	oz.	£	oz.	£	£
France, ...	157,886	613,780	2,310,210	575,146	1,188,826
Rotterdam, ...	21,512	83,288	134,665	33,526	116,814
Belgium, ...	...	...	22,000	5,473	5,473
Hamburgh, ...	94,864	368,783	195,384	48,642	417,425
Spain and the Canaries,	1,243	4,932	121,091	30,146	35,078
Portugal, ...	...	...	323,396	80,512	80,512
St Petersburg, &c. .	...	...	56,430	14,049	14,049
Malta and Zante, . .	...	...	101,500	25,269	25,269
Mogadore, ...	250	972	4,000	997	1,969
Alexandria, ...	253	984	...	...	984
N. S. Wales and Van Diemen's Land,	2,645	10,282	43,864	10,920	21,202
Australia (Swan River), &c.	117	455	3,469	793	1,248
Cape of Good Hope, &c.	7,081	27,528	23,128	5,759	33,287
Mauritius and Ceylon,	34,661	134,745	161,292	40,155	174,900
Batavia and Singapore,	...	...	8,420	2,018	2,018
India, ...	12,728	49,480	44,000	10,954	60,434
Canton, ...	...	...	710	176	176
West Indies, Bahia, Pernambuco, &c.	18,239	70,904	285,490	120,866	191,770
New York, ...	10,655	41,421	20,000	4,979	46,400
Total, . . .	362,134	1,407,992	3,859,049	960,743	2,368,735

London, March, 1837.

Digitized by Google

severely censured by Mr Loyd and others. But though we agree with Mr Loyd in thinking that the issues of the Bank have not been sufficiently contracted since September last, we do not admit that the diminution of bullion in her coffers in the interval, while her paper remains undiminished, affords any solid ground on which to impeach her management. When it is affirmed that the issues of the Bank ought to be governed by the influx and efflux of bullion, reference is always, either expressly or tacitly, made to its influx or efflux from or to foreign parts. The fact of an unusual supply of bullion being required in consequence of the discredit of the local currency, or of any other cause in a particular part of the country, would not warrant the Bank making any alteration in the amount of her circulation in London. An internal demand of this sort might take place when the exchange is in our favour; and when, therefore, the issues of the Bank should be increased. The state of the exchange is generally, in fact, the only thing that should be looked to in determining whether the currency be at its proper level. And hence, whatever changes may take place in the distribution of bullion at home, cannot, so long as they do not depress the exchange, afford any room or ground for diminishing the issues of the Bank.

Now, the greater part by far of the bullion withdrawn from the Bank, since September, has not been abstracted in consequence of the depression of the foreign exchanges, but through discredit at home. The abuse of every sound principle in the conduct of banking had been, if possible, carried to a greater extent in Ireland than in England; and the reaction and discredit was, of course, felt more severely there than here. There was scarcely, indeed, a bank in Ireland of which suspicions were not entertained; and in the course of October a run began upon most of the Irish banks, which in the ensuing month proved fatal to the Agricultural Bank—a great joint-stock association, established about two years before, and which had about *thirty* branches. It was not supposed, while this run was in progress, that Bank of England notes were legal tender in Ireland; and the Bank of Ireland, the Provincial Bank, &c., consequently made every effort to provide themselves with gold coin; which they could only do by selling securities in London, and then demanding specie from the Bank of England. The sum so obtained exceeded a million sterling; and the events in Ireland, and other circumstances, having excited an incipient degree of discredit in various parts of England, the bankers began very generally to increase their reserves of Bank notes and coins. This is the true history of the diminution of the stock of bullion in the Bank's coffers since the 1st of September last. There was not, as Mr

Digitized by Google

Loyd seems to suppose, any doubt whatever as to the causes of the run, and the destination of the bullion drawn from the Bank. It is clear, too, that the latter could not have stopped a drain of this sort by simultaneously contracting her issues. On the contrary, the fair presumption is, that a measure of this sort, by rendering pecuniary accommodation from the metropolis still more difficult to be obtained, would have increased the discredit in Ireland, and the provincial parts in England, and occasioned a heavier drain for bullion.

But though we are thus clearly of opinion that the internal drain for gold now alluded to would not of itself have warranted the Bank directors in reducing the circulation, we are at the same time ready to admit, that there were other circumstances which should have led them, since October, to act in the way of contraction much more vigorously and systematically than they have done. The stock of bullion in the Bank was reduced, in October, to about *five* millions;—being less than half the sum she ought to possess, to place her in a state of security; the efflux of bullion to foreign parts had no doubt ceased, but none had begun to be imported; the exchange was wavering, and there was, besides, every reason to suppose that, should confidence be again restored, there would be a fresh over-issue; and that consequently the Bank, with narrowed and insufficient means, would have to withstand a renewed drain. Under these circumstances the Bank ought undoubtedly to have narrowed her issues; and to accomplish this, she should have raised the rate of interest to six or seven per cent, or more, had it been necessary, to lessen the pressure upon her for money.

The Bank directors may, no doubt, reply, and in fact have replied, that they are aware their issues should have been limited; but that they have not been at liberty any time, since the middle of October, to follow the course which a respect to principle would have pointed out, and they were most anxious to follow; but have been compelled, by a regard to other interests, reluctantly to deviate from it. We doubt, however, whether this apology can be sustained, except in a very recent instance. The first duty of the Bank, and that to which all other considerations ought, speaking generally, to be at all times subservient, is the regulation of the currency, so as to preserve a sufficient supply of bullion in her coffers. Circumstances, which the directors are unable to control, have already hindered, and may again hinder, them from accomplishing this; but this is the one object to the attainment of which their efforts should be systematically directed. The monopoly of the London circulation was given them merely as a means by which they might the

Digitized by Google

more easily bring it about. The protection of commerce, and the support of credit is no part of their duty. It may reasonably indeed be expected that they should render to both all the assistance in their power; but the *protection of the public* from injurious fluctuations in the quantity and value of money, and the maintenance of an adequate stock of bullion, ought to be the paramount consideration. We do not go the length of saying, that the Bank ought never, under any circumstances, to postpone this consideration to others; but these would require to be very peculiar, indeed, and such as do not seem to exist in the present instance.

We take for granted, from the publicity they have obtained, that our readers are sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances that led to the downfal of the Northern and Central Bank. This bank, which had been established at Manchester so late as 1834, with a paid-up capital of above L.700,000, and about *forty* branches, had so grossly mismanaged (to use no harsher phrase) its business, that, after getting itself involved in the greatest embarrassment, and exhausting every other resource, it was compelled to apply to the Bank of England for assistance; and had this been denied, it would have been obliged to stop payments. The Bank, anxious to avert a catastrophe of this sort, which, it was feared, might occasion a panic in Lancashire, came forward to the support of the embarrassed establishment, and made large advances on its account. Different opinions have been entertained as to the propriety of this interference on the part of the Bank; but we believe there is now a pretty general agreement among well-informed parties, that she ought not to have come forward. We have little doubt that this is a sound opinion. The interference of the Bank blinded the public to the real defects and practical working of a system as to which it ought to be well informed. It also established a most inconvenient precedent; for if the Bank interfere in one case of this sort, it is difficult to see on what grounds she can refuse to interfere in other cases; and if she become a *point d'appui*, on which all embarrassed joint-stock banks may fall back when they get into difficulties, it is plain that what little security we might otherwise have for their good management will be very much impaired. However, we might have excused the interference, had the assistance which the Bank of England undertook to render to the Northern and Central Bank been furnished without adding to, or keeping up the circulation at an improper amount. If the directors choose to sell Exchequer bills, the dead weight or other securities, and to apply the produce of such sales in propping up bankrupt mismanaged establishments, it is their affair and that of their pro-

Digitized by Google

prietors, and concerns no one else. But we agree entirely with Mr Loyd in thinking, that if the advances were made, as we suspect was the case, not from spare funds in the possession of the Bank, but by adding to the quantity of paper afloat, when the most obvious principles required that it should be diminished, the transaction was one for which it will be very difficult to find any valid excuse.

The Bank also interfered, and with much less reason, in the case of Messrs Esdaile. That the stoppage of the latter would have been injurious to the London bankers is, we believe, true; but it would not have been injurious either to the Bank or the public; and if the bankers anticipated any evil consequences from it, they should have taken the entire responsibility of winding up its affairs upon themselves, and not have pressed that duty upon the Bank.

The radical defect, in fact, in the constitution of the Bank, consists in its participating too much in the feelings and views of the mercantile class. It is managed by merchants, and we need not wonder that it should sympathize with them. It may, however, be inferred, with almost unerring certainty, that the Bank is acting on erroneous principles, when its conduct is warmly approved by the merchants, and conversely. Whenever the city articles of the metropolitan papers teem with eulogies on the conduct of the Bank, we may be quite certain that mischief is abroad. A merchant is anxious to get bills readily discounted at a low rate of interest; and his good or bad opinion of the Bank directors depends, in nine cases out of ten, on their readiness to negotiate the paper he lays before them. This might be a fair enough test of the liberality, though it would be none of the prudence or sagacity of the Bank, were she a bank of deposit only, and had nothing to do with the issue of notes. But in the actual situation of the Bank, her other business is, or at all events ought to be, subservient to her functions as an issuer and regulator of the currency. With her the *salus populi* should be the governing principle; and her liberality to the merchants should rarely begin till she has provided for the security of the public by amassing a stock of bullion equal at least to the third part of her liabilities.

We acknowledge that it is very difficult for parties in the situation of the Bank directors, to resist the solicitations and exaggerated representations of those among whom they live, and with whom their own interests are frequently identified. No doubt too, there may be, and have been, cases in which the public interest requires that they should give way to their solicitations, and when it would be wrong in them to abide strictly by principle. It is

Digitized by Google

their duty to compare one course of conduct with another; and if there be solid grounds for concluding that an adherence to principle on any particular emergency, would be productive of decidedly greater inconvenience and injury to the public generally, than can fairly be expected to result from a departure from it, does any one doubt that they should modify their action accordingly? We admit that this is a power very liable to be abused, and its exercise is always to be viewed with extreme suspicion; but still we do not see, so long as the present facilities for the increase of spurious credit are allowed to exist, how it could be denied to the Bank without involving the most serious consequences. The assistance recently afforded to certain houses engaged in the American trade is an example of this. Owing to the reckless imprudence with which their paper was negotiated by the money dealers in town and country, the houses in question were led to contract engagements to an enormous amount, and out of all proportion to their capital. But, from extreme and misplaced confidence there is but a step, and that not a difficult one, to unreasonable and unfounded distrust. The money dealers of London and the provincial bankers, finding they had gone too far on the one side, went, as on such occasions they uniformly do, immediately as far round in the opposite direction; and it soon became all but impossible for the parties referred to, to get their paper negotiated on any terms! In this situation they had nothing for it but to apply to the Bank. The latter, however, owed nothing to them; and had she interfered and increased her responsibilities, when she was so ill provided with bullion, merely that she might extricate Messrs A, B, and C from the abyss into which their folly and avarice had plunged them, her conduct would have been wholly indefensible. But, unfortunately, the downfal of the parties referred to would have compromised the public interests to an extent which those unacquainted with the circumstances would not easily imagine. Had the Bank refused to take their paper, bills to the amount of from L.8,000,000 to L.12,000,000, would have instantly ceased to be negotiable; and it is all but certain that the shock which such an event would have given to credit, would have produced an extent of bankruptcy and ruin, to be paralleled only by what followed the breaking up of the Mississippi scheme in France. Under these circumstances, the Bank, though with great reluctance, did come forward, and having provided as well as she could for her own ultimate security, and for the effectual reduction of the engagements of the tottering houses, consented to take their paper. That this proceeding will involve some increase of issue is certain; and the transaction is, in so far, objec-

Digitized by Google

tionable. It is, however, believed, and we think with good reason, that, owing to the extensive discredit that has taken place in the manufacturing districts, a channel has been created more than sufficient to take off all the additional paper the Bank will have to issue without allowing it to influence the exchange.

We hardly think that, in this instance, there can be any difference of opinion as to the conduct of the Bank. Had she not thrown herself into the breach the consequences would have been frightful. At the same time, however, we are disposed to think she might in some degree have anticipated this crisis, and have taken measures in the view of its coming on. The extent to which the American houses had been availing themselves of the facilities afforded by our present monetary system for the creation of spurious credit and confidence, have been well known for at least twelve months past; and for more than six months it has been known that they had traded very far beyond their means, and were involved in the most serious difficulties. More recently it began to be pretty obvious that they would have to fall back upon the Bank; and if she were satisfied of the policy of extending a helping hand to them, or even supposed she might be compelled, on public grounds, to assist them, she should have endeavoured to prepare herself beforehand, as well as she could, for such a contingency, by narrowing, as much as possible, her issues in other quarters. Hence we cordially agree with those who contend that the rate of interest should have been raised in September or October, or later, to 6 or 7 per cent. This would have made the richer class of merchants, manufacturers, and tradesmen reduce their demands for discounts to the lowest point, so that there would have been a larger amount of money to advance to others. Had the Bank raised the rate of discount when Government raised the interest on Exchequer bills, the latter measure would have had all the effect that was anticipated. Those who urged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to raise the rate of interest on the bills in question, did so principally in the view of enabling the Bank to sell them, and consequently to contract the circulation with the least inconvenience to the public; but it was quite clear, that if the Bank did not raise the rate of discount, when the rate of interest on Exchequer bills was raised, the only effect of selling the latter would be to occasion a corresponding increase in the applications for discounts—and such has turned out to be the fact. 'As the issues of the Bank,' to use Mr Loyd's words, 'do not appear to have been reduced, 'we must conclude that this measure has only served to enable 'the Bank to sell her Exchequer bills and increase her discounts, 'thus forcing upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer a rise in the

Digitized by Google

'rate of interest upon his unfunded debt, instead of charging 'an increased rate of discount upon commercial bills.'

It is certainly true, as Mr Palmer has remarked, that from September to the present time (30th March) no bullion, or next to none, has been demanded from the Bank for foreign remittance; but this, though an extenuation, does not seem to be any good justification of the refusal of the Bank to raise the interest. The deficiency of her treasure made it the bounden duty of the directors to persist, as far as possible, in a systematical, undeviating course of contraction, till bullion had begun to flow in a full continuous stream into their coffers. Had they been in possession of eight or ten millions of bullion, there would have been nothing to censure in their keeping interest at 5 per cent.

After all, however, it is most probable that the exchange will speedily become favourable; and that the Bank will be able to accumulate a sufficient stock of bullion without farther reducing her issues or raising interest. The fall that has taken place in the price of most articles since the first rise in the rate of interest, must, by fitting them the better for the foreign market, tend to bring about this result; which will be still further promoted by the shock given to credit, and the check to importation from abroad. These, no doubt, are merely probable events; and many things may occur to hinder them from being realized. We do not, therefore, think that this is a case in which success should atone for the omission of any thing that might have been done to render it more secure. We grant that the Bank could not help coming forward to the assistance of the American houses; but we think she should have counteracted whatever tendency to increase this might occasion by a corresponding action on the other side; that is, by raising the rate of discount and making money dearer.

On the whole, therefore, looking at the conduct of the Bank of England and the provincial banks, from the 1st of January, 1836, it appears to be sufficiently established—

First, That the excessive and unprecedented multiplication of joint-stock banks in the early part of last year, their competition with each other and with the previously existing banks, and the addition they made to the existing mass of money and of the substitutes for money, was the sole cause of the unfavourable exchange and of the heavy drain for bullion that began to operate upon the Bank of England in April, 1836—

Second, That though the Bank of England erred in not taking measures in anticipation of the drain, her measures to stop it after it did set in were judiciously contrived, and occasioned its cessation by the 1st of September—

Digitized by Google

Third, That the Bank of England is not to be blamed for not reducing her issues in consequence of the discredit in Ireland in November, and the consequent drain of bullion to that part of the empire; and

Fourth, That the conduct of the Bank since October or November seems, except in the case of the American houses, to have been determined too much by a regard to the supposed exigencies of commerce; and that there has not been that steady effort to contract her issues in order to occasion an influx of bullion, which the inadequate supply of treasure in her coffers rendered imperatively necessary.

If we be right in the above conclusions, it follows that we have no security, unless some radical change be made in the law relating to joint-stock and private banks, against the recurrence of a state of things similar to that we have just witnessed; or it may be one much worse. We have already seen that during the whole period from April to September, when the exchange was notoriously against the country, and the exportation of bullion was discussed in every newspaper, the joint-stock banks went on increasing their issues at a rate that would have been most unwise even had the exchange been greatly in our favour. Mr Loyd seems to think that some excuse may be found for this conduct in the defective returns laid before the public by the Bank of England. But these returns, how defective soever in other respects, proved distinctly, that the stock of bullion in the coffers of the Bank was progressively diminishing; and though the managers of the joint-stock banks might not be aware of the extent to which the town issues of the Bank were reduced, the rise in the rate of discount from 4 to 4½, and then to 5 per cent, must have satisfied them that the Bank was alive to the danger, and was endeavouring to obviate it. The more, indeed, that the subject is enquired into, the more idle will be found the attempt to establish the paper currency of the country on sound principles, unless the power to supply it be confined to *one issuer*. Suppose that, owing to any circumstances, the currency becomes abundant, and that the Bank of England is obliged to contract her issues: in such a case, the country bankers see, speaking generally, that they ought also to contract; but being a very numerous body, comprising several hundred establishments, scattered over all parts of the country, each is impressed with the well-founded conviction that all that he could do in the way of contraction would be next to imperceptible, and no one ever thinks of attempting it so long as he feels satisfied of the stability of those with whom he deals. On the contrary, every banker knows, were he to withdraw a portion of his notes,

Digitized by Google

that some of his competitors would most likely embrace the opportunity of filling up the vacuum so created; and that, consequently, he should lose a portion of his business without in any degree lessening the amount of paper afloat. Hence, in nineteen out of twenty cases, the country banks go on increasing their aggregate issues long after the exchange has been notoriously against the country; and when at length they are compelled, because of the altered state of things in the metropolis, to pull up, the chances are ten to one that the contraction is carried to an improper extent. A revulsion of this sort seldom occurs without destroying some of the provincial banks. We have already seen that the recoil in November destroyed the Agricultural Bank of Ireland, and the fall of the Northern and Central Bank might, but for the interference of the Bank of England, have proved fatal to sundry other establishments. We have had, and we may depend upon it we shall continue to have, if the present system be maintained, a constant alternation of glut and deficiency. At one time money is sure to be in excess, confidence blind and indiscriminating, and prices high; and at another time money is as sure to be deficient, distrust universal, and prices low. It is not easy to exaggerate the evils inseparable from such alternations; they go far to convert industrious undertakings into mere gambling speculations; and render it impossible, even for the most prudent individuals engaged in business, to form at any time any distinct notion of what may be their state twelve months hence. The history of the country from 1790 down to the present day teems with examples of what has now been stated. It is, however, very difficult for those not familiar with the circumstances, to form any adequate notion of the sudden and powerful operation of fluctuations, even in districts not peculiarly within the sphere of their operation. The following memorial may be referred to in proof of this,—Birmingham not being affected by any particular discredit. It was presented to Lord Melbourne in March last, and was signed by all the principal merchants, manufacturers, and traders of the town. The facts it communicates are in no degree exaggerated, and are equally striking and instructive:—

"My Lord,—We the undersigned merchants, manufacturers, and other inhabitants of the town of Birmingham, beg leave respectfully to represent to your Lordship the following facts:—

"1. During the last two or three years a very great improvement has taken place in the trade and commerce of the town and neighbourhood. The workmen have generally been placed in a condition of full employment and good wages, producing a general state of satisfaction and contentment among them. Their employers also have enjoyed a condition

Digitized by Google

of ease and security which might be called affluence when compared with the losses, difficulties, and anxieties, which they endured for several years before. No stock of goods was accumulated—no over-trading of any kind existed; the products of one man's industry were readily exchanged for those of another, and all the products of industry in every trade were carried off into the absolute consumption of the people quite as fast as they could be produced.

"2. *Suddenly, within the last three months, with all the elements of general prosperity remaining unimpaired, this gratifying state of things has disappeared, and has been succeeded by a general state of difficulty and embarrassment, threatening the most alarming consequences to all classes of the community. Orders for goods are countermanded and discontinued both for the foreign and home trade.*

"The prices of goods are falling, so as in many cases to occasion a loss instead of a profit on their production. The process of production is thus obstructed; the workmen are beginning to be discharged, or to be placed upon short employment; and we are confident, that unless remedial measures be immediately applied, a large proportion of our population will shortly be thrown entirely out of employment.

"3. We earnestly solicit the serious and immediate attention of His Majesty's Government to this alarming state of things, confidently hoping that they will forthwith adopt decisive and effectual measures for its relief."

We do not know that any measures can be taken for the relief of the actual misery resulting from such a state of things; but certainly the legislature will most strangely neglect its duties, if it allow a system productive of such consequences to continue to spread its roots and scatter its seeds on all sides. So long as any individual or set of individuals, how bankrupt soever in fortune or character, may usurp the royal prerogative, and issue money without let or hindrance, so long will it be issued in excess, in periods when prices are rising and confidence high; and be suddenly and improperly withdrawn when prices are falling and confidence shaken. All the causes of fluctuation inherent in the nature of industry are aggravated a thousandfold by this vicious system, at the same time that it brings many new ones into existence. There is not, in fact, any reason for supposing, had our currency been either metallic, or made to fluctuate exactly as it would have done had it been metallic, that the difficulties in which we have been, and still continue to be involved, would ever have been heard of. The inordinate increase of banks, of money, and of the facilities for obtaining money in the spring of last year, led to that increase of prices, to that multiplication of wild and absurd projects, and to that excess of confidence which distinguished that period; at the same time that, by bringing on a fall of the exchange and a drain for bullion,

Digitized by Google

they insured that revulsion of which we are now feeling the effects. If it be wished that the country should be kept for ever under an intermittent fever — now suffering from a hot and then from a cold fit, now in an unnatural state of excitement, leading to, and necessarily ending in an unnatural state of depression—the present money system is the best possible. But our readers, we are quite sure, will agree with us in thinking, that a fever of this sort is not more injurious to the animal than to the political body. So dangerous a disorder is not to be trifled or tampered with. This is not a case in which palliatives and anodynes can be of any real service. If a radical cure be not effected it will paralyse and destroy the patient.

Now, to accomplish this radical cure, that is, to make sure that the fluctuations of the currency shall not in future exceed those that would occur were it wholly metallic, *it is indispensable that all local notes be suppressed, and the issue of paper confined entirely to one body.* Nothing short of this can be of any material service. The exacting of security, previously to the issue of notes, would not hinder that competition among the issuers that is the bane of the present system; nor prevent their being at one time in excess, and at another time deficient. If we would provide for that unity of action, and that equality of value that is so indispensable, we must make an end of a plurality of issuers. If one body only were intrusted with the issue of notes, it might immediately narrow the currency when bullion began to be exported, and expand it when it began to be imported; and the legislature might enforce its observance of such regulations as would effectually prevent the fluctuations in the quantity and value of money ever exceeding those that would take place did it consist wholly of the precious metals. But nothing of the sort can be attempted so long as it is supplied by more than one source. Every thing must then be left to the discretion of the parties. And it will certainly happen in time to come, as it has invariably happened in time past, that some of them will be increasing their issues when they ought to be diminished, and diminishing them when they ought to be increased.

Mr Loyd, whose authority on all questions of this sort is so deservedly high, states distinctly that 'an adherence to sound 'principle would certainly lead to the conclusion, that the issues 'of paper money should be confined to one body, intrusted with 'full power and control over the issues, and made exclusively re-'sponsible for the due regulation of their amount.'—(P. 52.) He is, however, disposed to think that the practice in this country of individuals and associations issuing notes has been so long established, and become so intimately connected with the habits and

Digitized by Google

prejudices of the people, as to leave but little hope of its eradication. We do not, however, think that the difficulties in the way of the suppression of local notes would be found to be nearly so great, were it set seriously about, as Mr Loyd seems to infer. Were Parliament to enact that all local or provincial notes payable on demand should cease to circulate on the 1st of January, 1840, their withdrawal might, we apprehend, be effected with very little trouble and inconvenience. The circulation of notes, now that those for less than L.5 have been withdrawn, is far from being one of the principal sources of banking profits. The stamp duty, the expense of engraving, and the still heavier expense necessary to keep notes afloat, and to provide for their payment when they may happen to be presented, cut deep into the profits made by their issue. Our readers are aware that several country banks have, within the last half dozen years, withdrawn their own notes from circulation, and issued in their stead those of the Bank of England, according to certain terms agreed on with the latter. The banks in question would not certainly have done this had it made any serious inroad on their profits. But it has not sensibly diminished them; and the proof of this is, that the banks which have made this arrangement derive quite as large profits as are derived by those that continue to issue notes of their own. We submit that this is decisive of the whole question. It proves that the profits of the provincial banks are not sensibly impaired by the substitution for their own, of Bank of England notes. Had the project for suppressing local notes been productive of any considerable loss to the issuers, it would have furnished a plausible, though by no means a valid argument against it; for it would be contradictory and absurd to pretend that any set of persons can be entitled permanently to enjoy a privilege injurious to the community. But there is no room or ground even for an appeal, *ad misericordiam*, on the part of the private issuers. The fact that numbers of them have spontaneously, and without solicitation of any kind, abandoned the privilege of issue, and replaced their own notes with those of the central issuer in London, shows conclusively that the privilege in question is worth little or nothing; and, consequently, that it may be withdrawn without entailing any considerable hardship on any one. It is essential to the placing of the currency on a proper footing that all local notes should be suppressed; and as their suppression would not be injurious to the issuers, what possible reason can be alleged for continuing their circulation?

But it may be, and, indeed, has been said, that though the suppression of local notes might, under other circumstances, be

Digitized by Google

desirable, it would be of no use to attempt it at present, seeing that the power to make unlimited issues would then be engrossed by the Bank of England; and there is no security that she would act so as to preserve the value of the paper on a level with that of gold. We believe, however, that she would so act. An undivided responsibility would then rest with the Bank; her action in one direction would no longer be impeded, as at present, by a contrary action in another direction; and she would be directly and individually responsible for every mismanagement that might occur. At the same time we are ready to admit that the engagements of the Bank, as a dealer in bills and money, have frequently a strong tendency to make her swerve from the strict line of her duty as an issuer of money; and we have previously endeavoured to show the operation of this disturbing cause since October last. We, therefore, are disposed to think, that in the event of a measure being introduced for the suppression of local notes, some security should be obtained from the Bank that her conduct as an issuer should be governed at all times, and under all circumstances, by the strictest adherence to principle. Mr Loyd suggests, that for this purpose, the business of the issue of money by the Bank should be entirely separated from her other business; that its superintendence should be committed to a committee of currency, chosen from among the directors; and that a representative of the Government should be present at all its deliberations. We see nothing in this that could be justly objected to; and if the Government commissioner had, as he ought to have, a *veto* on all proposals for adding to the issues, the public would have every necessary security for the proper working of the system, and the avoidance of all manner of fluctuations. At the determination of the Bank charter, measures might be taken either for separating the issue of paper entirely from the Bank; or, if that should be thought inexpedient, for participating in the profits such as they are derived from that source.

We are firmly persuaded that nothing short of some plan of this kind can be of any material service. The cardinal defects in the present monetary system are, The multiplicity of issuers, and the too great sympathy of the Bank of England with the mercantile class. The previous statements have shown how both these defects might be obviated. Various country banks having voluntarily abandoned the privilege of issuing notes without in any degree affecting their profits, no injury, it is plain, could be done them by providing for the total suppression of such issues within the space of two years. Neither could the Bank of England justly object to the appointment of a commissioner

Digitized by Google

having a *veto* on her issues. This officer would have nothing to do with the ordinary management of the Bank; and his influence would only begin to be felt when the directors were discussing whether they should not prefer expediency to principle, and encroach on the rules they have laid down for their own guidance. Far, indeed, from objecting to the appointment of such an officer, the directors, we have little doubt, would be well pleased to have him amongst them. They would then be able to reply to the solicitations of the merchants,—'We should be most happy to 'meet your views, but it is impossible; we cannot at this moment 'sell securities, and the commissioner will not allow another note 'to be issued!' They would in this way be able to escape that charge of illiberality of which they always seem to entertain a most unreasonable terror; and embarrassed and bankrupt concerns would cease to be bolstered up, as at present, at the expense of principle, and sometimes to the injury of the country.

We repeat our conviction that there is not really so much as the shadow of a foundation for thinking that any measure which does not involve the suppression of local notes can give equality of value to the currency, and obviate those fluctuations that are so destructive of the public interests. If we will have local notes, we need not flatter ourselves that we shall get rid of the fluctuations inseparable from their issue. The one is the inevitable consequence of the other. They must stand or fall together.

We are surprised that a person so well informed as Mr Loyd should lay so much stress, as he appears to do, on the publication of 'proper' returns by the Bank of England. It is very true that the returns, as at present published, are good for little; but it is farther true that they never can be rendered good for much. We think that a distinction should be made between the town and country issues; but, except in this respect, little can be done for their improvement. The amount of bullion in the Bank furnishes those unacquainted with the circumstances that influence its supply with no rule by which to regulate their conduct as issuers of paper. It may be augmented by supplies brought from the interior at the moment when, perhaps, the exchange is either at par or declining; and it may, on the other hand, be diminished by the withdrawal of supplies from the provinces when the exchange is in our favour. The central issuers being aware of the circumstances, can govern their conduct accordingly; but the local issuers having no such peculiar knowledge, would, even if they regulated their proceedings by the official returns, be constantly liable to err. But this, as we have already seen, is what they rarely if ever do. What is the business of all is un-

Digitized by Google

formly neglected by every one. The responsibility under which they act does not come sufficiently home to their apprehensions. It is too divided and too remote to have any practical influence. Hence they look only to the state of credit and prices in their own immediate neighbourhood, and to the supposed stability of those with whom they deal; so that they are frequently increasing their issues when they ought to be contracting them, and *vice versa*. There was not a manager of a provincial bank in England who did not know, as well as Mr Loyd or Mr Horsley Palmer, that the exchange was most unfavourable, from April till September last, and that there existed, during the whole of that time, a heavy drain for bullion upon the Bank; and yet they went on, in the teeth of this knowledge, increasing their issues faster than they ought to have done, had the exchange been all the while in our favour! It is the veriest delusion possible to trust to amended returns or to any sort of publicity, for security in a case of this sort. Fluctuations and uncertainty are of the essence of a currency supplied by different issuers. If the country continue to tolerate the latter, it will unavoidably continue to suffer the perpetual recurrence of the former.

ART. IV.—*Coleccion de obras y documentos relativos a la Historia Antigua y Moderna de las Provincias Del Rio de la Plata, ilustrados con notas y disertaciones.* Por PEDRO DE ANGELIS. 2 tom. fol. Buenos Aires: 1836.

IT is a sure sign of thrift when the heir to an estate, on coming into possession, falls to work at once with the arrangement of his papers, title deeds, and muniments. In like manner, when a young republic begins to search its archives, and publish the records of its early history, we are justified in concluding that the passionate period of its existence has already gone by; that it feels pleasure in looking back calmly on the past; and that the enquiring spirit which always expands with the enlargement of its sphere of operation, has already gained new force and elasticity within it, from a career of prosperity. We should have been pleased if these volumes had been published at the expense and risk of the republic; but we are still more gratified to see that they are ushered into the world under the auspices of a long list of subscribers. The encouragement bestowed on the work of Señor de Angelis by his fellow-citizens, is a proof that he had consult-

Digitized by Google

ed the general sense before he undertook it; and manifests, moreover, a sentiment of enlightened patriotism which the study of domestic history is reciprocally calculated to promote.

Every contribution to the history of the *conquistadores*, or first settlers in America, is intrinsically valuable; as it illustrates the character of a period when the human mind, shaking off the fetters of ignorance, displayed unwonted energy, and when the sudden enlargement of the sphere of human activity had begotten such an intoxication of hope, and had so completely overset the ancient landmarks of opinion, as almost to justify credulity, and to tinge with romance the speculations of even the wise and prudent. Of the collection of documents already published (for we presume the work is to be continued), the first volume begins with the *Historia Argentina;* or account of the discovery and conquest of the countries on the Rio de la Plata, written in 1612, by Rui Diaz de Guzman. This extremely valuable work, the most complete extant relating to the Rio de la Plata, is scarcely known in Old Spain. It is followed, in Señor de Angelis's first volume, by Memoirs and tracts respecting the Pampas and the Patagonian countries. The second volume contains a variety of papers relative to the history of Potosi, and of Paraguay.

It is not, however, with the *conquistadores*, or the early history of Spanish America, that we have now to do. We shall hasten to lay before our readers the substance of the most recent narrative in the collection—the narrative of an expedition interesting from its design, from the perseverance with which it was completed, and from the singular event which foiled and rendered abortive the bold plans connected with it;—we mean the expedition of D. Luis de la Cruz in 1806, to survey a carriage-road across the Andes, and over the Pampas, from Southern Chili to Buenos Aires. But before we proceed to the narrative itself, we shall endeavour to put our readers in possession of the circumstances which led to the expedition; and shall offer such other preliminary explanations as appear necessary for the perfect understanding of our author.

At the time when the power of Napoleon had reached its greatest height, and the political independence of Spain was nearly extinguished, the situation of the Spanish colonies was truly deplorable. Left unprotected by the mother country, their commerce was almost annihilated; the British naval squadrons hovering round their coasts, continually threatened them with invasion, and effectually cut off all their maritime intercourse with one another. To establish overland communications between them, available for troops and military stores,

Digitized by Google

seemed at that time, to a people not taught by necessity, to be in most cases impracticable. But over the Pampas or great plains between Buenos Aires and Chili, the silent course of traffic with the natives had beaten a path, which, it was thought, might afford the means of mutual protection, while it also became the regular commercial route. In their trade with the Pehuenches inhabiting the Andes east of Conception, and the other Indian tribes of the adjoining Pampas, the Chilians annually despatched several hundred mules laden with trinkets, some articles of clothing, and iron ware. These caravans crossing the mountains by the pass of Antuco, descended to the eastern foot of the Cordillera; where the above-named articles were exchanged with the Indians, for salt, horses, and cattle. On what advantageous terms the Chilians carried on this traffic may be inferred from the fact, that the usual price paid by the Indians for the three small iron rings used to connect the lasso with the saddle, was two good horses. In these trading excursions, the Chilians often met among the Indians with adventurers from Buenos Aires; and thus, when the prices of commodities differed in the two colonies, a petty commerce between them took place in the Pampas, which only awaited an urgent demand from one side or the other to rise into importance. Consequently, when the activity of the British cruisers had intercepted all the foreign trade of Chili, and European goods bore there an enormously high price, supplies of them began to flow in from the side of the Pampas. Among the adventurers who engaged in this traffic was a Chilian, named D. Justo Molina, who, in 1804, crossed from Conception to Buenos Aires by a route apparently so easy as to be practicable even for loaded carts. His report attracted the attention of the Chilian Government, which resolved to make an exact survey of the road. The offer of D. Luis de la Cruz, a native of Conception, to conduct the expedition at his own expense, was accepted. Molina, and two other traders acquainted with the Pampas, with D. Tomas Quesada, a land-surveyor, and fifteen other persons, soldiers or servants, were appointed to form his retinue.

La Cruz had enterprise and public spirit; but he was a wholly uninstructed man, and his journal is singularly deficient in all that can adorn or enliven a narrative. The various aspects of nature in the Andes, and in the great plains which lie beneath them, never call forth from him a single observation. The main business of his expedition was to measure the ground with the chain, and his pages seem to bear traces throughout, of this toilsome and monotonous operation; or if we find this labour intermitted, it is only to give place to fatiguing *palavers* with the

Digitized by Google

Indians, recorded at interminable length. Nevertheless, the history of the expedition, taken altogether, has, in what it discovered and what it achieved, sufficient interest to compensate its want of varied details. We shall, therefore, relate its history succinctly, supplying its chief deficiencies by information gathered from other sources. But before we start from the fort in the Andes, where La Cruz assembled his attendants, it seems expedient that we should give our readers a brief account of the road, and the nature of the country, between that point and the principal seat of commerce on the sea-shore.

From Conception, on the southern side of the bay of Talcahuano, the road to Antuco, in the Andes, first conducts southwards, a short distance, over a sandy plain, to the great river Biobio, which is in this part a mile and half wide; but though the greatest river in Chili, it is unfortunately so completely barred by sandbanks as to be inaccessible to even the smallest vessels. The road leads along the right or northern bank of the river, the hills on the left continually increasing in height, and covered with trees, which in many places overhang the noble stream; the narrow road, or rather path for the mules, winding round the feet of cliffs and woody steeps. The first day's journey terminates at Gualqui, which may be described as the farm-house of an estate of truly Spanish dimensions,—extending to the sea ten leagues distant, and embracing a surface of perhaps three hundred square miles. The second day the road leaves the valley of the Biobio, with its grand and varied scenery, and turns north-eastward over a succession of bleak hills, scantily covered with stunted bushes, and exhibiting fragments of lava scattered over the sandstone rock, to the village of Rere. The only curiosities of this place are its gigantic palm-tree, growing in the garden of the convent, and its bell. The palm-tree is a solitary individual of its species, which has here attained an unusual size, being three feet in diameter, though beyond the southern limits of the region in which the palm grows wild. The sweet-toned bell of Rere contains a great weight of silver, and several pounds of gold also, collected in the vicinity, and added to the metal, rather from motives of piety than with a view to make it more elastic and sonorous. The journey, of the third day, to Yumbel lies over a country of similar description; the successive wave-shaped hills, however, gradually attaining a greater elevation.

From Yumbel the road, inclining more to the west, leads across a desert plain fifty or sixty miles in width, and destitute of trees or habitations. This elevated plain, called *La Traversia*,

Digitized by Google

is skirted on all sides by hills luxuriantly wooded. Its elevated margin, and the quantity of lava and other volcanic products which lie in heaps on its sandstone floor, as if drifted there by floods, combine to impress the traveller with the belief that the barren plain was, at no great distance of time, the bed of a lake. The river Laja, descending rapidly from the Andes of Antuco, flows through it; but this mountain stream, confined in a deep and rocky bed, has not a green spot on its banks. Its wildness corresponds with the desolateness of the adjoining plain. The tedious journey across the Travesia terminates at the village of Tucapel. The fifth day's journey begins with crossing the Laja, at times a dangerous task. The country now improves in appearance—the soil is every where of volcanic origin and extremely fertile—the hills are covered with thick woods, and the Andes at no great distance rise above them in all their grandeur. Antuco may be reached with a little exertion on the fifth, or with ease on the sixth day.

The valley of Antuco, extending about seven leagues in length, from west to east, and rarely above two miles wide, though generally much narrower, lies at the height of about 5000 feet above the sea, and enjoys a most delicious climate. Its soil, composed of disintegrated lavas, is exuberantly fertile. Numerous streams from the Cordilleras enclosing the valley descend into the Laja, which flows through the middle of it; and which, from the vast depth of its rocky bed, the violence of its current, its numberless cascades, and foaming eddies, presents a new and impressive scene at every turning. This river takes its name from the schistose rocks or slates (lajas) which form its bed. The hills immediately closing in the valley are thickly clothed with indigenous forests; on the skirts of which the apple, pear, and apricot, introduced from Europe, grow in wild profusion. Some of the lateral valleys, leading up to the heights of the Cordilleras on the southern side, conduct to a great wood of the Araucarian pine, the northern limit of that tree. On the south side of the valley, and about two leagues from the village, rises the volcano of Antuco to the height of perhaps 10,000 feet. This ever active volcano was ascended in 1831 by the German naturalist Poeppig, who found the crater surrounded by a rim or wall so narrow that with the violent wind, whirling clouds of saline and sulphurous particles in his face, he was afraid to stand on it; he therefore lay across it, and leaning his head over, pryed into the mysteries of the interior. On his descent his foot slipped on the glassy surface of the lava, and rolling down the rapid slope, he was most fortunately carried by the impetuosity of his fall across a crack or chasm in the lava about four feet wide; in which, if he had been

Digitized by Google

once engulfed, his cries even would have never reached the upper world. The volcano of Antuco, as the same traveller informs us, often presents in midsummer, that is in November or December, a singular and enchanting spectacle. When at the time of full moon and towards sunset, a passing storm covers with snow the upper part of the cone, the mountain may be seen played on by the blended illumination of four different lights. The sun's last rays gild the summit of the cone; lower down, on the western side, glow streams of red hot lava; on the eastern side the fresh snow glitters in the moonbeams, while above, the mysterious glimmering of the crater is reflected from the clouds. At the head of the valley of Antuco, and southwards beyond the volcano, tower the glaciers and everlasting snows of the Silla Velluda. The name of this mountain, which signifies the velvet saddle, exemplifies the humour of the Chilian people, being given to a jagged ridge, resembling at a distance the edge of a saw rather than a soft seat. The aspect of the Silla Velluda, which has probably an elevation of 17,000 feet, is on all sides peculiarly rugged. Below the region of snow and glaciers, its broken sides display black precipices three or four thousand feet in height; on which may be distinguished ten or twelve horizontal and successive rows of basaltic columns.

The Cordilleras on the northern side of the Laja present the same appearances; so as to impress the beholder with the belief that the country round Antuco has at some remote time slipped down from the snowy Cordilleras, as if by the falling in of an immense crater; the basaltic precipices around marking the extent of the ruin, while the volcano which now gives vent to the internal fires shows its cause.

But to return to the expedition. La Cruz assembled his party at Fort Ballenar, in the valley of Antuco, where he held also divers conferences with the chiefs of the Pehuenche Indians, and listened to many of their tedious harangues, which he reports in his journal with scrupulous fidelity. His object was to persuade them to accompany him, as well for the sake of their service as guides, as that they might assist him in conciliating the Indians of the plains, and bear testimony to the peaceful objects of the expedition. His suit was successful, and he was soon joined by a party of these wild cavaliers. Matters being thus arranged, he started on his journey from Fort Ballenar on the 6th of April, 1806. In ascending the valley of Autuco he crossed a number of lively streams running northwards into the Laja, of which the Rucohuca and the Quillay, respectively so named from two species of deer, and the Rio de los Pinos, which owes its title to the woods of the Araucaria near its source, give us hints respecting the

Digitized by Google

natural history of the country,—a subject to which La Cruz unfortunately but seldom makes allusion. When he had advanced about four leagues, he reached the deep narrow lake from which the Laja issues, and was obliged to turn southward, making a circuit along its shore, with the craggy heights of the Silla Velluda on his right, and the Cordillera del Toro on the farther side of the lake. His first day's march terminated at La Cueva, a natural grotto in the rocks at the foot of the Silla Velluda. Numberless streams from the mountains rushed from every side into the lake. All the rocky steeps of the Cordilleras seen from this point were of a yellowish colour inclining to red, except the volcano, which was of black sand or ashes. La Cruz says nothing of the difficulties of the road, nor of the rate of ascent from Fort Ballenar to La Cueva, a distance of nearly seven leagues. He crossed several heaps of scoriæ and a bank of sand, all which we find alluded to in his estimate of the expense of forming a road for carts.

The measuring of this intricate mountain road appears to have caused a delay of two days. On the 9th the march was resumed; and our travellers, crossing the *entre-cordon* of the Cordillera del Toro and the Silla Velluda, entered what La Cruz calls 'the 'famous western valley of Pailalechimellan.' This valley owes its reputation to its great fertility, that is to say, to its abundant pasture, and perhaps to its woods of Araucarian pine; for another Rio de Los Pinos flows northwards through it, and winds its way round the Cordillera del Toro into the lake of the Laja. The elevated plain on the eastern bank of the Rio de Los Pinos forms the division of the waters in this part of the Andes; all the streams met with further on, flowing eastward into the Atlantic. From this place the road, which is good for carriages or easily made so, as La Cruz declares, ascends the Cordillera of Pichachen, of coarse sandstone, and then follows north-eastwards the river Reingui-leubu, which receives numberless streams from the Cordilleras to the south.

In three very short journeys from La Cueva, after crossing the Reingui-leubu several times, the expedition arrived at Rime-mallin; between which place and the head of the valley of Antuco, a distance of twelve leagues, the road is closed with snow four months in the year. A little below this station were the ruins of a chapel, built by the missionaries, whose useful labours had been put an end to by the revolutionary war.

From Rime-mallin, La Cruz descended about two leagues to Butacura, a fertile and well watered plain where little snow falls in winter, and in consequence much frequented by the Indians. At this station as well as the preceding, having good pasture and

Digitized by Google

water, he remained some days to recruit his mules and horses after the fatigues of the journey through the mountains. The Indians of the surrounding country flocked to visit him, and with them came a wandering Spaniard or two; but these people had little information, and the discourse of Manguel, the chief of the Pehuenche Indians, who accompanied La Cruz from Antuco, is the only one from which we can extract any thing in the least degree interesting or instructive.

'I did not neglect,' said the old chieftain, speaking of his policy, 'to extend my views to a distance, and accordingly I travelled beyond the country of Mamilmapú (the country of the woods, that is, the eastern Pampas), and to that of Canigcolo, (chief of the Guilliches or southern Indians), for the sake of learning the strength of those nations, and of cultivating friendship with them, in case they were my superiors. You are now on the road to Mamilmapú, and I need not tell you what your own eyes will soon make you acquainted with; but of my journey to Canigcolo, I will relate to you the particulars. I travelled six days, to arrive at Guechuguebun, where Canigcolo was then encamped, and before reaching his country, I crossed the Limayleubú, a deep and formidable river. At the place where I crossed, it is as wide as the Biobio between Gualqui and Conception. The float was made of blown skins, and on this I passed over, drawn by a horse swimming. My wife, who was afraid to trust herself on the float, was fastened to it by a cord round her waist, and with her hands resting on it, swam after. Canigcolo is handsome, affable, and well-mannered; his exterior speaks the goodness of his heart. He received me hospitably, made an alliance with me, and we discoursed largely together on the interests and means of preserving our respective states. He told me of his alliance with the Patagonians, who are a people that go on foot, very agile and robust, and armed with lassos and arrows. He also informed me, how a ship of the infidels called English, was wrecked within the mouth of the Limayleubú, a good way up from the sea, which ship the Indians had not seen entering the river; but as they travelled along its banks, they came on the traces of the people, who were tolerably numerous, and who had built themselves comfortable habitations. Those English had tame fowls, pigs, sheep, and other animals, with which the Indians were wholly unacquainted; and there was an interpreter among them, who explained the utility of these animals. They remained there some time, and were uniformly kind to the Indians, giving them many things which they desired, and among the rest, the above mentioned animals, that they might breed from them. The English disappeared of a sudden, embarking, it was supposed, in some European vessels which approached the coast, or perhaps entered the river. All this took place four years ago (in 1802), and in the mean time, the poultry, pigs, and sheep have multiplied,' &c. &c.—P. 58-9.

Here we have an instance of that kind of adventure which contributed not a little, no doubt, in the early ages of mankind to people the earth, and to distribute the more useful species of plants

Digitized by Google

and animals over its surface; and which, nevertheless, in a civilized and observant age, totally escaped the notice of contemporary historians. While the Pampas are ennobled by a continually increasing stock of useful animals, the Chilian Andes are in many places adorned with European fruits and flowers. The garden seeds mixed accidentally with the grain bought by the Indians, sooner or later fall on a genial soil, and thus is propagated far and wide a variety of species. At Rime-mallin and Butacura, La Cruz saw rape and turnips growing wild in abundance. At the former place, he saw a clustre of young apricot trees, and lower down he found some apple trees, well grown, and bearing fruit. But to return to the discourse of the Indian chief, it must be observed that he confirmed the statement of the missionaries, that the southern Andes eastward of Valdivia, Osorno, and Chiloe, are very low, and that the passes there are quite free from snow at all seasons of the year.

We shall now advance more rapidly as we approach the plains. On the fourth day after leaving Butacura, La Cruz and his party arrived at the river Neuquen, a considerable stream, 140 yards wide, which receives the Reingui-leubu, and all the other rivers descending from the Cordillera of Pichachen. Half a mile further on they crossed the Cudileubu, nearly equal to the Neuquen. These rivers, uniting about a furlong below the ford, flow southwards into the Limayleubú or Rio Negro. During this part of the journey a hill was pointed out to La Cruz, which was said to be covered with round stones like cannon-balls, whereupon he remarks,—'This is a common thing in many parts of the Cor-'dilleras, and in particular I have been assured that on the eas-'tern side of the great Salt Pans (Salinas grandes), to which the 'road we are travelling conducts, there is a valley named Mulu-'chumelico, which is strewed over with round stones of all dia-'meters, so that there is no ball used which may not be there 'matched in size.'—P. 64.

As the special object of the expedition was to survey the ground, with a view to the formation of a carriage-road, the attention of its leader was naturally directed to the character of the soil, and of the mineral bodies in the vicinity of his route. Hence La Cruz notes many common geological phenomena with an emphasis and frequency which, in the present day, would subject him to the suspicion of affecting a fashionable study. But the journal of an ill-educated Chilian gentleman, written thirty years ago, and not intended for the public eye, is certainly not liable to such an imputation. His remarks, though not those of a skilful observer, are obviously faithful and ingenuous. In his journal of his eighth day's march, he says,—'We halted in a glen in which

Digitized by Google

'are rocks filled with shells, and others with impressions like 'stars; a matter worthy of notice, and I took specimens of both 'kinds. We continued the march, following the slope, and a 'little way on we came to a place covered with petrified trees, 'of perfect stone, yet without losing the veins and configuration 'of the original material.'—P. 65-66.

Again on his 11th march—'We met with stones, he says, con-'taining veins, apparently of good metal; and further on with 'petrified shells, of each species of which I took a specimen. 'And moreover we saw a piece of a carcass of a petrified whale, 'apparently.'—P. 77.

Hence in his description of the country of the Pehuenches appended to his journal, La Cruz generalizes his observations in the following manner:—'In all the mountains (of the Andes) and in 'the country between them and the Chadileubu (in the middle 'of the Pampas) are found quantities of marine bodies embedded 'in rock or petrified. These fossils are not confined to the sur-'face of the Andes, but exist also at considerable depths, as is 'evident from the specimens carried down in the deeply-worn 'beds of torrents. These indications do not permit us to doubt 'that the waters of the ocean have some time or other rested on 'all these countries.'—P. 17.

He furthermore informs us,—'In many places there are acces-'sible masses of mineral coal *(minerales de carbon de piedra)*, 'especially at the lower edges of the Cordilleras, along the banks 'of the rivers.'—P. 75.

It must be confessed that La Cruz was sometimes seduced by his sanguine hope of finding precious metals, into futile observations. Every singular shining stone appeared to him 'extremely 'rich;' and his Indian companions, no better mineralogists than himself, very naturally fed his credulity. From his encampment on the banks of the Cudileubu, he returned to Butacura, in order to explore a shorter and easier route north of that which he had already travelled. This led him over the Cordillera of Piu Maguida, which separates the valleys of the Neuquen and Cudileubu; and appears to project further eastward than the other heights of the Andes. From the sparing intimation of La Cruz, that 'the Silla Velluda, which is still visible, and Piu Maguida, are 'all covered with snow,' we may conclude that the latter rises above the limits of perpetual congelation. None of the mountains, south of his route from Butacura, had snow on them.

From the encampment on the Cudileubu, the country to the north-east, in the direction of the route, appeared as white as snow, the hills being of gypsum, according to our author; but two or three leagues further on, the colour of the plain changed,

Digitized by Google

and where it formed the horizon, was like vermillion. On the second day, after leaving the river Cudileubu, the expedition reached the Cobuleubu, red river, or Rio Colorado, which obviously owes the latter name to the red soil through which it flows. At the place where La Cruz came on it, it was as large as the Neuquen, that is to say, 140 yards wide, and flowed in a direction north of east; but after continuing for some leagues in a course nearly parallel to the road to Buenos Aires, it turns off south-eastwards to the sea. The country beyond the river appeared barren, the soil of various bright colours, and strewed with stones which looked like iron, and sounded like a bell when struck.

At length, on the third day's march beyond the Cobuleubu, the Cordilleras were lost sight of, though the snowy summit of Piu Maguida was not above sixteen leagues distant. Hence it is manifest that elevated land intervened, and that the plain was reached by a gradual descent. But though the mountains were so distant, the proofs of volcanic activity still offered themselves to view; the ground in fact was covered at intervals with ashes or scoriæ, carried down into the Pampas, probably by floods before the rivers had as yet worn for themselves fixed channels; and there thrown into long heaps or ridges, as the scanty hints of La Cruz permit us to conjecture. These appearances continued till the arrival of our travellers at another considerable river—the Chadileubú, which flows southwards nearly in the middle of the Pampas. This river was ninety yards wide and about five feet deep; clear and agreeable to the taste, with a slow current. A league beyond it to the east was another river of still greater magnitude, being 110 yards wide and two fathoms and a-half deep. This second river is supposed by La Cruz to be the Desaguadero, or drain of the Diamante, which is crossed on the road from Buenos Aires to Mendoza. But in support of a statement which adds so materially to our knowledge of the interior of the American continent, we had better produce at once the original authority.

'The river Chadileubú, according to Puelmanc, a chief of the Pehuenches, rises in the Cordilleras of Melalque, and was formerly named Ocupal. The great body of its waters once flowed through the valley of Potrol, three leagues further west, but in consequence of some flood or fall, it took this new course, leaving there a trifling pool extremely salt, all the Indians affirming that before the rains begin plenty of good salt may be collected there. They also say that at the distance of five leagues from this place, the streamlet of Potrol unites again with the Chadileubú at the very point where this joins the next river, which I take to be the Desaguadero, as well from its situation as because Puelmanc, who has

Digitized by Google

much practical knowledge of the country, affirms that the Rio del Diamante, which issues from the place called Cusa, running eastwards, empties itself into this very channel, and turning south forms immense lakes in the lowlands, until joined five leagues below this by the Chadileubú, when the united streams flow ten leagues further before they spread out and terminate in a great lake.'—P. 110.

We are told further on, that the deep and beautiful lake in which these rivers terminate, is called *Urre-lauquen; i. e.*, bitter lake. Some of the Indians, however, maintained that, further to the south, the Chadileubu breaks out again and continues its course to the sea. The tract of country between these rivers is sandy and barren; covered with numerous ponds, the haunts of myriads of flamingoes, swans, and other aquatic birds. The long reed-grass conceals also the jaguar, or some other of the feline species, briefly described by La Cruz as a wild-beast like a cat, which kills horses. It is not so easy to explain his account of an animal of the shape and size of a dog, with ears like a cow, and covered with soft wool of a bay colour, and which betakes itself to the waters, crying *oop* with such terrific loudness as to frighten horses. It is named after its cry; is hunted with dogs, and taken with the lasso.

The Chadileubu is the boundary between the Pehuenches and the Indians of Mamilmapú or Llamistas. The country eastward of it continually improved in appearance; small lakes were scattered about in all directions; trees were more frequent, and in some places the forests extended as far as the eye could reach; and every where La Cruz had occasion to remark with joy 'that 'the soil was firm, and that there was no obstacle to the use of 'wheeled carriages.'

'The greater part of the country,' he observes, 'that we have passed through is excellent for wheat and for breeding sheep or cattle. The wood is inexhaustible, since the two forests that we have passed stretch from north to south as far as the eye can reach, and were crossed by us in their narrowest parts; the trees are all of great size, many of them equalling a cart-wheel in diameter, and there are plenty of loose boughs and underwood for fuel. The road was every where good for carts, though in a few places overshadowed by the trees, yet there was room enough for large loads. From our first starting (on the 32d day's march), we have followed a well-beaten path, evidently much used, and the same which Molina followed, as I have been informed by his son. Deer of many species are numerous in these plains; birds are very few, and there are no human inhabitants.'—P. 159.

The Indians who wander over the Pampas sow small gardens of musk and water-melons and a few herbs, but cultivate no grain. Good water is found every where in abundance at the depth of two or three feet: but immense flights of locusts, as our author affirms,

Digitized by Google

occasionally make their appearance and quickly destroy all the herbage. Jaguars lurk in the tall reed-grass in the vicinity of the great herds, and are the most formidable enemies of the pastoral Indians. In one place much infested by these animals, La Cruz and his Chilian attendants rode intrepidly into the midst of the thick cover to rouse the game, while the trembling Indians looked on with amazement; but the jaguars, not used to be sought thus boldly, stole off timidly, and the Chilians won a bloodless triumph. On this adventure La Cruz remarks,—'In our hills 'there are many large and fierce lions, and our country fellows, 'such of them as have any feats to boast of, catch and despatch 'them with the lasso quicker than they would a lamb.'—P. 178.

It was not till two-thirds of the journey across the Pampas were completed that the great herds of wild mares were met with; which, according to the Indians, extended onward without intermission to the eastern coast. The humid atmosphere of the sea-coast began now to be perceptible. Showers of rain and violent thunder-storms grew frequent. The country looked more luxuriant, and was more replete with animal as well as vegetable life. La Cruz exclaims in raptures, that 'the land is 'all good for tillage or for pasture, and that the road is delightful.' At length, on the 5th July, eighty-one days after leaving Fort Ballenar, of which fifty-one were actual days of march, La Cruz and his party entered the fortress of Melincué, on the frontiers of the government of Buenos Aires. But there he was surprised by a singular piece of intelligence, which at once frustrated all his plans, and caused him the most serious embarrassment. He learned, in short, that the English, under General Whitelock, had ascended the Rio de la Plata, and were actually in possession of Buenos Aires. His pecuniary resources consisted almost wholly of bills on that place. He had a numerous retinue to support; and, considering all hope of credit at Buenos Aires to be irretrievably lost, he deemed it advisable to reduce his expenditure as much as possible by the immediate dismissal of his attendants. Had his resolution been less prompt, fortune would have come to his aid, and he would have learned in a few days of the reverses which followed the short-lived triumph of the English. But his decision was adapted to the difficulties of his situation. He dismissed his followers, and hastened from Melincué, where his journal closes, to Cordoba, where the governor of the province was organizing a determined resistance to the foreign invaders.

Such was the abortive conclusion of this remarkable expedition. The length of the road, accurately measured by La Cruz, from Fort Ballenar to Melincué was 519 British statute

Digitized by Google

miles, 33 yards. The entire road to Buenos Aires, by a short cut, passing south of Melincué, he estimated, from information he received, at 651 miles. To this may be added 160 miles, for the length of the road from Ballenar to Conception, though it is not evident that it was ever contemplated to render this portion practicable for wheel-carriages. Thus the whole distance between the chief places on the opposite sides of the continent is little more than 800 miles; the greater part of which is a level plain, sufficiently supplied with wood and water, and offering no serious impediment to the traveller. The cost of constructing or repairing the road was reckoned by La Cruz at 46,051 pesos, of which sum 15,151 pesos were for constructing the road and cutting through ridges of lava and scoriæ in the Andes, from Ballenar to Butacura; 15,300 for removing difficulties in the Cordillera of Puconi Maguida; 14,100 for various improvements in the road through the plain to the Chadileubu; and from that river to Buenos Aires, being two-thirds of the whole distance, an expenditure of only 1500 pesos or dollars was required.

The political troubles which, immediately subsequent to the date of this journey, went on continually increasing in the Spanish-American provinces, will sufficiently explain why no advantage whatever was taken of the labours of La Cruz. He being an ardent patriot, figured as a member of the first Chilian Congress, which assembled in 1812. When the royalist army entered Chili shortly after, under Osorio, La Cruz appeared foremost in the ranks of the patriots. The royalists obtained the victory, and, though their triumph was not of long duration, it sufficed to subject their opponents to the bitterest persecution. La Cruz was sent, with other state prisoners, to the island of Juan Fernandez, where he remained in hard servitude till liberated by the revolution effected by San Martin. He then obtained, as the reward of his services and his sufferings, the rank of general; and subsequently filled the high post of Lieut.-Governor of the Provinces of Santiago and Valparaiso. Of the date of his death, his editor, D. de Angelis, leaves us in total ignorance.

To the geographer, the journal of La Cruz, notwithstanding its dry and meagre character, is in the highest degree interesting. All the other routes across the Pampas with which we are acquainted, affording accurate details, conduct towards Northern Chili, by Mendoza, and intersect only those streams which join the Rio del Diamante. It was known, by report, that this river, flowing sluggishly in a deep channel, called the Desaguadero, or Drain, on the south side of the route from Buenos Aires to Mendoza, spread into a lake, and was wasted somewhere in the plains. Now, the route of La Cruz seems to have lain precisely

Digitized by Google

in the direction best calculated to throw light on the arrangement of the waters of the interior. As we retrace his route, proceeding from east to west, the first considerable body of water which we meet with is the Desaguadero of the Diamante, in the middle of the continent; fifteen leagues north of the lake in which it terminates, and which is many leagues farther south than has been hitherto supposed. We next find, at a very short distance, the Chadileubu, which rises in the Cordillera of Melalgué, and flows into the Desaguadero. Proceeding some leagues farther, we come on the Cobuleubu, or Rio Colorado, making a bold circuit eastward through the Pampas, as it descends from the Andes near Maulé, before it turns southwards to the sea. As we approach the Cordillera, we arrive at the Cudileubu and the Neuquen, the latter receiving the Tocoman and Reinguileubu, all considerable rivers, the united waters of which, under the name of Mucum-leubu, flow southwards into the Rio Negro. The Neuquen, and Cobuleubu, both appeared to him to be navigable downwards from the place where he crossed them; and he speaks of floating timber down the Reinguileubu, to supply the western, and more barren portion of the Pampas, as of a thing easily practicable. Thus, he appears to have crossed the chief rivers which enter the sea on the Patagonian coasts, or at least their most considerable branches, and he obtained from the Indian caciques who accompanied him copious information respecting the sources, and the numerous confluents of all the rivers from the Diamante to the Rio Negro. He learned that ten days' journey south of the Cobuleubu, the river Cariguenague (the Huenahue of Molina), issuing from the Cordillera of Deguin, and running into the Limayleubu, forms the boundary between the Pehuenches and the Guilliches, or Southern Indians.

Respecting the Limayleubu which La Cruz frequently made the object of his enquiries, the accounts of the Indians were positive and distinct. All concurred in stating it to be the greatest river with which they were acquainted on the eastern side of the Andes; that it was no where fordable, and that it received the Neuquen, Cudileubu, and all the other rivers of the eastern Andes northwards to the sources of the Rio Colorado. It issues, according to them, from a beautiful lake called Alomini, of great size; for the Cacique Manguel had travelled a day and a half along its shores. It is situated between the Cordilleras Miguen and Quenuco, and has an island in the middle of it. The river Limayleubu is small at first, but is soon swelled by the accession of a great many streams, of which the last in order, as named by the Indians, is the Naguelguapi. This river springs, they said, not from a lake, but from a morass of the same name. Be-

Digitized by Google

sides the lake Alomini, the Indian chiefs also knew a lake called Guechulauguen, situated further south, and the waters of which flow into the Limayleubu.

Let us now see how far these accounts may be made to explain, or to coincide with preceding statements. We supposed, at first, that the lake of Villarica, which is twenty-four leagues in circumference, and has an island in its centre, might be the Alomini of the natives. Molina, it is true, says, that its Indian name is *lauquen*; but this in reality is only a general term, meaning *sea*, and not a proper name. The same writer, however, when he says that the river Tolten flows from the lake of Villarica into the Pacific Ocean, states a fact which appears to us to overthrow completely our first hypothesis; for it cannot be easily admitted that rivers flow in opposite directions from the same lake. But if the source of the Limayleubu be not in the lake of Villarica, it is not very far from it; and perhaps the difficulty of fixing its situation is in a great measure removed by the following extract from some old missionary correspondence sent to La Cruz from Valdivia, and of which he did not perceive the more important application. The Jesuit Imonoff, in a letter dated Villarica, March 4, 1716, thus proceeds:

'Being desirous to know something of the road which passes to the other side of the Cordillera, constructed by the ancient inhabitants of the country, and of the excellence of which the Indians boast so much, I had occasion to observe, as far as I penetrated within the Cordillera, that the greater part of the road is without the least rise, only just beyond the lake there is a low ridge, somewhat uneven, beyond which are the plains. Immediately on entering the plains, is encountered a beautiful lake, and at the extremity of it is a volcano, named Rico-leufu.* The beauty of this lake cannot be adequately expressed, and its volcano being situated in the midst of so singular a level, and so close to the road to Buenos Aires, might possibly serve as a mark, or beacon, to persons travelling to that place.'

If this account be received as authentic (and we know not why it should be rejected), then the lake seen by P. Imonoff is assuredly the Alomini-lauquen of the Indians. One consideration alone appears to us sufficient to identify them completely; namely, that the sources of the Limayleubu, as represented to La Cruz by the Indians, are evidently situated near the chief pass or road to Valdivia, Osorno, and the other southern settlements. South of the Limayleubu, said the Caciques, the passes of the Andes

* The Padre has evidently misapplied the name *leufú*, or *leubu*, which signifies not a volcano, but a *river*.

Digitized by Google

are low, and free from snow at all seasons of the year. From this it is manifest, that the road explored by P. Imonoff was south of the Limayleubu; and as this river was considered by the Indians to be fifteen days' journey distant from the Cobuleubu, and at least three days' from Osorno in the opposite direction, it appears to us that it is impossible to fix on a situation better calculated to reduce into harmony all particulars respecting it, than the plains immediately to the east of Villarica.

To those acquainted with the merits of Falkner's 'Description 'of Patagonia,' it might appear disingenuous, or at least ungracious on our part, if we were to pass by in silence the statements of that honest missionary, so much at variance with our own conclusions respecting the sources of the Limayleubu. But a critical enquiry into the causes of Falkner's mistake (which we think quite explicable), in transferring the Limayleubu to the southern side of the Rio Negro, would lead us beyond our prescribed limits. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with observing, that his own account of that river bears internal evidence of error. Thus, after informing us that the Rio Negro comes from the north, he goes on to say, 'the people of Chili give the 'same name (Limayleubu, or river of leeches) to all the great 'river (Rio Negro); but this is through a mistake, they being 'ignorant of some of its branches, of which this is one, and not 'so big as the Sanguel, and much less than the main branch, 'even at its first appearance out of the Cordillera.' Now, it is obvious that the mistake is Falkner's, and not that of the people of Chili, who were much more likely to be well acquainted with the rivers issuing from the Cordilleras than a missionary dwelling in the eastern Pampas, and who called the main branch of the Rio Negro the Limayleubu, whereas Falkner gave this name to a little stream (the river Encarnacion of our maps), the Indian name of which is Tucamalel.

Thus it appears to us to be clearly established that the main branch of the Rio Negro rises in the lake Alomini, situated in the Cordilleras, east of Villarica; and that, issuing thence under the name of Limayleubu, and being joined by numerous streams, among others by the Naguelguapi, mentioned by Falkner, it soon becomes a great river, of considerable width, and nowhere fordable. It afterwards receives the Cariguenague, coming from the north, and lower down, the Mucumleubu, itself a great river; the numerous tributaries to which were crossed by La Cruz. The latter river is evidently the Sanguel, or reed river of Falkner. These united waters proceed southwards a short way, till meeting the southern branch of the Rio Negro, they turn eastward to the ocean. The northern, and principal branch of the

Digitized by Google

Rio Negro, the course of which we have been endeavouring to describe, is laid down in John Arrowsmith's 'Map of La Plata, 'the Banda Oriental, and Chili,' under the name of the Diamante of Villariño. We hope that that able geographer, in arranging for publication the rich materials which he is understood to have collected for a map of South America, will endeavour, by the study of La Cruz's journal, to reduce to a natural arrangement the waters of the Pampas, which even in his own maps are now in inextricable confusion.

The Rio Negro was explored in 1782 nearly to the sources of its southern branch, by D. Basilio Villariño, whose journal will, we presume, find a place in the forthcoming volume of D. de Angelis's collection. The narratives of La Cruz and Villariño, with many other curious and valuable manuscripts, relating to the history and geography of South America, were brought to this country a few years back by Sir Woodbine Parish, who, while filling the post of British chargé d'affaires at Buenos Aires, applied himself assiduously to the discharge of a duty too generally neglected by public functionaries,—we mean to the furtherance of knowledge, literary and scientific. The zeal manifested by him in the collection of original documents may perhaps have contributed not a little to prompt the valuable labours of Señor de Angelis. The narratives above mentioned were communicated by him to the Royal Geographical Society; and as we also have been enabled by his kindness to study them attentively, we shall here add, by way of supplement to the plain statements of La Cruz, respecting the rivers of the Pampas, a short account of the exploration of the Rio Negro.

D. Basilio Villariño most grievously mismanaged the expedition committed to his care. He commenced ascending the river in the last week of September, 1782, with four vessels; and, following a winding course towards the north-west, he arrived, in the first week of November, at the island of Choelechel, nine leagues in length and three wide. The land near the river, at the commencement of his voyage, was extremely barren, but it improved higher up; and, near the island, appeared to be of the best quality. The banks were covered with willow and other trees, 'such,' observes Villariño, 'as coal is made of at the fac-'tory.' Here, on the island of Choelechel, it pleased Villariño to encamp his party, wintering, as he termed it, in the midst of summer, and to remain inactive nearly seven weeks, the river falling all the time. His vessels appear to have been ill fitted for the business of exploring a river: he had too many people, and too little provision for them. At length, having wasted seven weeks in thinking of a remedy, while the evil was daily growing

Digitized by Google

worse, he sent back two of his vessels, and with the remaining two recommenced his voyage on the 21st of December. The river seemed for a long way up to increase in magnitude, and at the distance of from three to four hundred miles from its mouth was not less than half a league wide in the narrowest places.

After encountering numberless difficulties, arising from the increasing shallowness of the river, and his ignorance of the channel, Villariño arrived, on the 23d of January, 1783, at the junction of the two great branches; of which, according to the hypothetical system of the day, he names the southern the Great Desaguadero, and the other the Sanguel, or Diamante. The waters of the two rivers flowed some distance together without mixing; the stream from the south being sweet and clear, while that from the north was turbid and ill-flavoured. The following day he went in the boat to examine the northern branch, and found it to be a great river; but after ascending it a league, his further progress was prevented by two islands, which, by contracting the stream and causing rapids, rendered its navigation against the current impossible. This river, he observes, is nearly as great as the southern branch, and much greater than the Rio Colorado. Its floods are very formidable; and, as far as may be judged by their marks on the banks, rise much higher than those of the southern river. It flows in a deep valley two leagues wide, running close to the western cliff, and leaving a plain to the east. The land near it was destitute of trees or herbage, and had the appearance of being exposed to long-continued inundation. A league above the junction of the two branches the observed latitude was thirty-eight degrees forty-four minutes south.

In his ascent of the southern branch of the river, Villariño had to surmount a long succession of obstacles. The current was in some places, he says, like a mill-stream; in others it was necessary to clear channels for the boats. The patience and perseverance of his crews almost counterbalanced the inaptitude and irresolution of their commander. The river was here generally confined between cliffs, sometimes 100 feet high, and the basis of which was chalk. At length, on the 25th March, the expedition arrived at a place where the river seemed to divide into two branches, one from the north, the other from the south; the Cordilleras being only five or six leagues distant. Villariño resolved to explore the northern river, which he calls, not very correctly, we suspect, the Catapuliche, and with great labour ascended it in twenty days, about ten leagues to lat. 33 degrees 40 minutes south, where it was joined by the Huechuhuhuen, a small river from the west. About seven leagues north from this place was a high conical mountain, called by Villariño the Cerro Imperial, pro-

Digitized by Google

bably the Volcano of Villarica. It was covered with snow, as were also the Cordilleras, 2½ leagues distant to the west.

From the parties sent by him to explore the country, and from the Indians, Villariño learned that from the heights above the river the plains extended without interruption to the Cerro Imperial; that those elevated plains were far more fertile than the gravelly deposits along the valley of the river; that an opening in the hills afforded an uninterrupted view westward; and that the Huechulauquen, or Lake of the Limits, mentioned by Falkner, and also named to La Cruz by his Indian attendants, was at no great distance on the plain. Apple-trees were numerous near the river, and on the plains; but at the foot of the Cerro Imperial, were thick forests of them still loaded with fruit. The Indians affirmed that the sea was visible from the foot of the Cerro Imperial, that Valdivia was distant only three days' journey; but that the road through the Cordilleras was difficult and impracticable for carts. It was one of the chief objects of the expedition to open a communication with Valdivia; but owing to the feuds of the various Indian tribes, none of those inhabiting the river could be prevailed on to make a journey and bear a letter to that place. Villariño, therefore, having satisfied himself of the proximity of the Western Sea, which he calculated (and little dependence can be placed on his calculation) to be only sixteen leagues distant, commenced his descent of the Catapuliche. In the river which joins it from the south, called by the natives Tucamalil, but which he named the Rio de l'Encarnacion, were the remains of a small chapel and dwelling-houses erected there not long before by missionaries, whose small vessel was wrecked in the river; but whence those missionaries came, or whither they went, the Indians were unable to explain.* In twenty-one days was completed the voyage down the river, which it had taken five months to ascend.

The expedition of Villariño demonstrates the practicability of navigating the Rio Negro to the very foot of the Cordilleras, and within a comparatively short distance from the Pacific Ocean. As to the train of difficulties with which he had constantly to contend, they might be easily obviated by a better choice of vessels and of season for the undertaking. In heavy launches, and at

---

* This mission is alluded to, we suspect, in Gonzales de Agueros' History of Chiloe. The Indian name of the river Tucamalil evidently alludes to the stone buildings (Malil) erected in it. The name Catapuliche, given by Villariño to the northern river, properly belongs to the people inhabiting its banks.

Digitized by Google

the driest season of a remarkably dry year, when the rivers were all unusually low, he reached a point which was probably not more than from a hundred to a hundred and twenty miles from Valdivia. But there can be little doubt that the northern branch, or Limayleubu (called by him the Diamante), is at least equally navigable at the proper season as the southern branch, and probably possesses one advantage over it; inasmuch as it conducts to the easiest pass of the Andes, represented by the Indians as perfectly free from all obstructions. The great rivers further north, the La Plata, Amazons, and Orinoko, are so completely walled up at their sources, by almost impassable mountains, that it may be doubted whether they are destined ever to become the channels of an active intercourse between the opposite coasts; but the Rio Negro seems to offer a great length of navigable course, with little countervailing obstruction; and the navigation of it may hereafter become of the greatest importance to Southern Chili. The construction of the road surveyed by La Cruz to the river Neuquen, and of another by Villarica to the lake Alomini, would open for that country a short and easy communication with the Atlantic. Falkner relates that in the beginning of the last century the crew of a Spanish vessel, lost on the Bahia Anegada, saved themselves in one of the boats, and ascending the Rio Colorado, or Cobuleubu of the Indians, arrived at Mendoza. The most southern of the Spanish American republics, we mean those of Chili and La Plata, have decidedly got the start of the northern states in the march of civilisation; and we think it not unreasonable to believe that the Pampas, or wide plains which separate them, will yield rich harvests long before the wild exuberance of the intertropical countries shall be in the least degree subjected to human industry. Nor is it an absurd speculation to suppose that the rivers of the Pampas, the Rio Colorado, and Rio Negro, may be animated by a brisk commerce, while the Amazons and Orinoko still wind through an interminable length of gloomy forests, enlivened only by the cries of wild animals, or of the solitary Indian.

The advantages which might be expected to arise from a settlement on the Rio Negro, were repeatedly urged by Spanish writers subsequently to the expedition of Villariño; but to no purpose. The inertness of the old Spanish Government was not to be overcome by motives of a speculative kind. The Republican Government has shown itself more alert, and has drawn a pretext from the depredations of the Indians, for extending its boundaries to that river. In 1830, the predatory bands of Guilliches, Pehuenches, and other tribes who wander over the plains under the name of *Indios Pamperos*, commenced a war with the

Digitized by Google

Republic, which they carried on for some time with great obstinacy; but they at length suffered such defeats as will oblige them for a long time to abstain from hostilities. At the close of the war in 1833 the republic established a fort on Choelechel, an island in the Rio Negro, about eighty leagues from the sea. During the campaign of 1832, General Pacheco reached the river Neuquen a few leagues above its junction with the Rio Negro; and General Ramos in the same year followed the Rio Colorado till he came within sight of the Cordilleras. A complete survey was also made of the Rio Negro. The narratives of these expeditions we hope to find in a future volume of documents.

The native tribes of the Pampas have been amply indemnified for whatever restraints the presence of the whites has imposed on them, by the vast multiplication of useful animals introduced by the latter. The acquisition of the horse alone has made them comparatively rich, and they have besides large herds of kine. They purchase corn of the Europeans, from whom they have also learned to sow small patches of culinary vegetables. Many of these, as the turnip and mustard, now grow wild through the southern Andes, and round the sources of the Rio Negro. But of all the plants introduced by the Europeans, that which has found the climate of the Andes most genial to it, and which has multiplied most rapidly, is the apple. Villariño found that the country round the southern sources of the Rio Negro is called by the Indians *the land of apples*. His people being afflicted with the scurvy, found the fresh fruit a salutary addition to their stores of provision; and the quantity of apples consumed, or stowed away by them while near Huechuhuhuen, could not be less, he says, than 30,000. The kind which has chiefly spread through the Andes, eastward from Valdivia, is the famous *repinaldo reale*, or golden pippin of Galicia.

Villariño also obtained from the Indians some bags of piñones, as he calls the nuts of the Araucaria; but he appears to have remained quite ignorant of the true character of that fruit and of the tree which produces it. We have already remarked, that the river Laja, or the valley of Antuco, is the northern limit of the Araucaria, where its presence is indicated by the name *Rio dos Pinos*, given to more than one mountain stream; the Araucaria being in common language styled a pine. But so far north, the Araucaria flourishes only at an elevation of nine or ten thousand feet above the sea, and it cost the botanist Poeppig a hard day's labour to climb to the nearest of the pine woods, as they are commonly called, from the valley of Antuco. The Araucaria, the most majestic of extratropical trees, rises to the height of fifty or a hundred feet, without a branch, and with a perfectly

Digitized by Google

straight stem, and terminates in a dense crown of dark foliage, resembling in form a compressed cone. The fruit is of the size of the largest melon, and contains from two to three hundred nuts or kernels, each equal in bulk to two almonds. These, when boiled, taste like chestnuts, and are extremely nutritive. The wood of the Araucaria is hard and heavy, and might, perhaps, prove a valuable timber, if the situation in which it grows were not generally so inaccessible. The forests of the Araucaria, which cover the flanks of the southern Andes, might, perhaps, alone supply food enough for all the aboriginal tribes from Antuco southwards to the Straits of Magellan. But the jealousies and petty warfare of the Indians prevent the proper gathering of the fruit. The increase of their herds, also, and the wheaten bread obtained in traffic with the whites, have familiarized them with a more grateful and substantial diet. It is by no means to be deplored, that an article of food, obtained with so little exertion of toil or foresight as the fruit of the Araucaria, and consequently so peculiarly adapted for the support of mere savage life, should fall into disuse, and yield up its place to the produce of industry.

From Peguen, or Pehuen, the native name of this tree, the tribes in whose country it grows are called Peguenches. A very circumstantial account of these people is given by La Cruz, in a memoir, inserted in the collection of Señor de Angelis, who has shown his judgment by also giving a place in it to a translation of Falkner's 'Description of Patagonia,'—a remarkably clear, unpretending volume, which contains the best general account ever published of the southern extremity of the American continent and of its inhabitants. Our limits will not permit us to enter on the second volume of Señor de Angelis's Collection. We shall close the first volume therefore, repeating our persuasion, that its merits entitle it to a European as well as an American popularity; and that it is likely, by concentrating the information which relates to the interior of the American continent, in the vicinity and south of the Rio de la Plata, to direct enterprise and scientific enquiry towards it, and thus to accelerate our acquaintance with that interesting portion of the globe.

Digitized by Google

ART. V.—1. *Du Sucre de Canne et du Sucre de Betterave.*
2. *Question des Sucres.* Par J. B. DELAUNAY. Havre: 1836.

THE constant endeavour of the capitalists in every branch of industry is to raise their own, above the natural rate of profits; and thus, as Adam Smith says, 'to levy, for their 'own benefit, an *absurd tax* upon the rest of their fellow-citi-'zens.' This can, of course, only be done through the assistance of government; and it so happens that there is not a country in Europe in which the government has not been tempted, in some way or another, to impose this 'absurd tax,'—a tax which, at the same time, is never of more than temporary advantage even to the parties who levy it,—which is ultimately prejudicial to them, and which is universally and permanently prejudicial to the community that pays it. Corn, and almost every other production of our native soil; sugar, timber, and almost every other produce of our colonies, and of all other European colonies, are subject to this kind of tax. In France it is paid through the medium of iron, copper, and cotton manufactures. The Germans pay it on iron, brass, and cotton fabrics; and the Russians, who approach much nearer to the pastoral than to the manufacturing state of society, pay it on almost every article of manufacture,—as woollens, cutlery, cotton yarn, cotton fabrics, silks, glass, porcelain, &c. The Russians would fain be a great manufacturing nation, and fancy that this is to be brought about as easily as Peter the Great raised great armies and constructed men-of-war, which he could not man. They have imported the machinery of Arkwright and Hargreaves,—the Potempkins and the Gallitzins are the capitalists, and their serfs the artisans. It is probable that owing to this amazing piece of folly the fifty millions of Russian population are paying cent per cent upon every decent article of manufacture; not a hundredth part of which finds its way into the public treasury. So universal is the prevalence of 'the absurd tax,' that even the freest of nations, the Anglo-American, is not exempt from suffering by it; for their tariff is thought, by the most enlightened amongst themselves, to cost them yearly the sum of twelve millions sterling.

We mean at present to confine our observations to one only of the 'absurd taxes' alluded to—that upon sugar. The total consumption of sugar, whether of the cane or beet, throughout Europe and America, may be estimated at about 600,000 tons;

Digitized by Google

of which the value, exclusive of duty, may be taken at eighteen millions sterling; or, taking the duty at half as much as the value of the sugar, at 27 millions sterling—a sum far exceeding the entire revenue of the Roman empire! The whole, or very nearly the whole, is the creation of the last two centuries. All the substitute which our own ancestors, or the nations of antiquity had for this great article of first necessity, was a little honey, sometimes nauseous, and sometimes materially griping to the bowels. Though there had been nothing but sugar to distinguish us, we should unquestionably be at least a more *comfortable* race than our predecessors, rude or civilized.

The French are the greatest abusers of the gift of the cane. By means of protecting duties they first exclude foreign sugars from their market, and then they turn round and bring the sugar manufactured from beet-root, without any tax at all, to compete with the protected, but taxed sugar of their colonies. The result is, that a factitious interest, to a great amount, has grown up in France in favour of the growers and manufacturers of the domestic article,—that the interest of the growers and importers of colonial sugar is injured and depressed,—and, to crown the whole system of complexity and embarrassment, that the Government is, year after year, losing its revenue,—not daring to diminish the tax on colonial sugar, nor impose any tax whatever on that of the beet to make up the deficiency.

The sugar manufactured from beet is not to be distinguished, whether unrefined or refined, from that prepared from the cane; but, instead of yielding saccharine matter in the profusion in which the cane does, even with the most improved machinery introduced into France, the beet yields but from five to six per cent of its weight. There are, however, some circumstances connected with the beet, which, to a small degree at least, counterbalance this disadvantage. The beet is a green crop which prepares the soil for corn; while the cane is a luxuriant grass which exhausts it even more than the latter: the refuse, after the preparation of sugar from it, is used advantageously for fattening hogs, and even black cattle; and the cost of production is not chargeable with the expenses of a voyage from Asia or America, as in the case of cane sugar. Notwithstanding all this, the manufacture of sugar from the beet is but a mere makeshift; and in a fair and equal competition with the cane sugar, would quickly disappear. The manufacture of sugar from beet-root commenced during the war of the French Revolution; but the great *impetus* given to it was in 1806, by the celebrated Berlin decrees of Napoleon, which interdicted the commerce of England with the Continent,—confiscated and destroyed British manufactures and British

Digitized by Google

colonial produce,—and raised the price of the latter to an enormous height. The manufacture, then, has been in progress for thirty years; but within the last seven, it has made surprising advances, owing to the high price of colonial sugar, and in some degree to recent improvements in the machinery for preparing the domestic production.

The whole consumption of sugar in France is estimated, in round numbers, at one hundred millions of kilogrammes. Of this quantity, in 1829, the whole quantity of beet sugar was but four millions of kilogrammes. In 1835, it had risen to thirty millions, last year it was forty millions, and in the present year it is supposed it will equal half the whole consumption. The actual consumption of sugar in France within the last seven years, is not supposed to have materially increased; so that, in proportion as the quantity of beet sugar consumed, increases, the quantity of colonial sugar diminishes. In short, it has fallen off since 1829, from ninety-six millions of kilogrammes, to fifty millions.

As we have already stated, no duty whatever is levied on beet sugar, while a duty of 49½ francs per 100 kilogrammes is levied on the colonial production. We shall consider the effects of this system upon the comforts of the French people—on the commerce of France, and on its public revenue.

The consumption of sugar in France, as we have already stated, is a hundred million kilogrammes, equal to about 225 millions of pounds weight; which gives barely seven pounds for each individual of a population of thirty-two millions. The price of colonial sugar in France, without duty, is estimated at 80 francs per 100 kilogrammes; or, with duty, 129½, equal to about 56s. per cwt. The average price of sugar in this country, for some years back, may be taken at 53s.; so that, the French, a comparatively poor people, with bad roads and bad communications of every sort, pay at first cost, more for their sugar than the English, a wealthy people, with good roads and excellent communications of every kind. 'In effect,' says M. Delaunay, the able, intelligent, and liberal merchant of Havre, whose valuable Tracts are prefixed to this article, 'at the present price of sugar in France, the 'use of this necessary is the privilege only of the class in easy 'circumstances; and this class absorbs for itself alone, the 'hundred millions of kilogrammes of sugar used in France, while 'the rest of the population are entire strangers to its use.' This readily enough accounts for the small consumption of sugar in France. In fact, we believe that the consumption of sugar, by any two or more countries, placed under the same circumstances with relation to it, may be taken as no unsuitable test of their respective wealth and comfort. We shall endeavour to illustrate this, in a tabular form, giving the figures generally in round numbers.

Digitized by Google

Country.	Population.	Consumption. Tons.	Consumption per Head. lbs.
Ireland . .	8,000,000	18,000	5
France . .	32,000,000	100,000	7
Spain . .	12,000,000	40,000	7½
United States	12,000,000	100,000	18⅔
Great Britain	16,000,000	180,000	25⅓

This statement requires a short comment. In comparison with the other countries above named, the consumption of France and Spain appears smaller; in consequence of the large use among their people of fruits, containing a considerable quantity of saccharine matter,—as figs, raisins, prunes, &c.; and probably, too, even on account of the consumption of wine for the same reason. The considerable consumption of so poor a country as Spain is to be accounted for from the very low duty upon sugar in that country. The consumption of the United States appears much smaller than it virtually is when compared with that of England, in consequence of the very large consumption of molasses; from which we believe *bastards* are not there manufactured—an article, of which 12,000 tons are included in the English statement. There is also another reason; the Americans, in the northern provinces at least, use a considerable quantity of maple sugar; and it is probable that the local consumption of the countries of the Union producing cane sugar is not taken into the account. Sugar in Ireland pays the same duty as in England; which is about the same thing as placing an equal burden upon a galloway and a dray-horse. The consumption of sugar in Ireland is just one-fifth part of what it is in the sister island; Ireland, in short, stands at the bottom of the scale; for which her long misgovernment and consequent poverty afford the alike easy and painful explanation.

The effect of the existing system on the shipping and external commerce of France is readily explained. Seven years ago, French shipping found employment to the colonies for the carriage of ninety-six millions of kilogrammes of sugar; equal with tare to one hundred thousand tons of shipping annually. The shipping of France ought to have increased in proportion to the increased wealth and population of the country; for that of every other commercial nation of Europe and America has done so. It has not increased; it has even declined; and one of the chief causes is the rise of the beet root manufacture. In 1827, the total amount of the tonnage employed in the external trade of France was 692,125 tons; and six years there-

Digitized by Google

after, or in 1833, it had fallen off to 647,107 tons; a decline of upwards of forty-five thousand tons, of which 36,000 is owing to the decline in the importation of sugar. Such is the official statement of the French Minister of Marine and Commerce, M. Duchatel; and the decline he alludes to is still allowed by all parties to be in progress. In the mean while, the colonists of Martinique and Guadaloupe have lost a market for 36,000 tons of sugar, estimated by the French writers to be worth to them L.20 per ton, or L.720,000. The value of this sugar in France is taken by the same parties at L.32 per ton, making a total of L.1,152,000; which may be considered the value of the loss of market to the French merchant and shipowner.

But now for the unpitied culprit, the Government. Its whole revenue upon an hundred millions of kilogrammes of sugar, at 49½ francs per one hundred kilogrammes, ought to be little short of two millions sterling a-year; but it receives revenue only upon sixty millions of kilogrammes; and therefore it loses at present L.800,000, paid as a bonus to the beet growers, over and above what it pays as a drawback upon refined beet sugar; for, most preposterously, this article receives the same bonus upon exportation as the colonial sugar which had paid duty. This, however, is not all. Even the molasses of the beet sugar receive the bounty. The bounty paid on the exportation of refined sugars in France, that is, on sugar of the first quality, and none else is now exported, is 120 francs, or 96 shillings per 100 kilogrammes, equal to about 48 shillings per cwt. This is eleven shillings, or nearly one-third part more than the English bounty, itself more than enough to cover the import duty. 'The 'importation of sugar into France,' says Dr Bowring, 'amount-'ed, in 1831, to 81,735,374 kilogrammes, paying duty, francs '39,264,743; while on an export of 9,679,034 kilos, the boun-'ties were, francs 11,614,840, being more than one-fourth part 'of the gross receipts. The duty received on molasses in the 'same period was, francs 1847, and the bounties on exportation, 'francs 518,415.'* It would appear, from the same report, that in the next year the bounty paid on molasses had risen to 536,930 francs; and that on sugar, to the enormous sum of 18,573,627 fr. In 1820, the bounty paid on refined sugar was but 270,139, and on molasses but 242,606 francs; so that, in twelve years' time, the consumption of sugar and molasses being all the time nearly stationary, the amount of bounties paid on them had multiplied very nearly eight-and-thirty fold. Let us take the year 1831, as a sample

* First Report of the Commercial Relations between France and Great Britain. 1834.

Digitized by Google

for exposure. The import duty on the sugar exported that year, after allowing thirty per cent for loss on refining, was about six millions of francs; when the bounty paid was, as already stated, between eleven and twelve millions; so that the clear loss to the treasury was little short of L.240,000. As to molasses, the bounty paid amounted to above 275 times as much as the duty received. The difference must have been paid on beet root sugar; and, adding the loss to that sustained on sugar, we shall have a sum exceeding L.260,000. The total net revenue of the customs in France is but three millions sterling; being much less than one-half of what England, less oppressively, receives on colonial produce. It is one-fourth part less than we receive on the single article of tea; and exactly the same as we receive upon the paltry article of tobacco. Even that miserable amount is soon likely to be altogether destroyed, by the potent operation of the beet root sugar manufactory! The whole course of legislation upon this subject, may in fact be looked upon as one of the most perfect receipts on record for squandering the capital of a people; for taxing them to no purpose; for abridging their comforts; for ruining their commerce and navigation,—in short, as Dr Franklin expresses it, 'for reducing a great empire to a small one.'

The beet growers now pretend that, with their improved processes, they can produce beet sugar as cheap as cane sugar can be imported, even if there were no duty upon the latter; or at least that they can produce it as cheaply in the market of Paris, and of the other large inland towns. We confess that this does not appear to us very probable, though the Colonial sugar of France is perhaps the dearest in the world. The French liberal writers assert that, whilst their sugars cost fifty francs per 100 kilogrammes, sugar of the same quality from Brazil or Cuba may be had for thirty-five.* Here we have the enormous difference of fifteen francs per 100 kilogrammes; which, upon the whole consumption of France, adds the 'absurd tax' (to use the words of Adam Smith), amounting to fifteen millions of francs, or L.600,000 sterling, to the L.800,000 already named—to the L.260,000 lost by bounties—and speedily to the L.1,200,000 now received on Colonial sugar, when it is extinguished by the encroachment of the beet sugar. The price without duty, of the sugar used in France, at L.32 per ton, is L.3,200,000. Of this amount L.600,000 is a tax paid by the French people for maintaining slavery in their own colonies; L.1,260,000 are paid as a bounty to the beet growers; and soon

* *Question des Sucres*, par M. Delaunay, p. 2.

Digitized by Google

there will be paid to them the whole two millions which ought to be received as import duty; so that the people of France in two or three years more will be fleeced of L.2,600,000 per annum, for the benefit of the landowners of Alsace; while at the same time they will pay more for their sugar, and have less of the article than any people of Europe.

If any one, in a word, desires to know how a people may be plundered, through the instrumentality of bad legislation, he has only to study the history of the beet root sugar manufacture in France. We may further illustrate it, financially at least, by an example. We derive in this country, at present, a revenue of three millions from the article of tobacco, almost the whole of which is imported from the United States of America. To follow the example of France, in respect to beet, we ought to double the present duty of three shillings per lb. upon all tobacco imported from the United States; leaving it as it stands upon colonial tobacco, that is, tobacco produced in the Canadas and West India Islands. At the same time we should permit the free growth of tobacco throughout the United Kingdom without any duty at all, or virtually with a bounty of 6s. per lb. Canada and Jamaica would probably furnish very little tobacco; but a great quantity, both dear and bad, would be produced in England and Ireland. The three millions of revenue would quickly disappear; but the smokers and snuffers of the kingdom, of the higher orders at least, or, as M. Delaunay expresses it, of those in 'easy circum-'stances,' would, to a great extent, be saved from the effects of our patriotism in favour of the landowners, by the kind interference of the smuggler. Part of this system, in fact, was a few years ago in operation in Ireland, and arrested only by an act of Parliament, and the sacrifice of a considerable sum from the public treasury, paid to the growers of tobacco as a penalty for our blunder.

The cultivation of the beet, and the manufacture of sugar from it, is also understood to be carried on to a large extent in the kingdom of Belgium, where it sprung up at the same time, and for the same reason as in France. Belgium having no colonies, the manufacture is carried on under the protection of heavy duties only; and probably the system, although pernicious enough, is neither so complex nor so injurious as in France.

Encouraged by the example of France and Belgium, attempts have recently been made to introduce the beet root sugar manufacture into this country; and within the last few months we have seen an advertisement for a joint-stock company, with a capital of L.300,000, for carrying it on in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital. The machinery is

Digitized by Google

understood to have been constructed on the model of the most improved machinery of France. If the manufacture should be persevered in, we should not be at all surprised to find it succeed; but, of course, only on the frail and unsubstantial basis of a custom-house regulation. The speculators, of course, calculate that the manufacture is to be carried on under the protection of a prohibitory duty on foreign sugar, and a tax of 24s. per cwt. on colonial, equal to nearly cent per cent on the value. If it should cost them, therefore, twice as much to raise beet sugar as the price at which colonial sugar can be imported, they will still be able to enter into competition with the latter; and they will have the further advantage of using the refuse as food for hogs and cattle. The manufacture, however, must of necessity be of the most unstable character. At present, besides the duty of 24s., there is in favour of the beet sugar the difference inp rice between colonial sugar, which has, or rather had, till last year, a monopoly of the home market, and sugar more cheaply produced, amounting to certainly not less than 12s. per cwt. Thus, there is at present an actual bonus on the growth of beet root sugar equal to 36s. per cwt., or 150 per cent. The introduction of East India sugar, if it does not altogether break down this monopoly, will have the effect of greatly impairing it; and sooner or later the people of this country will certainly insist upon having this necessary of life from the cheapest sources from which it can be obtained; so that fifty per cent of protection to the beet sugar manufacturer will be taken from him. But why should he even have the protection of the duty, any more than the grower of hops, or the grower or manufacturer of malt? The manufacture can only be carried on by levying an absurd tax upon the people; and by impairing or destroying a public revenue exceeding four millions sterling per annum. The legislature must of course put an end to the manufacture by suppressing it altogether, or by imposing on it the same duty as on colonial sugar; or by greatly reducing the import duty on the latter, which would be still better. In fact we have the satisfaction to observe that the President of the Board of Trade has given notice of a measure having one or other of these objects in view. This is wise and proper. The beet manufacture would, no doubt, add greatly to the rents of the landlords; but this result would be obtained at an enormous cost to the people and to the Treasury. In truth this is no time to trifle with the subject, for we observe that, in consequence of the diminished consumption of sugar, which has followed diminished production in the West Indies, and high prices here, the sugar revenue, while the whole revenue has increased by two millions, has fallen off by the alarming amount of L.600,000.

Digitized by Google

ART. VI.—*Report of the Proceedings of the Section of the British Association on the Mechanical Arts, at the Meeting held at Bristol, in September*, 1836. 8vo. London: 1836.

THE imposing mechanical phenomena, so rapidly and unexpectedly developed by the invention and improvement of the locomotive steam-engine, and its application on railways, have for several years so engrossed public attention, that other means of facilitating the operations of commerce and expediting the social intercourse of distant masses of people, less fascinating, but not less important, have been comparatively overlooked. The subject of water transport by steam has from this cause received less than its due share of attention. A reaction, however, appears to have been recently produced; and we have now a swarm of projectors, much more largely supplied with zeal than knowledge, who, not content with advancing in the march of improvement with that calm deliberation and salutary caution so necessary to ensure a permanently profitable issue for any great undertaking, would rush to their ends without even informing themselves of the means at their disposal, and proceed *per saltum* from a channel trip to the circumnavigation of the globe.

Antecedently to the opening of the Manchester railway, the art of steam navigation, so far as it extended to voyages of limited length, had attained to a state of considerable advancement. The seas and channels, which intersect and surround the British islands, had been traversed in numerous directions by lines of steam-vessels. Their establishment has more lately been extended to various points surrounding the coasts of Europe. British, Dutch, French, Italian, Austrian, and Egyptian steamers have been more or less engaged in transporting goods and passengers over every part of the eastern shores of the Atlantic—through the Mediterranean in all directions—over the waters of the Adriatic, the Archipelago, the Black Sea, the German ocean, and the Baltic—besides penetrating the interior of Europe on the great streams of the Rhine, the Danube, the Rhone, and the Loire. A voyage was effected, in 1825, by a steamer from Great Britain to Calcutta, by the Cape, in 113 days. But this must not be understood as having been accomplished by the power of steam exclusively. The vessel was impelled by steam for 64 days, and by sails alone for 49 days, and no second voyage was ever attempted. The most extensive application of steam to navigation, which has been yet established for any continuance, is a line of communication maintained by the

Digitized by Google

Admiralty steamers between Falmouth and the Mediterranean. These vessels have, for several years, departed from Falmouth monthly, and touching at Gibraltar, have proceeded to Malta and the Ionian islands, and more recently to Alexandria, and occasionally to some of the ports of Syria.

Within the last year, considerable public attention has been directed to the question of the practicability and advantage of establishing a line of steam communication between Great Britain and the United States; and various projects have been started, and companies formed, for the construction of vessels for that purpose—several of which are already in a state of some forwardness. At the meeting of the 'British Scientific Association' held at Bristol last September, one of the topics which engrossed a large share of interest, was the question of 'the practicability of a steam voyage 'aeross the Atlantic,' raised in the mechanical section. The statement laid before that section, by Dr Lardner, obtained such publicity at the time through the press, that it would be superfluous now to recapitulate its arguments. The conclusions, however, at which he arrived, were briefly these:—That, in the present state of the steam-engine, as applied to nautical purposes, he regarded a permanent and profitable communication between Great Britain and New York by steam-vessels, making the voyage *in one trip*, as in a high degree improbable; that, since the length of the voyage exceeds the present limits of steam power, it would be advisable to resolve it into the shortest practicable stages; and that, therefore, the most eligible point of departure would be the most western shores of the British isles, and the first point of arrival the most eastern available parts of the western continent; and that, under such circumstances, the length of the trip, though it would come fully up to the present limit of this application of steam power, would, nevertheless, not exceed it; and that we might reasonably look for such a degree of improvement in the efficiency of marine engines as would render such an enterprise permanent and profitable.

Mr Field, of the firm of Maudsley and Field, whose experience in marine engines must justly give great weight to any opinion expressed by him on this subject, assented generally to the principles and positions laid down by Dr Lardner; but he objected, that the data from which that gentleman deduced his conclusions, were obtained from the performances of steamers antecedent to 1834; whereas since that period, considerable improvements having been made in the arrangements of these vessels, data obtained from their more recent performances would have furnished juster ground of reasoning as to the present prospects of the success of long steam voyages.

Digitized by Google

The great interest which this discussion excited in most of our ports, and indeed throughout the whole commercial community, has induced us to re-examine the question, on grounds to which the objections raised by Mr Field will not be applicable; and we have accordingly investigated the performances of a vast number of steamers, more especially those of the Admiralty, from which we have been enabled to obtain data, upon the accuracy of which the utmost reliance may be placed; and we propose, in the present article, to found upon these data an enquiry into the question of the practicability of establishing a permanent and profitable line of steam communication across the Atlantic.

There cannot be a more fallacious inference, than that which is founded upon an assumed analogy between the limited coast and channel trips, to which steam has been hitherto applied, and the extensive voyages now contemplated. It will be easy to show that the circumstances which confer certainty, regularity, despatch, and safety, on the former, have no existence in the latter, and, indeed, are to a certain extent reversed. Those, therefore, who desire that these enterprises should be founded on just reasoning, deduced from practical data, will pause before they proceed; and investigate the question more carefully and dispassionately, than many projectors, actuated by more zeal than knowledge, have hitherto done. We shall endeavour to point out a few of the many nautical and mechanical difficulties which will obstruct such a project as an uninterrupted steam passage from the shores of Great Britian to those of the United States; and we shall consider ourselves as doing a public service, if we shall be the means of inspiring among capitalists that wholesome degree of caution, which, without extinguishing the spirit of enterprise, will limit its operation to objects which afford a fair probability of profitable accomplishment.

To be enabled to arrive at any sound practical conclusion on this question, it will be necessary to explain some preliminary matters which are more or less involved in it.

The moving power of steam applied to a ship is rendered available for propulsion by causing it to give rotation to a shaft which traverses the vessel near the middle, at right angles to its length. Upon the extremities of this shaft, and outside the planking of the vessel, are fixed two wheels, usually constructed like undershot water-wheels, furnished with flat boards, which, as the wheels revolve, strike the water, driving it towards the stern of the vessel. The reaction upon these paddle-boards gives the vessel a corresponding forward impulse. The paddle-boards are placed upon the arms of the wheels, so as to diverge either exactly or very nearly from their centres. The

Digitized by Google

edges of the boards are therefore always presented towards the axis of the wheel. The nature of this mechanical arrangement is such, that each paddle-board is a perfect instrument of propulsion only at or near the lowest position which it assumes as the wheel revolves; and it is therefore necessary that the wheel should not be submerged to a greater depth than the breadth of one of the paddle-boards. If the wheel be immersed to a greater depth, the paddle-boards, on entering and leaving the water, act obliquely in such a manner that the mechanical power expended upon them, or a considerable part of it, either is wasted, or may even have the effect of retarding the course of the vessel.

So long as a steamer works in smooth water, such as river or lake navigation, a regular immersion of the paddle-boards is possible; and, if a proper trim be given to the vessel, there will be no material waste of the propelling power; but this can never be the case with sea-going vessels. A vessel in the open ocean is at all times liable to the action of waves of greater or less height, and will pitch or roll so that the wheels will be immersed to varying depths, as the waves pass them. A waste of power must ensue, and will be greater according to the increased depth of immersion of the wheels.

This disadvantage has been attempted to be diminished by the use of feathering wheels. The mechanism by which the feathering motion is given to the paddle-boards is usually one which causes their arms to revolve round a centre different from that of the shaft driven by the engine; the paddle-boards being thus moved independently of the framing of the wheel to which they are fixed. Such a position is or ought to be given to them, that as they enter and leave the water, either none or but little of the moving force shall be expended upon them, and while they are passing through the water, they are caused so to shift their position, that they shall successively throw themselves into those attitudes which are best for propulsion.

The advantages of the common paddle-wheel are its simplicity and strength; from which two important consequences follow; 1st, That it is less liable to be deranged or broken; 2dly, That, being deranged or broken, it may generally be repaired by such means and with such skill as may be commanded at sea. These advantages must be placed against the waste of fuel, which is the necessary consequence of the imperfect action of the paddle-boards, whenever they become too deeply immersed. The disadvantage, on the other hand, of the feathering wheels, is their greater mechanical complexity and inferior strength, from which follow two corresponding consequences,—1st, The greater liabi-

Digitized by Google

lity to be deranged or broken; and, 2dly, If deranged or broken, the difficulty or impossibility of repairing such complex mechanism by the means and skill which can be commanded at sea, subject to the great impediments presented by the motion of the vessel.

It will be perceived that the advantages of the common over the feathering wheel will be greater for long sea voyages than for channel and coast navigation; because, if a derangement should occur in the latter case, there may be hope of coming into port to refit; but, if it occur in the former case, without the means of repair on board, the vessel must become irreparably disabled. Yet it is precisely in the long sea voyages that the common wheel is most injurious and the feathering wheel most necessary.

The operation of the steam-engine is maintained by the conversion of water into steam, which takes place in the boiler, and the alternate reconversion of that steam into water after it has worked the piston. The steam coming from the cylinder is reduced to water, by conducting it to a vessel called *the condenser*, in which there constantly plays a jet of cold water. The steam mixing with the jet is instantly reduced to water, and forms a mass of hot water, which is pumped into a cistern reserved for feeding the boiler. It is by this warm water that the waste of the boiler by evaporation is replaced. The cold water admitted through the jet in a marine boiler is necessarily sea-water; inasmuch as a sufficient quantity of fresh water could not be carried. The cistern of warm water by which the boiler is fed, is therefore chiefly sea-water, and the contents of the boiler, even though at starting they should be fresh water (which ought always to be the case),* must eventually become sea-water.

Sea water, as is well known, holds in solution certain salts and alkaline substances, the principal of which is muriate of soda or common salt. There are also present, but in much smaller proportions, sulphate of soda, muriate of magnesia, and muriate of lime. The heat by which the water is converted into vapour does not vaporize these substances; and consequently, as the evaporation proceeds in the boiler, the proportion of salt in it must be constantly increased; but as sea water is not a saturated solution, and is therefore capable of dissolving a greater

* Whenever a steamer comes into port, the boilers should be discharged of their contents, and refilled with fresh water. This is too frequently overlooked.

Digitized by Google

quantity of salt, the process of evaporation at first only renders the water in the boiler more salt, or brings it nearer to the point of saturation. If, however, the process of evaporation be continued, the quantity of salt in the boiler will at length be all that the water is capable of holding in solution; and any further evaporation must necessarily precipitate the alkaline substances which have already saturated the water, and cause them either to form a loose deposit, or yield them in a hard crust to the surface of the iron, to which they have a tendency to attach themselves.

If the process of evaporation were continued without resorting to any remedy for the removal of this deposit and incrustation, the final consequence would be that the boiler would be filled with the solid matter thus deposited or incrusted.

This inconvenience is attempted to be removed by a process called *blowing out.* As the water becomes salt, but before it arrives at the point of saturation (a large feed of water being previously supplied to the boiler), the over-salted water is allowed to escape into the sea by a pipe provided for that purpose. By such a process, if it were regularly observed, the water might be prevented from reaching the point of saturation.

Admitting for a moment this method to be effectual, it is attended with considerable disadvantage. The salted water which is continually blown out at a high temperature, carries away with it a proportional quantity of the effect of the fuel, while the water which replaces it, being at a low temperature, must receive from the fuel a corresponding increase of heat before it will be prepared for evaporation. In effect, the waste of fuel proceeding from this cause will be proportional to the quantity of water blown out, multiplied by the difference between the temperatures of that and the water which takes its place. The waste of fuel, however, is not the only disadvantage attending this process. The production of steam is necessarily checked by it; and the rate at which the boiler can supply the engine with moving power, is diminished. To produce a given effect, the boiler, therefore, will require to be of proportionally greater magnitude, occupying an increased space in the vessel, and in a part of the vessel where space is most valuable.

But with all the other disadvantages attending it, this process of blowing out attains its end but imperfectly; it retards but does not prevent the collection of incrustation; and we have seen on boilers, where the process has been strictly attended to, an incrustation as hard as marble, varying from one to five inches in thickness. The substances forming this crust being practically non-

Digitized by Google

conductors of heat, form an impassable barrier between the fire and the water; and the heat which ought to be transmitted to the water being arrested, is accumulated in the boiler plates until they are softened and ultimately destroyed.

In the shortest class of trips this formidable impediment to steam navigation is little felt. Between port and port the process of blowing out is not observed; and therefore the speed of the vessel is not diminished, and the waste of the fuel not incurred. It is found sufficient to blow out at the end of each trip—at certain longer intervals of time submitting the boiler to internal cleansing and examination, for the purpose of removing the incrustation which, in all cases, is more or less formed. Such is the case, for example, in most of the vessels which cross our channels by short trips, as those between the western ports of England and the eastern coast of Ireland, and those running short trips between points on the coasts.

For the removal of this obstruction to the extension of steam navigation, only one effectual remedy has been suggested, and, indeed, only one appears possible. It has been proposed to fill the boiler, in the first instance, with pure fresh water, free from any saline or other earthy matter, and to preserve the water, into which the steam is reconverted by condensation, and reconduct it to the boiler; so that the boiler may always be worked by the same water continually circulating through the machinery. By whatever means such a process may be carried on, some waste of water must be looked for; but that might be so small as to be replaced either by distilled water kept for the purpose, or a portion of the sea water might be submitted to the process of distillation to supply the waste.

But to accomplish this, it is obvious that the method of condensing the steam already described would be inadmissible. The jet of cold water to be mixed with the steam would necessarily be sea water, and would at once destroy the pure character of the condensed steam which, under the present supposition, it is essential to preserve. The condensation must therefore be effected without a jet, and it has been proposed to accomplish it by a method which, we believe, was originally suggested by Mr Watt himself, but was abandoned at a time when its probable usefulness for nautical purposes was not foreseen. The steam as it comes from the cylinder may be conducted through a multitude of small pipes which are submerged in cold water. It will thus be exposed to cold in small threads, and will lose so much of its heat that it will for the most part be converted into water, the vapour which shall remain uncondensed exerting so little pressure as to be practically disregarded. The water into which

Digitized by Google

the steam is thus converted will be pure distilled water, and may be pumped back into the boiler.

This expedient has been for some years in operation in several vessels of private companies. It does not appear, however, that it has yet forced conviction upon that portion of the public generally who are commercially interested in steam navigation. We must regard it then as upon its trial, without pronouncing any opinion unfavourable to its ultimate success.

To mitigate the injuries attending incrustation, it has also been proposed to substitute copper for iron boilers, though at considerably increased expense. It is found that copper is less liable to collect the crust than iron, but it is not absolutely free from this property. We have now before us a copper tube three inches internal diameter, forming an elbow on a part of a copper boiler, and it is completely filled with solid and hard matter, collected in the short space of two years, in a boiler in which the process of blowing-out was regularly enforced, as far at least as it was possible for the most stringent regulations of the proprietors to enforce it.*

It will be evident that all these evil consequences will be aggravated in proportion to the length of the voyage.

In addition to these practical difficulties there is still another to be mentioned. The smoke which proceeds from the fuel consumed in the furnace is conducted through a labyrinth of narrow winding passages, which traverse the boiler backwards and forwards several times, and at length terminate in the chimney. This smoke deposits soot, and other sublimated matter expelled from the burning fuel, upon the surfaces of those flues, which, after the lapse of a certain time, becomes thick and hard; forming upon them an external crust, attended with nearly the same inconveniences as those already mentioned arising from the internal incrustation of salt. These flues are formed of iron plating within which the water is contained—their purpose is to cause the heated air which has just maintained the fuel in combustion to linger in contact with the boiler until it give up all its redundant heat to the water. The collection of the external crust upon the surface of the flues impedes this process. That crust, like the internal one, is nearly a non-conductor of heat.

---

* It is difficult to compel the persons in the care of engines to observe this process regularly—besides requiring more constant attention than can always be obtained from them, there is a natural indisposition on their parts to check the activity of the boiler and the speed of the vessel by the introduction of cold water.

Digitized by Google

The heat of the air in the flues is intercepted by it more or less in proportion to its thickness, and prevented from reaching the iron of the boiler, and consequently from entering the water. If, therefore, this deposit be allowed to increase, it may reach such a point as nearly, or altogether to destroy the efficacy of the flues, and to impair the efficiency of the boiler to a like extent. Although these observations apply more peculiarly to the flues, they are likewise to a certain extent applicable to the fire-place itself.*

The only remedy for this evil is to put out the fires at short intervals of time, and suspend the operation of the boiler, for the purpose of sweeping out the flues. In voyages of moderate length this may always be accomplished in port; but if the length of the voyage be so extended that an injurious deposition may be made on the flues, there is no other remedy but to suspend the operation of the engines for the purpose of cleaning them when at sea. This, were it possible, would be productive of great delay. After putting out the fires, the boiler must be allowed to cool so as to enable men to enter the flues. Less than twenty-four hours would be insufficient for this. The waste of fuel attending the getting up the steam after the process would be another serious evil. In general, as much coal is necessary to get up the steam as would be sufficient to propel the vessel a distance of about fifteen miles.

The several circumstances to which we have just adverted, constitute difficulties having a general tendency to abridge the practicable extent of an uninterrupted steam voyage. There remains a still more serious impediment to the extension of steam navigation, inherent in the very substance from which the engine at present derives its mechanical power—an impediment which places a definite and assignable limit beyond which it is mechanically impossible to extend the voyage of a steamer. It is clear that the length of a trip must be ultimately limited by the quantity of coals which the vessel can carry for the purpose of impulsion. Supposing the whole capacity of the ship occupied by coals, she cannot go farther in one run than that quantity of fuel will carry her; but since she must have as much disposable space for passengers and cargo as will yield a return commensurate to her expenses, the space for fuel must be proportionally limited. Neither will an increase in the whole magnitude or capacity of

---

* Besides this the flues not unfrequently become quite choked with this crust and with crystals of salt, which escape through leaks quite unavoidable in the boiler.

Digitized by Google

the vessel remove this limitation; because in proportion as the capacity of the vessel is increased, in the same ratio, or nearly so, must the mechanical power of the engine be enlarged and the consumption of fuel augmented. To form an estimate, therefore, of the major limit of the extent of a continuous steam voyage, it will be necessary that we should examine, 1st, The proportion in which the capacity of the vessel may be distributed between the machinery, the fuel, and the objects of commercial transport; and, 2dly, The rate at which the fuel will be consumed in propelling the vessel over a given distance, regard being had to her tonnage and power.

Assuming that a certain extent of the capacity of the vessel is appropriated to the mechanical means of propelling her, that portion will obviously be shared between the machinery and the fuel by means of which that machinery is moved.

The proportion in which this space should be distributed between the machinery and the fuel will vary according to the length of the voyage. As the fuel may be replaced at the end of each trip, and as it is generally advantageous to give the vessel as powerful machinery as the extent of her capacity will admit, it is obviously expedient to reserve as limited a space as possible for the fuel, and to give a proportionally increased extent of room to the machinery. In the shortest class of voyages, therefore, a smaller supply of fuel being sufficient, a larger space may be appropriated to the machinery; and in proportion as the length of the voyage is increased, the quantity of space necessary for the fuel will be augmented, and that allotted to the machinery diminished. To this there is an evident limit; inasmuch as the space for the machinery must be sufficiently extensive to contain engines of the power necessary to encounter the difficulties of the navigation, and to ensure an average rate of progress greater than that of sailing vessels. For the shortest class of voyage, where a very small space is sufficient for the fuel, it has been found advantageous to give the vessel a power of about one horse for every two tons of her measured capacity. Such is generally the proportion observed between the power and tonnage of the most efficient and fastest class of steam-packets making the shortest voyages on our coasts and across our channels. As the length of the voyage increases, the proportion of power to tonnage is diminished—in the more extended trips the proportion being about one-horse power to three tons. The limit which must be put to this decrease of the ratio of the power of a steamer to its magnitude may be taken at about one-horse power to four tons. Such a proportion of power would probably, on the one hand, be as

Digitized by Google

much as could be usefully employed in the most adverse circumstances of weather; and, on the other, it would be a sufficiently low proportion to leave a considerable space for fuel.

In referring to the common moduli of power and capacity, some explanation may be useful; inasmuch as the terms *horse power* and *tonnage* have been received in various and uncertain senses.

By a *horse power* we would then be understood to imply an available average mechanical power, transmitted from the engine to the driving wheels, equivalent to 33,000 lbs. weight raised one foot per minute; and by the *tonnage* of the vessel we would be understood to express the number of times forty cubic feet should be multiplied in order to obtain the whole internal capacity of the vessel; including the space occupied by the machinery, fuel, passengers, crew, stores, and cargo.*

To arrive at a practical conclusion as to the major limit of a probable steam voyage, under average circumstances of wind and water, it will be obviously necessary that we should obtain some probable approximate estimate of the impulsive virtue of a given quantity of coals of average quality. The consumption of coals, other circumstances being the same, will be proportional to the power of the engine; and it will therefore be sufficient to determine what is the actual average rate of hourly consumption for each horse power in the machinery. To determine this we are fortunately furnished with very extensive data which afford results in such near accordance as to give us a close approximation to the true average.

Some experiments were made, a short time since, at the works of Messrs Bolton and Watt, near Birmingham, with a view to determine the comparative efficiency of fuel under land and marine boilers;† from which it was found that the hourly consumption per horse power, under the latter, was less than under the former in the proportion of about three to two. The average hourly consumption of fuel, under land boilers, has been

---

* The method of measuring the tonnage of vessels, by a recent legislative regulation, affords a more correct estimate of the true magnitude of the vessel, than the method of measurement formerly used; and it may be, in the above reasoning, taken practically as the indication of the actual capacity of the vessel.

† These two forms of boilers differ in the arrangement and structure of their flues, and in some other respects, to which this variation in the economy of fuel must be ascribed. The marine boiler is considerably more expensive in its construction than the land boiler, and is attended by other objections which prevent its general use in land engines.

Digitized by Google

estimated at about fifteen pounds per horse power; and taking the ratio just mentioned, it will follow that the average hourly consumption, under marine boilers, would be about ten pounds per horse power. We have thought it necessary, however, to seek other and more direct means of determining the value of this element, the most important in the investigation of the question before us; and we have accordingly obtained from the log-books of nine of his Majesty's steamers, in the service of the Admiralty —from one steamer, reputed to be the most efficient in the service of the Post Office, and one of a private company—considered to be of great power and efficiency—the actual quantity of fuel consumed in long intervals of time in which these vessels made numerous voyages. These results are in near accordance with the estimate which we have just given. The following table exhibits, in the fourth column, the average hourly consumption of fuel in pounds' weight per horse power, in the steamers whose names are stated in the first column, computed from the total number of hours, steaming at full power, expressed in the second column; and the total consumption of fuel in lbs. during that time, expressed in the third column.

Name.	Hours.	Lbs.	Lbs. per horse power per hour.
African,	3,895	3,834,656	10·9
Blazer,	1,645	1,693,020	10·3
Confiance,	2,279	2,261,196	10·
Firefly,	2,206	3,110,688	10·7
Medea,	1,176	2,153,508	8·3
Pluto,	986	954,240	9·7
Tartarus,	914	976,500	10·7
Dee,	1,161	1,933,092	8·3
Flamer,	780	1,000,272	10·7
Dolphin,	5,500	67,200	12·
Private Steamer (A),	2,259	28,225	12·5

The first nine of the above vessels are Admiralty steamers. The Dolphin is a packet in the service of the Post Office between Liverpool and Dublin; and her consumption of fuel is taken from 446 trips between these ports.

If the average of all these results be taken, it will be found to be very nearly equivalent to the estimate obtained from the experiments made at Soho.

On comparing the hourly consumption of fuel in the Admiralty

Digitized by Google

steamers, a considerable superiority in economy is apparent in the performances of the *Medea* and the *Dee*. This superiority must be ascribed mainly to the greater efficiency and power of the machinery with which these fine frigates are supplied.* Something, however, must also be attributed to the superior magnitude and power of the engines, it being generally found that engines of greater power are attended with a greater relative economy of fuel.

The consumption of fuel will depend in some degree on the quality of the fuel itself—some coals burn quickly, but develop heat with a proportionate rapidity, so that, though their hourly consumption would be greater, they might give a proportionately increased speed to the vessel. But we shall presently consider the question of speed combined with power; meanwhile we shall perhaps be justified in assuming that, with all attainable care in the management of the furnaces and boilers (on which much depends), and with a proper selection of fuel, the average practical hourly consumption, under marine boilers, cannot be less than about eight and a half lbs. per horse power.

The voyages of all the steamers, to which we have referred, have been made since the middle of 1834; and are therefore free from the objection brought by Mr Field against the reasoning of Dr Lardner. They lead nevertheless to nearly the same estimate of the hourly consumption of fuel as that given by Dr Lardner at Bristol.

The major limit of a probable steam voyage will depend not only on the average rate at which the fuel is consumed, but also upon the average rate at which the vessel shall be thereby propelled. The extent of misrepresentation and misconception which prevails respecting the rate of steamers is difficult to be credited. The disposition of captains and owners to magnify their performance has led them naturally, in reporting their rate, to state their best performances, and not their average speed. A further source of misconception and error will be found in the confusion of British statute and nautical miles. We wish in this article to be understood uniformly to estimate rates and distance by *knots* or nautical miles,† without allowing for casual deviation

---

* The engines in both these vessels were built by Maudsley and Company.

† A nautical mile or geographical mile is the one-sixtieth part of a degree, but the measure of a degree in British statute miles is 69 1-15th miles. The proportion, therefore, of a nautical mile to a British statute mile is nearly seven to six—the rates of vessels expressed, therefore, in

Digitized by Google

from the proper course, and not including delays and stoppages at intermediate ports; and we shall, as before, limit ourselves to the performances of steamers since the summer of 1834.

We have before us the particulars of twenty-six passages performed in 1835, between Falmouth and Malta, by the following steamers:—viz. *Firefly*, *Tartarus*, *African*, and *Blazer*. The total time of these voyages was 8682 hours. Taking the distance between Falmouth and Malta as 2000 miles, the average rate obtained from these data would be six miles an hour.

As this average, however, is derived from the performances of vessels which are not all the most powerful and efficient, we shall avail ourselves of the data supplied by the logs of the steamers already referred to, giving their hourly rate. The following table exhibits, in the third column, the average hourly rate for each of the vessels severally, whose names are in the first column, deduced from the total number of hours' steaming at full power, expressed in the second column.

Name.	Hours.	Rate.
African,	3,895	5·13
Blazer,	1,645	6·9
Confiance,	2,279	6·2
Firefly,	2,206	6·25
Medea,	1,176	7·8
Pluto,	986	6.5
Tartarus,	914	5·5
Dee,	1,161	6·5
Flamer,	780	6.
Dolphin,	5,500	9¾
Private Steamer, (A.)	2,259	7·7

Having thus obtained the average rate, and the hourly consumption of fuel, the quantity of the fuel which will be consumed in a given distance — or what is the same—the distance over which a given quantity of fuel per horse power will propel a vessel, is a matter of easy calculation. For brevity we shall adopt a term which has been introduced in the statement of Dr Lardner, at the Bristol meeting; and shall call the distance over

British statute miles, will be numerically greater than in nautical miles in the proportion of seven to six.

Digitized by Google

which a ton of coals per horse power is capable of propelling a vessel—the *locomotive duty* of the fuel. This locomotive duty, computed by a comparison of the hourly rate of the vessel with its hourly consumption of fuel, is exhibited in the following table.

Name.	Rate. Miles per hour.	Lbs. per horse power per hour.	Locomotive duty miles.
African,	5·13	10·9	1,054
Blazer,	6·9	10·3	1,500
Confiance,	6·2	10·0	1,389
Firefly,	6·25	10·7	1,308
Medea,	7·8	8·3	2,105
Pluto,	6.5	9·7	1,501
Tartarus,	5·5	10·7	1,151
Dee,	6·5	8·3	1,754
Flamer,	6·0	10·7	1,256
Dolphin,	9·75	12·0	1,820
Private Steamer, (A.)	7·7	12·5	1,380

The following table exhibits such particulars of the magnitude and proportions of the vessels, and the construction and power of the machinery, as may further illustrate the results obtained in the preceding tables :—

Name.	Tonnage.	Length.	Breadth.	Power.	Diameter of Cylinder	Length of Stroke.	Construction of Wheels.	Diameter of Wheels.
		ft. in.	ft. in.		inches.	ft. in.		ft. in.
African, . .	246	110.	24. 11	90	38	3. 6	common	13. 6
Blazer, . .	410	145.	28. 5	100	44½	3. 6	feathering	17. 4
Confiance, .	246	111. 8	24. 10	100	40¼	4. 0	do.	18. 0
Dee, . . .	639	166. 7	30. 4	200	53⅜	5. 6	common	20.
Firefly, . .	473	155.	27. 9	140	44½	4. 6	do.	18. 6
Flamer, . .	414	155.	26. 5	120	42	4. 0	feathering	17. 4
Medea, . .	807	179. 4	31. 11	220	55½	5. 0	do.	24. 6
Pluto, . . .	295	135.	24. 2	100	39½	3. 6	do.	16. 6
Tartarus, . .	410	145.	28. 5	100	39½	3. 6	do.	17. 8
Dolphin, . .	340			160	48½	4. 6	common	18. 10
Pr. Steamer, (A.)	660			220	56	5. 0	do.	22.

It appears, therefore, that of these vessels the Dolphin has the greatest average speed; the Medea and the Dee the greatest economy of fuel; and the Medea the greatest locomotive duty.

Digitized by Google

The Dolphin is a packet, built* expressly with a view to speed, supplied with the largest possible proportion of power,—having machinery of the very best description, constructed by Bolton and Watt. The extent of her power, compared with her tonnage, renders her incapable of taking more coals than are sufficient for about 250 miles of one continued run; and, therefore, no conclusion can be drawn from her performance which would be applicable to long sea voyages. It will be observed, however, that the great speed of this vessel is obtained by the expenditure of a more than proportionate quantity of fuel. While she has an average speed greater than that of the Medea, in the ratio of 97 to 78, she consumes fuel in the higher ratio of 120 to 83. The necessary consequence is that she has an inferior locomotive duty.

The *Medea* and the *Dee* are vessels of the same class, but the *Medea* is of more recent construction.† The splendid machinery in both of these vessels was supplied by Maudsley and Field; and from the circumstance of the equal economy of fuel, exhibited in the preceding tables, and obtained in each case from long continued performances, the engines may perhaps be regarded as of equal efficiency. The *Dee* has engines more powerful, in proportion to her tonnage, than the *Medea*; the proportion of power to tonnage in the *Dee* being ten to thirty-three; and in the *Medea* ten to thirty-six. The chief cause, however, of the superior speed of the *Medea* is, no doubt, owing to the circumstance of her being propelled by feathering paddle-wheels, while the *Dee* is furnished with common ones. The ratio of the rates of speed of these vessels being as seventy-eight to sixty-five, is very nearly that which has been generally found to be the effect of substituting the feathering for the common paddle-wheels.

Besides the performances of the steam-ships just adverted to, we have before us the particulars of a vast number of voyages of the *Dundee* and *Perth* steam-ships plying between London and Dundee. The average speed of these vessels exceeds even that of the *Dolphin*, being 999 miles, or very nearly 10 miles an hour. We have not been able to ascertain with sufficient certainty or precision the consumption of fuel by which this speed is attained. We have, however, reason to believe, that it is above ten pounds per horse power per hour; from which it would follow that their locomotive duty is not higher than that of the *Medea*.

The circumstances of weather and water, to which these vessels

---

* Built by Mr George Graham, Navy Yard, Harwich, Essex.

† The *Dee* was built by Seppings, and the *Medea* by Lang. The date of the construction of the Medea was, we believe, 1833.

Digitized by Google

were exposed, may perhaps be taken as fair average weather in seas not subject to any peculiar periodical difficulties. Of the nine thousand miles performed by the *Medea*, from which the average has been taken, about one-half was in the Mediterranean, and the other on the western coasts of Europe. The whole performance of the *Dee* was in the West Indies, making passages between the islands.

To enable us to establish an analogy between the performances of these vessels, and the circumstances under which a steamer would be placed in navigating the Atlantic, it will be necessary to explain some physical phenomena attending that ocean.

The general atmospheric currents which prevail in directions near and parallel to the equator, from east to west, called the *trade-winds*, would have a tendency to produce a derangement in the atmospheric equilibrium, if not redressed by a contrary effect elsewhere. It is known that these remarkable winds are produced by the influence of the solar heat upon the atmospheric belt included between the tropics, combined with the diurnal motion of the earth from west to east. The heated air, pressed upwards by its buoyancy, is replaced by currents from either hemisphere; which, carrying with them a less diurnal motion than that proper to the tropics, a relative atmospheric motion is produced in a direction contrary to that of the earth's motion. Hence a nearly permanent wind is produced on either side of the line, from east to west. As these currents approach the line, they gradually acquire the motion of the surface, which, combined with their mutually counteracting effect, produces those calms which prevail about the line, and which are only interrupted by the hurricanes, whirlwinds, and other violent atmospheric commotions, which are produced where the contrary tropical currents conflict, before their force is sufficiently moderated.

The stagnant atmosphere thus collected at the line, ascending by the effect of solar heat, returns from the upper regions towards the poles, and coming upon the surface in either hemisphere, brings with it the diurnal motion of the equator, which, being greater than that of the higher latitudes, prevailing winds are produced from the west. The agency of these causes is manifested in the westerly winds which prevail almost uniformly throughout the year in the Atlantic, between the shores of Europe and those of North America. There are other physical causes which mingle their effects with those to which we have just adverted. The extensive regions of North America, covered with immense fresh-water lakes and primeval forests, supply a current of cold air rushing into the warm strata over the tract of ocean between the Azores and the American coast. This current

Digitized by Google

from the north-west consequently modifies the reaction of the trades just explained; the result is—winds blowing generally in the westerly direction, but varying between north-west and south-west, and sweeping across the face of the Atlantic throughout nearly the whole year.

Atmospheric difficulties are not the only ones which the navigator has to encounter who crosses this extensive tract of water; the well-known *Gulf Stream* is a great ocean current issuing from the channel which separates Florida from the Bahama banks, taking first a direction little to the east of north, and becoming more and more easterly till it approaches within a short distance of the tail of the great bank of Newfoundland, where it sets in due east towards the Azores. The width of this current, at first one degree, gradually increases till it exceeds two degrees. Independently of the difficulty presented by the stream itself, the zone of the ocean, marked out by it, is characterised by weather so extremely unfavourable to navigation, that it is cautiously avoided by all outward bound vessels. They invariably take a course either so far north as to be clear of its influence until they approach the western shores; where, by taking a southerly direction, they convert the westerly winds into favourable gales; or, on the other hand, proceed, at first, southward, till they get beyond the lower limits of the Gulf Stream, and, taking advantage of the trades, make the western coast. This latter, however, is a route never adopted by the best class of the New York packets, except they are reduced to a disabled state.

The westerly winds, which we have described as prevalent across the Atlantic, are accompanied by a heavy sea, which is subject to scarcely any subsidence or intermission. In land-locked seas—such as the Mediterranean, and the channels which intersect contiguous islands, the effect of wind in raising the waters is rapid, and produces a short and chopping sea, highly unfavourable to steamers; but these effects very speedily subside, and in the Mediterranean especially, they produce but a slight influence upon the average rate of vessels when that average is computed from long-continued performances. On the other hand, the long swell of the Atlantic is not so unfavourable during its operation, but its effects are incessant; and considerably more disadvantage to a steamer will be produced by its continuance than any which the occasional roughness of the more contracted seas, to which we have referred, could give rise to.

To discover how far these various physical causes affect the navigation of the Atlantic, it will be necessary to enquire into the performance of vessels making passages between Great Britain and New York; and to obtain such extensive data as will obli-

Digitized by Google

terate from the computed average all accidental inequalities. It is well known that the outward voyage to the United States is considerably longer than the homeward; but we must determine the proportion between them with some degree of numerical precision.

Some of the finest and most efficient sailing vessels which have perhaps ever crossed the ocean, are the packet-ships called the *Liners*, which are the chief means by which the most respectable classes of passengers are transported between this country and New York. These vessels are built for the express accommodation of passengers who are able and willing to pay a high price for the most luxurious and expeditious means of transit between the Old and New World. Every thing is therefore sacrificed to their accommodation—all that art can effect to confer the quality of speed upon sailing vessels is brought to bear upon these ships. There are two *lines* of them; one between London and New York, the other between Liverpool and New York—the vessels departing weekly. We have obtained an account of the performance of the Liverpool liners for the last three years; and we find that the average time of the outward passage has been thirty-five days and seventeen hours, and of the homeward passage nineteen days and seven hours.

If it be desired to obtain any approximate numerical estimate of the obstacles which steam power will have to overcome in a Transatlantic voyage, there are no grounds of reasoning except such analogies as we may be enabled to establish between the circumstances of wind and water upon the Atlantic, and those incidental to the seas already navigated by the most powerful and efficient steamers. We have shown that the steam-packets running between Falmouth and Malta, are inferior in their speed as well as in their locomotive duty to steamers of a larger class; we shall therefore put aside those packets as giving a result unfavourable to the Atlantic enterprise. It has been stated that the Scottish steamers which run the longest class of passages, are among the finest and most efficient vessels yet constructed. They are unquestionably splendid vessels,* but still, none of them

* There are difficulties in obtaining exact information respecting all vessels belonging to private companies, and still greater difficulties in making public such information when obtained. These difficulties appear to be almost insurmountable, and inseparable from the very nature of private enterprise. Few of the proprietors of steamers know either the precise rate of their vessels or their consumption of fuel. If the passages be enquired after, the quickest are given instead of the average. If the consumption of fuel be asked, the most favourable will be given. Even

Digitized by Google

are superior either in their powers of speed, or—what is more important to the present question—their locomotive duty, to the Medea. Taking then this vessel as having the greatest locomotive duty of any respecting which we have yet been able to obtain information, we shall assume that a steamer constructed for navigating the Atlantic shall have, under like circumstances, equal efficiency: the question then is, *first*, in what proportion should the difficulties of the outward passage to New York be estimated, as compared with the navigation in which the Medea had been worked? and, *secondly*, what tonnage and power could be given to a steamer to enable her to make that outward passage?

The average or mean of the outward and homeward passages of the Liverpool liners would be twenty-seven days and a half. Now this mean is very nearly twenty-five per cent less than the average outward passage. It follows, therefore, that the average outward passage presents to a sailing vessel obstacles to expedition twenty-five per cent greater than the average of the two passages.

The average of the outward and homeward Atlantic passages is evidently more unfavourable, in a considerable proportion, than the average weather encountered by the Medea. This would be the case with respect to sailing vessels; but it must be still more so with reference to steamers. In assuming that the mean of the voyage between Liverpool and New York would fairly represent the circumstances of weather in the Mediterranean and on the coasts of Europe, we should be tacitly assuming, that the advantage gained by a steamer from the favourable winds in the homeward passage, would fully compensate for the disadvantage and delay produced by the adverse weather in the outward passage. This may be easily shown to be a fallacious assumption. In the first place, the heavy sea produced by these winds would be nearly the same impediment to the full efficiency of mechanical propulsion, whether in the outward or homeward passages; and would be so much greater if it were considered unadvisable to substitute the complicated feathering for the common paddle-wheels. The aid obtained by the engines, from the favourable winds, on the homeward passage, could not compensate for the obstruction which the same wind would offer on the outward passage; on any other supposition than that the velocity of the wheels might be almost un-

---

where registers are kept of these matters, they are so loosely and inaccurately managed, that nothing certain or satisfactory can be inferred from them.

Digitized by Google

limited—one which cannot for a moment be admitted. That the paddle-wheel should propel with the same energy when the wind is favourable as when it is adverse, it would be necessary to assume that the excess of the speed of rotation of the wheel above the progressive motion of the vessel through the water, should be the same in both cases—which it evidently cannot be. The absolute propelling effect, therefore, of the paddle-wheel, when the vessel goes before the wind, must be less than when she faces it. In a word, there is a certain speed of rotation, beyond which the engine cannot propel the wheel; and the nearer to this speed is the rate at which the vessel would be propelled by the wind alone, the less efficient will be the mechanical propelling power. The average or mean, therefore, of the outward and homeward passages of a sailing vessel must be more favourable than the mean of the like passages of a steamer. Without, then, admitting that the mean of these passages obtained from sailing vessels, will fairly represent the average which would result from the navigation of steamers, and rejecting still more strongly the conclusion that such an average, taken from the Atlantic weather, with sailing vessels or steamers, is of an equally favourable character with the average navigation of the Mediterranean, and on the coasts of Europe, let us assume for a moment such to be the case; because, as the conclusion at which we shall arrive will be the one to which this supposition is most unfavourable, it will give us an argument *a fortiori* in support of it.

Taking, then, the ground of argument used at the Bristol meeting, let us suppose that the outward passage to New York is twenty-five per cent worse than the average weather to which the Medea was exposed. The locomotive duty of a ton of coals in that vessel being about two thousand miles, it would be fifteen hundred miles for the outward passage. The distance between Liverpool and New York being about 3200 miles, the quantity of coals necessary for the whole passage, exclusive of spare fuel, would be therefore two tons and one-tenth per horse power. If we allow twelve per cent of this quantity of coals for spare fuel for emergencies, we shall have, for the total charge of fuel necessary to be supplied to the vessel, two tons and four-tenths per horse power.

The Medea is a vessel of 800 tons measured capacity, and two hundred and twenty horse power. Her machinery, including the boilers, occupy 220 tons of her capacity. Two tons and four-tenths of coals per horse power would occupy about 530 tons. Thus, of her entire capacity 750 tons would be occupied by the machinery and fuel, exclusive of passengers or cargo; and

Digitized by Google

this is putting out of view the obvious objection to the weight destroying, as it would assuredly do, the trim of the vessel.

That this conclusion may not rest exclusively upon the above reasoning, we have ascertained the actual circumstances of the Medea, and have found that, as she stands at present, an armed frigate, she is capable of carrying a charge of 300 tons of coals; but that, if she were divested of the weight of her guns and other warlike impediments, and were adapted for a commercial vessel or a passenger packet, she would be capable of carrying 360 tons with the same displacement. Deducting from this forty tons for spare fuel, there will remain 320 tons for actual propulsion, being at rather less than a ton and a half per horse power. Now we have already shown that the estimated locomotive duty of a ton, in the outward passage, would be 1500 miles, therefore of a ton and a half it would be 2250 miles. Thus this vessel, if lightened of her arms, &c. could not carry fuel for more than about two-thirds of the passage from Liverpool to New York.

Let us consider, however, the capabilities of vessels of larger tonnage having the same proportion of power, and affording the most moderate accommodation for passengers, without any disposable capacity for cargo. A steamer measuring twelve hundred tons, and supplied with engines of 300 horse power, will be capable of stowing in her engine-room, and in all the other space which can be appropriated to such a purpose, at the utmost, five hundred tons of coals. With this charge of coal she will have space for an after-cabin sufficient to afford to sixty first-class passengers the same kind of accommodation as that supplied by the sailing packets. In her fore part she may accommodate half that number of second-class passengers; exclusive of the space necessary for officers, crew, ship's stores, provisions, &c. Let it be supposed also, that the space appropriated to the fuel shall be divided and tanked in such a manner that sea water may be introduced to replace the fuel, according as it is consumed, so as to maintain the trim of the vessel and preserve the proper immersion of the wheels. If ten per cent be allowed for spare fuel, there will remain for the passage 450 tons, being at the rate of one ton and a-half per horse power, which would be sufficient for two-thirds of the passage.

It is therefore demonstrable, that in the present state of steam navigation, if this voyage shall be accomplished in one uninterrupted trip, the vessel which performs it, whatever may be her power and tonnage, must be capable of extracting from coals a greater mechanical virtue, in the proportion of three to two, than can be obtained from them by the combined nautical and mecha-

Digitized by Google

nical skill of Mr Lang, the builder of the Medea, and Messrs Maudsley and Field, who supplied her splendid machinery; and this on the untenable supposition—that the average Atlantic difficulties are only equal to those to which the Medea was exposed.

The frigate Medea is a vessel recently constructed, with the avowed object of imparting to her every advantage, nautical and mechanical, which the art of navigation by steam can supply. Her model has been the result of careful and anxious consideration; her machinery the very best which the most consummate skill and mechanical talent in this country can supply. It is aided by expensive and complicated feathering paddle-wheels, which, after various trials and long experience on the Admiralty steamers, are reported to give, as compared with the common wheel, *cæteris paribus*, an increased speed, and therefore an increased locomotive duty in a higher ratio than that of four to five.*

It may be imagined that the reasoning and calculations from which our unfavourable conclusions have been deduced, are founded upon the supposition that the only propelling power is that of steam; but such is not the case. The Admiralty steamers are all rigged so as to render the power of the wind as available as that power can be to the steamer—and this is especially the case with the Medea; from which, as affording the data most favourable to the proposed enterprise, we have reasoned. That vessel has been extensively used as a sailing vessel only, the engines not being worked. In the performances, however, which have formed the basis of our calculation, sails have co-operated with steam as a propelling power.

Seeing, then, the unfavourable aspect under which the project of establishing an uninterrupted line of steam navigation between Great Britain and New York presents itself, let us consider whether, by resolving the voyage into the shortest possible stages, the enterprise may be brought under more promising conditions.

---

* For reports of experiments made with Government vessels, with a view to determine the advantage of feathering wheels, see Lardner on the *Steam-Engine*, p. 303. Lieutenants Potbury and Lappedge reported that the average speed of the *Confiance* in smooth water was increased from seven to eight miles and a half, and in rough weather from four to six miles and a half an hour. These results were obtained in two ways —*first*, by comparing the vessel with her own performances previously; and, *secondly*, by comparing her with a sister vessel running against her. —See Report of Committee on Steam Navigation to India, page 103.

Digitized by Google

Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the practicability of an Atlantic steam voyage, it must be admitted, upon all hands, that its extent for an uninterrupted run comes to the extreme verge of the possible powers of steam navigation. In such circumstances, it would manifestly be a matter of common prudence to arrange the points of departure and arrival as near each other as the geographical and nautical circumstances of the coasts of Eastern and Western worlds will admit. For this purpose, it is obvious that the most western coast of the British Isles should be taken as a point of final departure. The west coast of Ireland would therefore naturally be selected, fringed as it is by numerous spacious and well sheltered harbours. St John's, Newfoundland, is the most western port, but this harbour is attended with so many nautical difficulties, that it could scarcely be regarded as accessible, with that certainty which such a line of communication would require. Newfoundland presents an iron-bound coast, dangerous of access; and even Nova Scotia should be avoided, were it possible to extend the passage—but the distance from the west coast of Ireland to Halifax being nearly 2200 miles, comes up to the extreme limit of a practicable steam passage; and we fear that any attempt to supersede the necessity of making Halifax a stage must be abortive. At Cape Breton, in the neighbourhood of Halifax, there are mines said to yield a species of anthracite coal well adapted for steam-boilers. The distance from Halifax to New York is between five and six hundred miles —but it might be more advisable, in the case of steamers, to make the port of Boston, and leave the remainder of the journey to New York to be performed by land.

We have shown that this line of communication, if it can be established at all, must be confined almost exclusively to the transport of passengers or of light goods, which can afford to pay for expeditious carriage. We may, therefore, in this case, adopt a principle which is never lost sight of where expedition is a permanent object—namely, to make as much of the journey by land as it is practicable to do. The lowest rate of land travelling for passengers is nearly equal to the highest rate of steaming upon water, even under the most favourable circumstances, where the voyage is of any length; but if we bring into the account the actual existence of railroads over some parts of the proposed line, and the probable construction of them throughout every part of it, by which land can be traversed, it will afford an additional and stronger reason for limiting the water transport as much as possible. Supposing, then, the great railroads now in process of construction, extending from the metropolis of Great Britain to its western shores, to be completed; and supposing, also, correspond-

Digitized by Google

ing lines of railway communication to be carried from the opposite coast of Ireland, to a station for Atlantic steamers, upon its western shores, the time of transit from London to that station, even including unavoidable stoppages, would not exceed thirty-six hours; and if a reasonable allowance be made for the probable improvement of locomotive engines, even greater speed than this should be named. If the voyage from the station upon the west coast of Ireland to Halifax, a distance under 2200 miles, were performed at an average speed of six miles an hour, the average time of the trip would be 367 hours. From Halifax to New York might perhaps be performed at six miles and a half per hour, the average time being eighty-four hours—thus the total time between London and New York, allowing one day for delay at Halifax, would be about twenty-one days. But if Boston were selected as the place of final arrival for the Atlantic steamers, a railroad being carried from Boston to New York, the time between Halifax and New York would be reduced to nineteen days and a half.

This refers, however, to the average times. The influence which the substitution of land for water transport would produce upon the time of these voyages, which are greater than the average, would be much more sensible. Thus, although the average voyage from Halifax to New York would probably not exceed the time we have assigned to it, yet the voyages exceeding the average would not unfrequently amount to nearly double that time. Supposing, then, such arrangements to be carried into effect, the time between Great Britain and New York would be reduced from the present average of thirty-six days to less than three weeks.

The homeward passage, however, would not afford so favourable a comparison with the performances of the Liners. All the circumstances, which present the most formidable obstacles to the outward passage, have the effect of giving advantage to the powers of the steam over those of the sailing vessels; while, on the homeward passage, these circumstances are precisely reversed—having a direct and powerful tendency to diminish the advantages of the steamers, and to reduce them more to the level of the sailing vessels. With a strong and continual favourable wind, a sailing vessel, built as she is expressly to avail herself of that impelling power, and unobstructed by any external impediments to her passage through the water, is under the most favourable possible circumstances for speed. On the other hand, a steamer is in a great degree shorn of her powers. The question, indeed, is whether, under all circumstances, her average homeward passage would be as expeditious as that of a vessel constructed expressly and exclusively for sailing. We have seen

Digitized by Google

that the average homeward passage of the Liners is nineteen days and seven hours; or 463 hours. Taking, as before, the distance traversed as 3200 miles, the average rate would be about seven miles per hour; being very nearly equal to the greatest average speed obtained by the Medea under the most favourable circumstances, where the steam power was aided to as great an extent by sails as wind and weather permitted. But the case of the passage by steamers will present itself under an aspect still more unfavourable, if a station for sailing vessels should be established upon the west coast of Ireland, which would be almost the inevitable consequence of a railroad being carried across that country. A considerable part of the time of the voyage of the sailing vessels is spent in navigating the channels, so that their average rate would be considerably increased if, instead of making Liverpool, they should terminate their voyage on the west coast of Ireland. Let it be remembered that this is a case in which the question of cargo cannot be raised. It is quite true that no railroad accommodation which could be afforded through Ireland would induce the disembarkment and reshipment of a cargo of heavy and bulky merchandise; and that, notwithstanding the facility and expedition of land transport, the vessels carrying cargo would for the most part still navigate the channels to the British ports. But we have seen that the steamers, if they can be established at all, must be confined chiefly to the transport of passengers, and the sailing vessels competing with them can be only the Liners; or vessels limited in the same manner as to their objects of transport. It is to us then quite apparent, that in the event of an Irish railroad and the competition of the Transatlantic steamers, the sailing vessels carrying passengers only, or light goods, would of necessity avail themselves of the same western ports of these countries; and the comparison of time between two classes would of course be then less favourable to the steamers than we have stated it.

Let us not, however, be misunderstood. That the passage from Liverpool to New York cannot, on any occasion, be made in one run by a steam-ship we do not maintain. Our reasoning is founded on numerical data, taken from the averages of long continued performances, as well of steamers as of sailing vessels; and to average cases only can our conclusions be legitimately applied. The average time of the outward voyage to New York is thirty-six days; and we say that when the circumstances of wind and water are such that a sailing vessel would require that time to make the passage, a steamer cannot make it without an intermediate supply of fuel. But it very frequently happens that the time of the outward passage of sailing vessels is less than thirty-

Digitized by Google

six days, and it has been occasionally made, we believe, even in three weeks. In such cases, the circumstances which favour sailing vessels cannot fail also to expedite steamers. We have seen that, to supersede the necessity of a relay of coals in average cases, the propelling efficiency of fuel must be fifty per cent more than it now is in such vessels as the Medea frigate. It follows, therefore, that if this additional propelling influence should arise from the more favourable states of wind and water, the passage may be made in one run. Such would be the case under circumstances in which the Liners would make their outward passage in about twenty-four days.

But if a line of steamers be established at all, they must start with regularity and certainty at stated times, weekly or monthly, as the case may be. The days are gone by when the reservation of 'wind and weather permitting' can be allowed. They must therefore be prepared not for average weather only, but for the most adverse state of the Atlantic. If, then, an intermediate relay of fuel be required, under average circumstances, in which a sailing vessel would make the passage in thirty-six days, how much more overruling will the necessity be for such a provision when the weather is such that a sailing vessel will take more than two months to make the passage?

It may, however, be supposed, that the fuel may be saved by converting the steamer occasionally into a sailing vessel; and in that way the necessity of an intermediate station may be superseded. This project of giving steam machinery to sailing vessels, to be used alternately or in combination with canvass, has been frequently proposed and discussed since steam navigation has commanded public attention. It is, however, liable to many and grave objections; nor has it, so far as we are informed, been ever countenanced by any individual whose practical knowledge of steam power applied to nautical purposes is entitled to respect. Steam machinery is expensive. It absorbs a considerable amount of capital, profit on which must be returned whether it works or not. In the vessel it requires a costly establishment of engineers and stokers, who must be equally paid whether the vessel sails or steams; but what is of most importance, this machinery, and the fuel necessary to propel it, occupies a large space in the centre of the vessel precisely where stowage is of the greatest value. Add to all this, that the paddle-wheels with their boxes are impediments when they are not used for propulsion. In a word, by suspending the operation of the engines, nothing is saved except fuel and the wear of the machinery; while, on the other hand, whatever advantage can be obtained by the increased expedition given by the steam power is sacrificed.

Digitized by Google

In confessing then, as we do, that after the most careful and anxious enquiry respecting this interesting question, our fears of the result of such an enterprise greatly predominate over our hopes, we are sensible of expressing an unpopular opinion. It is the natural and fortunate tendency of the human mind to anticipate success, and we ourselves shared that feeling when we commenced the present investigation: we were wholly ignorant of the conclusion to which the results of experience, since ascertained, would lead us; and we should feel as much, perhaps more, disappointment at that conclusion than any, even the most sanguine, of our readers, if the alternative were to accomplish the passage in one run, or to abandon the enterprise.

Such, however, is not the case. We have shown that the western shores of Ireland are within a practicable distance of the coast of Nova Scotia. The distance from the mouth of the Shannon, or the bay of Galway, to Halifax, does not much exceed two thousand miles. We will not say that this could be accomplished in all weathers even by the best and most powerful steam-ships in one run. But it certainly could be done in average weather, leaving a certain quantity of fuel unconsumed, and on emergencies, might therefore be effected in circumstances to a certain degree adverse. If, in a question of this kind, we may allow indirect national advantages to influence our views, there are many which should incline us to favour the establishment of a grand station for Atlantic steam-ships on the western coast of Ireland. Should it happily prove, as we feel assured it will, that a steam communication with America can be maintained from that coast with greater certainty, regularity, and despatch than from any other point in Europe, the inevitable consequence must be, that the high-road between the Old and New World, for all the most enlightened and wealthy classes in the east and in the west, must intersect Great Britain and Ireland. Thus these countries must pass the wealth and intelligence of two hemispheres, and it cannot pass without overflowing and fertilizing. If it be true that even among the people of Britain, advanced as they are in all the arts which soften and civilize, the advantages of such intercourse would be great, what limit can be put to the blessings which the consummation of such a measure would shower on the neglected and oppressed population of Ireland? It would not be easy for any statesman, however far seeing, to devise any scheme which would, with equal celerity and certainty, scatter through that country the seeds of wealth, knowledge, and civilisation. The restoration of social order, the re-establishment of respect for the law, the immigration of capital, and the consequent increased demand for labour and

Digitized by Google

improved means of subsistence would be natural and necessary consequences.

These incidental advantages, great as they are, might have little weight were there any circumstances connected with Ireland which would throw in the way of such a measure either nautical or mechanical difficulties. No such circumstances, however, have existence. No part of the empire is more richly furnished with spacious, deep, and sheltered harbours than the western coast of Ireland. It is connected with the interior by some of the finest rivers in Great Britain,—widening as they ascend in some cases into extensive navigable lakes; besides which, the surface of the country between some of the western harbours and its metropolitan bay, presents features which will attract the eye of an engineer, and suggest the means of constructing a line of railroad possessing every mechanical facility for rapid transport.

ART. VII.—1. *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, written in Egypt during the years* 1833, 1834, *and* 1835, *partly from Notes made during a former Visit to that Country in the years* 1825, 1826, 1827, *and* 1828. By EDWARD WILLIAM LANE. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1836.

2. *Rambles in Egypt and Candia, with Details of the Military Power and Resources of those Countries, and Observations on the Government, Policy, and Commercial System of Mohammed Ali.* By C. ROCHFORT SCOTT, Captain H. P. Royal Staff Corps. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1837.

THERE are two distinct points of view in which Modern Egypt may be considered. The first is, in reference to the actual condition and circumstances of its inhabitants; their habits, manners, customs, and usages; the peculiar structure of society as modified by religion, laws, and immemorial observances; the comparative state of science, literature, philosophy, and the arts of life; and, lastly, the character both moral and intellectual of the inhabitants. The second has respect to the position, military and political as well as administrative, which that country has assumed under its present ruler, not only as regards the Ottoman empire, of which though nominally a feudatory, it is really independent; but also in connexion with one of the most interesting and difficult questions of European poli-

Digitized by Google

cy, arising out of the relations subsisting between Russia and Turkey, the ambitious designs of the former, and the complicated interests which would in various ways be affected by any decided change in the East.

Egypt, viewed independently of all extrinsic considerations, forms a subject of rational and curious inquiry, interesting alike to the student of human nature who delights in surveying mankind as they are; to the political philosopher, who contemplates the varied aspects under which society appears in different nations and countries; and to the archæologist, who seeks for memorials and vestiges of bygone times, or an extinct order of things, in those manners, customs, and observances, which pass down from generation to generation, and, amidst all the innovations of time, still retain evident traces of the system out of which they originally sprung. The same country, considered as the seat of a new military and political power in the East,—a power created by the genius and energy of one man, the most extraordinary perhaps that has ever appeared in any Mohammedan country since the establishment of Islamism,—is likewise deserving of attentive and anxious examination; whether we confine ourselves to the question respecting the probable stability of the singular system upon which that power is founded, or extend our views, and, upon the supposition of its remaining unshaken, endeavour to appreciate the relative importance of a power so circumstanced, in the event of a new war in the East, or an attempt upon the part of Russia to effect the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire. To the former of these subjects, Mr Lane has almost entirely confined himself, in the work before us; which is filled with new and curious details, respecting the manners and customs of the Arab inhabitants of Egypt. The latter has been partially treated of by Captain Scott in that portion of his book which relates to the military power and resources of Egypt, as well as the government and policy of Mohammed Ali;—the only part of it which is deserving of any serious attention or regard.

Mr Lane's work is not the hasty or superficial production of a passing traveller, whose impressions are suddenly caught and carelessly recorded; who merely glances at the surface of things, and generalizes from casual or hurried observations. So far from this, he paid two visits to the country, in which he resided several years each time;—he made himself master of the language, without an intimate knowledge of which it is impossible to have any satisfactory intercourse with the natives;—he adopted the dress and manners of the people, conformed to their habits and mode of life, and mixed with them not as a stranger or fo-

Digitized by Google

reigner, but as one of themselves;—he gained their confidence by the homage which he paid to their prevailing customs and prejudices;—and, profiting by the opportunities which were thus afforded him, he devoted much of his attention to the manners and customs of the inhabitants, which he was enabled to study at his leisure, and to describe on the spot, as soon as he had matured his observations. Excepting Burckhardt, he is the only European who seems to have thoroughly understood the character of the Arabs, or who has adopted the true method for obtaining a correct insight into the details of their social and domestic life. Sinking the Englishman in the Mahommedan, and speaking the language of the country like a native, he entered the most sacred places without apprehension; attended public ceremonies or festivals without exciting suspicion; and was admitted into private circles upon a footing of perfect equality. He even received his visitors according to the usages of Eastern hospitality, and regulated his whole proceedings in conformity with his assumed character. By this careful and constant compliance with the manners of the country, he secured the confidence of the people, and enjoyed opportunities, otherwise unattainable, of observing and studying them as it were in undress, when the solemn gravity of Oriental demeanour is laid aside, and when the haughty Moslem abroad subsides into the affectionate father and the kind friend within his own domestic circle.

Hence the work before us, in which the author has given the results of his close and intimate observations, contains by far the best account which we have yet met with of the state of society and manners in Modern Egypt. It is just such a book as an intelligent Oriental might have written; and it is as free from any undue prejudice as if the author had been born a Mahommedan instead of a Christian. 'What I have principally aimed at in this 'work,' says Mr Lane, 'is correctness; and I do not scruple to assert 'that I am not conscious of having endeavoured to render inte-'resting any matter that I have related by the slightest sacrifice of 'truth.' We have seldom or never met with a book of travels more completely devoid of exaggerated colouring, or which bears more strongly impressed upon it the stamp of authenticity. It might have been wished, indeed, that the author had not, in some respects, carried his love of minute accuracy so far as he has done; and that, in particular, he had spared us the perplexity occasionally resulting from the unusual mode in which he has written Arabic words,—especially those names which had, as it were, become naturalized in our language, although originally corruptions derived through the medium of the Italian. Such deviations from ordinary usage are not in general to be commended or

Digitized by Google

encouraged; but the apparent pedantry of such an innovation may, in the case of Mr Lane, be the more readily overlooked, first, from the avowed motive in which it originates, and, secondly, from the systematic uniformity and invariable fidelity with which Arabic words are accentuated throughout his volumes.

Captain Scott has justly observed of his own work that it 'contains but little to arrest the attention of the antiquary or 'savant.' Of all the 'ramblers' who have traversed the valley of the Nile, and attempted to describe Egyptian antiquities, he is perhaps the most uninformed and incompetent. Every page of his book, devoted to this object, bears obvious marks of haste and carelessness, and, what is worse, extreme confidence. The most common and ordinary words are mispelled or misprinted; thus we have repeatedly '*Nileometer*' for *Nilometer*, '*bay-salt*' for *basalt*, '*Philoe*' for *Philæ*, '*Dendarah*' for *Denderah*, '*Ombi*' for *Ombos*, '*Propy-læon*' for *Propylon*, '*Pelusic*' for *Pelusiac*, '*Lermean*' for *Lernean*, '*Akka*' for *Acre*; and many other blunders of a similar description. In attempting to describe antiquities, which have engaged the researches of the most ingenious and profound archæologists, he commits palpable mistakes; and betrays a degree of ignorance altogether unpardonable in one who presumes to criticise the labours, and to supply the omissions of others. Whilst he confesses himself entirely ignorant of what he calls 'the hieroglyphic *lan-guage*,' he misses no opportunity to speak disparagingly of the late M. Champollion; and, in a word, shows his incompetency to describe ancient monuments, or discuss archæological questions, as often as he attempts the one or touches upon the other.

Had Captain Scott been less ambitious in his aspirations, and, instead of trenching on ground which had been fully occupied by others, contented himself with giving an account of the circumstances which fell under his notice, or of the personages whom he chanced to meet with in his travels, his book would have been far more interesting, and he would not only have escaped censure, but merited commendation. All that it contains in the shape of personal narrative is agreeable and amusing; indeed some of his sketches are clever, *piquant*, and characteristic; and we must further do him the justice to say, that his details respecting the military power and resources of the countries subject to the sway of Mahommed Ali, as well as his observations on the government, policy, and commercial system of the present ruler of Egypt, evince an extent of information, to which the barrenness of other portions of his work, offers a singular contrast.

Mr Lane's work would of itself furnish ample materials for a long and interesting article, on a subject which, as he has treat-

Digitized by Google

ed it, is, in a great measure, new; but, instead of taking it as a whole, and accompanying the author over the wide field which he has so ably illustrated, we shall limit our extracts so as merely to exhibit specimens of the fidelity, accuracy, and precision with which he has executed his difficult and laborious undertaking. Passing over some very curious details respecting the habitations and dress of the modern Egyptians, we come to the chapter upon infancy and early education, which is well deserving of attention. The treatment of children varies, as in other countries, according to the condition of the parents.

'In the treatment of their children, the women of the wealthier classes are remarkable for their excessive indulgence, and the poor, for the little attention they bestow, beyond supplying the absolute wants of nature. The mother is prohibited by the Mahommadan law, from weaning her child before the expiration of two years from the period of its birth, unless with the consent of her husband, which, I am told, is generally given after the first year or eighteen months. In the houses of the wealthy, the child, whether boy or girl, remains almost constantly confined in the hareem, or at least in the house: sometimes the boy continues thus an effeminate prisoner until a master, hired to instruct him daily, has taught him to read and write. When the ladies go out to pay a visit, or take an airing, mounted on asses, the children generally go with them, each carried by a female slave or servant, or seated between her knees on the fore part of the saddle; the female attendants, as well as the ladies, being usually borne on asses, and it being the custom of all women to sit astride. But it is seldom that the children of the rich enjoy this slight diversion; their health suffers from confinement and pampering, and they are often rendered capricious, proud, and selfish. The women of the middle classes are scarcely less indulgent mothers.'—Vol. ii. pp. 58, 59.

The estimation in which a wife is held depends in a great degree on her fruitfulness, and on the preservation of her children, and hence her own interest alone is a sufficient motive for the exercise of maternal tenderness. But with the exception of those of the wealthier classes, the children in Egypt, though objects of so much solicitude, are generally very dirty in their persons, and are also shabbily clad. Indeed cleanliness is not an Egyptian virtue, and hence cutaneous diseases prevail to an extent unknown in almost any other country. Circumcision is performed at the age of five or six, and sometimes later, and the occasion is celebrated with considerable parade and festivity.

Parents seldom devote much of their time or attention to the education of their children; contenting themselves with instilling into their minds a few principles of religion, and then submitting them to the instruction of a schoolmaster, such as can be obtained. Most of the children of the higher and middle

Digitized by Google

classes, and some of those of the lower orders, are taught to read and to recite portions of the Koran, and they afterwards learn the common rules of arithmetic. Writing is for the most part taught simultaneously with reading. Schools are numerous, not only in the metropolis, but in every large town, and there is one at least in every considerable village. The schoolmasters, however, are mostly persons of very little learning.

'Few of them are acquainted with any writings except the Ckooran, and certain prayers, which, as well as the contents of the sacred volume, they are hired to recite on particular occasions. I was lately told of a man who could neither read nor write succeeding to the office of schoolmaster in my neighbourhood. Being able to recite the whole of the Ckooran he could hear the boys repeat their lessons; to write them he employed the *areef*, or head boy in the school, pretending that his eyes were weak. A few days after he had taken upon himself this office, a poor woman brought a letter to him to read to her from her son, who had gone on a pilgrimage. The fickee pretended to read it, but said nothing; and the woman, inferring from his silence that the letter contained bad news, said to him "Shall I shriek?" He answered, "Yes." "Shall I tear my clothes?" she asked; he replied "Yes." So the poor woman returned to her house, and with her assembled friends performed the lamentation and other ceremonies usual on the occasion of a death. Not many days after this her son arrived, and she asked him what he could mean by causing a letter to be written stating that he was dead. He explained the contents of the letter, and she went to the schoolmaster and begged him to inform her why he had told her to shriek and to tear her clothes, since the letter was written to inform her that her son was well, and he was now arrived at home. Not at all abashed, he said, "God knows futurity. How could I know that your son would arrive in safety? It was better that you should think him dead than be led to expect to see him and perhaps be disappointed." Some persons who were sitting with him praised his wisdom, exclaiming, "Truly, our new fickee is a man of unusual judgment;" and, for a little while, he found that he had raised his reputation by this blunder.' —Vol. i. pp. 66, 67.

Many parents employ a sheikh to teach their boys at home; yet little is taught, in any case, beyond what we have already stated. The female children are very seldom instructed in reading and writing; and, even amongst the higher orders, not many of them learn to say their prayers. This is a result of that portion of the Mahommedan creed which teaches that women are inferior to men, and thus serves to perpetuate the degradation of society wherever Islamism prevails. Children generally feel and manifest a profound and praiseworthy respect for their parents; indeed, an undutiful child is very seldom heard of amongst the Egyptians or Arabs. Sons scarcely ever sit, eat, or smoke in the presence of their father, unless invited to do so;

Digitized by Google

and they often wait upon him and his guests at meals and on other occasions; nor do they cease to evince the same deference even after they have become men.

'I once breakfasted with an Egyptian,' says Mr Lane, 'before the door of his house, in the month of Rumadan [the Mahommedan Lent], and therefore a little after sunset; and though every person who passed by, however poor, was invited to partake of the meal, we were waited upon by two of my host's sons, the eldest about forty years of age. As they had been fasting during the whole of the day, I begged the father to allow them to sit down and eat with us: he immediately told them that they might do so; but they declined.'—Vol. ii. p. 69.

In Egypt, as indeed in all other Mahommedan countries, religion and laws form the most important branch of education, and constitute the main foundation of the manners and customs of the people. The laws indeed are a part of the religion, and, as in the Mosaic system, both are derived from the same source. The Koran is to the Moslems what the books of Moses were to the Jews;—it contains all that they are required to believe, and prescribes all that they are enjoined to practise;—it is at once the rule of faith and the rule of life, the text-book of the Imam or priest, and the institute of the Cadi or judge. Hence to appreciate the state of society and manners in a country like Egypt, the religion and laws of the people must be well understood, not only in their general principles, but also in many minor points of detail. To this subject Mr Lane has devoted his third chapter, which well deserves the most attentive perusal; as containing at once clear and accurate exposition of the important and interesting matters of which it treats.

The grand principles of the Mahommedan religion, called by the Arabs *El-Islam*, are expressed in two articles; the first of which is, 'There is no deity but God;' and the second, 'Mohammed is God's Apostle.' The Moslem further believes in the existence of angels, and of the Devil, and likewise in that of genii, or an intermediate race of beings between angels and men; in the immortality of the soul, the general resurrection and judgment, and a state of future rewards and punishments in Paradise and in Hell. His Paradise, however, is altogether a sensual heaven, where he is taught to expect the indulgence of every appetite and desire without limit and without satiety; and this it is which imparts to the religion of the Prophet its essentially debasing character and tendency. In the practice of Islamism the most important duties are prayer, alms-giving, fasting, and pilgrimage. Prayer is always preceded by ablution or purification; and the washing of the whole body is likewise prescribed on stated occasions. In fact, cleanliness is an essential requisite

Digitized by Google

in all religious observances. It is required not only in the worshipper, but also in the ground, mat, carpet, robe, or whatever else it be, upon which he prays. The different prayers and accompanying observances are minutely described by Mr Lane. The Prophet did not forbid women to attend public prayers in a mosque; he, however, pronounced it better for them to pray in private; and in Cairo neither females nor mere boys are allowed to join in prayer with the congregation in a mosque. The Moslems, indeed, seem to be of opinion that the presence of women is apt to inspire a very different kind of devotion from that which becomes a place dedicated to the worship of God. The opinion expressed by the Prophet has therefore been converted into a prohibition; and the ladies, finding themselves excluded from the temple, seldom think it incumbent upon them to pray at all.

'The utmost solemnity and decorum,' says Mr Lane, 'are observed in the public worship of the Mooslims. Their looks and behaviour in the mosque are not those of enthusiastic devotion, but of a calm and modest piety. Never are they guilty of a designedly irregular word or action during their prayers. The pride and fanaticism which they exhibit in common life, in intercourse with persons of their own or of a different faith, seem to be dropped on their entering the mosque, and they appear wholly absorbed in the adoration of their Creator; humble and downcast, yet without affected humility, or a forced expression of countenance.'—Vol. ii. pp. 97, 98.

In Cairo each mosque is presided over by a Nazir or warden, who is the trustee of the funds bequeathed for its support, and appoints the ministers of religion as well as the inferior servants. Two Imams are usually employed to officiate in each of the larger mosques; one of them preaches and prays before the congregation; whilst the other recites, at the stated times, the five daily prayers. There are neither tithes, nor church rates, nor indeed any analogous impost in Egypt, or in other Mahommedan countries. The Imams, and those persons who perform the lower offices, are all paid from the funds of the mosque, and not by contributions exacted from the people. Nor is this all.

'The condition of the Imams is very different, in most respects, from that of Christian priests. They have no authority above other persons, and do not enjoy any respect but what their reputed piety or learning may obtain them: nor are they a distinct order of men set apart for religious offices, like our clergy, and composing an indissoluble fraternity; for a man who has acted as the Imam of a mosque may be displaced by the warden of that mosque, and, with his employment and salary, loses the title of Imam, and has no better chance of being again chosen for a religious minister than any other person competent to perform the office. The Imams obtain their livelihood chiefly by other means than

Digitized by Google

the service of the mosque, as their salaries are very small: that of a Khatub (or preacher) being generally about a piaster (2⅔d. of our money) per month, and that of an ordinary Imam, about five piasters (or a shilling). Some of them engage in trade; several of them are *attars* (or druggists and perfumers), and many of them are schoolmasters; those who have no regular occupations of these kinds often recite the Ckooran for hire in private houses. They are mostly chosen from among the poor students of the great mosque El-Azhar.'—Vol. ii. p. 96.

This is no doubt a very shocking state of matters, and must appear strange to those who have been accustomed to consider the maintenance of any religion as essentially dependent upon the existence of an establishment, and a regularly trained priesthood. Islamism, however, supports itself without possessing either of these accessories, in the sense in which they are understood in Europe. It is a religion that entwines itself with the habits of daily life, which it has mainly contributed to form; and, being ever present to the mind, and continually affecting the actions and conduct of its votaries, it acquires a hold on their natures sufficient to maintain itself, even with the poor means provided for the celebration of its worship. And this tenacity appears to be strengthened by its intolerant character; which, by engendering fanaticism, keeps alive the zeal of the faithful, and fosters their pride, whilst it inculcates as a duty that persecuting spirit which other and more benign creeds are intended to repress. In fact, Islamism is the only religion that ever gained a footing in the world which has formally and explicitly enjoined persecution. To this it was mainly indebted for its original propagation; and to the same principle, though modified by time and other causes, it in a great measure owes the ascendency which it still maintains over the minds of its votaries.

'The duty of waging war against infidels is strongly and repeatedly urged in the Ckooran; and he who dies fighting for the defence or propagation of El-Islam is promised the rewards of a martyr. As the Jews were ordered to exterminate heathen nations, so the Mooslims are commanded to put to death every idolator who refuses to embrace the Mohammadan faith, and to exact an annual tribute from Jews and Christians who show the like resolution. The Mooslims are even forbidden to contract friendship with any unbelievers.'—Vol. i., p. 111.

The civil laws of the Moslems are principally derived from the same sources as their religion; they are partly founded upon the customs of the Pagan Arabs, which Mahommed retained in matters not connected with or tending to idolatry, but mostly upon the Jewish Scriptures and upon traditions.

'The civil laws,' says Mr Lane, 'are chiefly derived from the Ckooran; but in many important cases, this highest authority affords no precept. In most of these cases the Traditions of the Prophet direct

Digitized by Google

the decisions of the judge. There are, however, some important cases, and many of an inferior kind, respecting which both the Ckooran and the Traditions are silent. These are decided on the authority of one of the four great Imams, or founders of the four orthodox sects of El-Islam (viz. the Hhanafees, the Shaffees, the Malikees, and the Hhambelees); on the authority of the Imam of that sect to which the ruling power belongs, which sect in Egypt and throughout the Turkish empire, is that of the Hhanafees; or, if none of the decisions of the Imam relate to a case in dispute, which not unfrequently happens, judgment is given, in that case, on the authority of some other eminent doctor.'—Vol. i., p. 115.

Such being the *fontes juris* amongst the Egyptians and Turks, it may not be uninteresting to illustrate the practical operation of the law of divorce, as one which has an immediate bearing upon the state of society and manners. The number of wives whom a Moslem may have at the same time is, by the law of marriage, expressly limited to four; but it is not considered by those who are less strict as perfectly explicit in regard to the number of concubines he may also keep, if disposed to do so. Marriage is lawfully constituted by a declaration of consent before witnesses, and by the payment, in whole or in part, of a dowry. The power of divorce rests entirely with the husband, but is subject to certain limitations. A man may divorce his wife twice, and each time take her back without any ceremony,—excepting where he does so for a compensation,—in which case he cannot take her again but by her own consent, and by a new contract; but if he divorce her the third time, or put her away by a triple divorce conveyed in one sentence, he cannot receive her again until she has been married and divorced by another husband, who must have consummated his marriage with her. In illustration of this subject Mr Lane mentions a case in which a friend of his was concerned as a witness of the sentence of divorce, and which forcibly exemplifies the iniquitous absurdity of this law.

'He (the friend in question) was sitting in a coffee-shop with two other men, one of whom had just been irritated by something that his wife had said or done. After a short conversation upon this affair, the angry husband sent for his wife, and as soon as she came said to her "Thou art triply divorced;" then, addressing his two companions, he added "You, my brothers, are witnesses." Shortly after, however, he repented of this act, and wished to take back his divorced wife; but she refused to return to him, and appealed to the *Shara Allah* or Law of God. The case was tried at the Mahkemeh. The woman, who was the plaintiff, stated that the defendant was her husband; that he had pronounced against her the sentence of a triple divorce; and that he now wished her to return to him and live with him as his wife, contrary to the law, and consequently in a state of sin. The defendant denied that he had divorced her. "Have

Digitized by Google

you any witnesses?" said the judge to the plaintiff. She answered, "I have here two witnesses. These were the men who were present in the coffee-shop when the sentence of divorce was pronounced." They were desired to give their evidence, and stated that the defendant divorced his wife, by a triple sentence, in their presence. The defendant averred that she whom he divorced in the coffee-shop was another wife of his. The plaintiff declared that he had no other wife; but the judge observed to her that it was impossible she could know that, and asked the witnesses what was the name of the woman whom the defendant divorced in their presence. They answered that they were ignorant of her name. They were then asked if they could swear that the plaintiff was the woman who had been divorced before them. Their reply was that they could not swear to a woman whom they had never seen unveiled. Under these circumstances, the judge thought it right to dismiss the case; and the woman was obliged to return to her husband.'—Vol. ii., pp. 226, 227.

Here the law was merely evaded. But where this cannot be done, it is a common custom for a man under such circumstances to employ a person, sometimes a slave, to marry the divorced woman upon the condition of resigning her the day after their union, to him (the former husband), whose wife she again becomes by a second contract. We cannot venture to give the details of the various modes in which this disgusting transaction is accomplished. The depraving effects of such facility of divorce upon both sexes may, however, be easily imagined. In fact, there are many men in Egypt who, in the course of ten years, have married some twenty, thirty, or even more wives; and there are also women, not far advanced in age, who have been wives to a dozen or more men in succession. Mr Lane says he has heard of men who have been in the habit of marrying a new wife almost every month. It is commonly supposed that the Moslems are jealous of the purity of their women; but this appears to be a total mistake. The facility of divorce allowed by the law, and so extensively acted upon in practice, is incompatible with the existence of any feeling like that which has been ascribed to them. Besides, the law itself encourages the irregularities of women, by rendering it next to impossible to convict them of infidelity. To establish a charge of this sort against a wife four eye-witnesses of her crime are necessary. If she be thus convicted she is stoned to death; but we need scarcely add that cases of this kind are of extremely rare occurrence. The difficulty of obtaining the requisite amount of ocular testimony is of itself a sufficient protection; and when to this we add that an accuser who fails to establish his charge is scourged and declared infamous, we may be pretty well assured that the women, whatever their conduct may be, are safe from exposure. It is no doubt this scandalous

Digitized by Google

laxity of the law which has multiplied the bolts and bars of the hareem; and led to the adoption of those other precautions which are commonly considered as proofs of Oriental jealousy.

The punishment of crimes is regulated upon principles peculiar to Islamism. Murder is punished with death, or the payment of a fine to the heirs of the person killed; and it depends upon the latter whether the murderer shall be put to death, or the commutation accepted. Cases of bloody revenge, however, are very common amongst the peasantry of Egypt, who retain many customs which have descended to them from their ancestors. Theft, according to the Koran, is to be punished by cutting off the right hand of the offender; but a Sooneh law ordains that this punishment shall not be inflicted, except in the case of a *furtum grave*, or aggravated theft. Drunkenness was punished by the Prophet with flogging, and is so still in Cairo, although the punishment is not often inflicted. Apostasy from the Mahommedan faith is considered as a most heinous offence, and is punishable with death, unless the apostate recant on being thrice warned. Even under the liberal administration of the present viceroy, this punishment is sometimes inflicted.

'I once saw a woman,' says Mr Lane, 'paraded through the streets of Cairo, and afterwards taken down to the Nile to be drowned, for having apostatized from the faith of Mohammad, and having married a Christian. Unfortunately, she had tatooed a blue cross on her arm, which led to her detection by one of her former friends in a bath. She was mounted upon a high-saddled ass, such as ladies in Egypt usually ride, and very respectably dressed, attended by soldiers, and surrounded by a rabble, who, instead of commiserating, uttered loud imprecations against her. The Ckadee, who pronounced sentence upon her, exhorted her in vain to return to her ancient faith. Her own father was her accuser. She was taken in a boat into the midst of the river, stripped nearly naked, strangled, and then thrown into the river. The Europeans residing in Cairo regretted that the Basha was then at Alexandria, as they might have prevailed upon him to pardon her. Once before they interceded with him for a woman who had been condemned for apostasy. The Basha ordered that she should be brought before him; he exhorted her to recant, but finding her resolute, reproved her for her folly, and sent her home, commanding that no injury should be done to her.'—Vol. ii. pp. 126, 127.

From the martyrdom of this unfortunate convert to Christianity, who perished because the Pasha happened to be at Alexandria, we turn to the civil code, which is not altogether so barbarous as the criminal law. In Egypt, as in all other parts of the Turkish empire, the children inherit equally; and no distinction is made in this respect, between those of wives, and the offspring of concubine slaves.

Digitized by Google

'The most remarkable general principles of the laws of inheritance are the denial of any privileges to primogeniture, and awarding to a female a share equal to half that of a male of the same degree of relationship to the deceased. A man may bequeath to any persons, or for any purpose one-third of his property, but not a larger portion. The children of a man deceased inherit his whole property, or all of it that he has not otherwise lawfully disposed of, or what remains after paying his lawful legacies and debts, if neither of his parents be living nor any wife, and the portion of a male is double that of a female. If they be females only, and two or more in number, they receive, by the law of the Ckooran, two-thirds; or if there is but one child, and that a female, she receives, by the same law, half the property; but the remaining third or half is also given up to the said daughters or daughter, by a law of the Sooneh, if there be no other relations to whom it may be awarded. If the parents of the deceased be living, they have each one-sixth of the property, if he have children; and, if there be no children, his father receives two-thirds, and his mother the remaining third; or, if there be brothers of the deceased, the mother has only one-sixth, and the said brothers have one-sixth. If there be brothers and sisters of the deceased, but no parents, nor children, nor wives, the property is divided among them; the share of a male being double that of a female. If only one sister of the deceased be living, and there be neither parents, nor brothers, nor children, nor wives, she enjoys the same right as the female only child of a man who leaves neither son, nor parent, nor wife. One-eighth only is the share of the wife or wives, if there be issue; and one-fourth if there be no issue. A man inherits half his wife's property if she have left no issue, and one-fourth if she have left issue. In all cases, the debts and legacies, if there be any, of the deceased must be first paid.'—Vol. ii. pp. 122, 123.

The administration of justice in Egypt is precisely what might be expected in such a state of society as that which is disclosed in the preceding extracts. The first step of every judicial investigation, where an offence has been committed, is a vigorous application of the bastinado.

> Gnossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna;
> Castigatque, auditque dolos, subigitque fateri.

'When a person denies the offence with which he is charged, and there is not sufficient evidence to convict him, but some ground of suspicion, he is generally bastinadoed, in order to induce him to confess; and then, if not before, when the crime is not of a nature which renders him obnoxious to a very heavy punishment, he, if guilty, admits it. A thief, after this discipline, generally confesses; "The devil seduced me, and I took it."'—Vol. i. p. 131.

The punishment of convicts is regulated by a system of arbitrary policy, and generally consists in their being compelled to labour for a scanty sustenance in some of the public works; but occasionally the army is recruited with able-bodied young men, convicted of petty offences. The Pasha, however, is very severe

Digitized by Google

in punishing thefts and other crimes, especially when committed against himself. In such cases death is the usual penalty.

In the adjudication of civil causes, the grossest abuses prevail. The rank of a plaintiff or defendant, or a bribe from either, often influences the decision of the judge. The inferior judges take bribes from the litigants; and the Cadi receives his share from the Naib and the Mufti. On some occasions, where the dispute is protracted, bribes are given by each party; and the ultimate decision is always in favour of him who pays most liberally. Subornation of perjury, the usual concomitant of bribery, is also practised to a frightful extent. 'The shocking extent,' says Mr Lane, 'to which 'the practices of bribery and suborning false witnesses are carried 'in Mooslim courts of law, and among them in the tribunal of the 'Ckadee of Cairo, may be scarcely credited on the bare assertion 'of the fact.' He conceives that some strong proof may be demanded, and therefore gives 'on indubitable authority,' the following summary of a case which was tried during his residence in Egypt, and the particulars of which were related to him by the secretary and Imam of the supreme Mufti of Cairo, to whom it had been referred after judgment in the Cadi's court.

'A Turkish merchant residing in Cairo died, leaving property to the amount of six thousand purses (about L.30,000), and no relation to inherit but one daughter. The chief of the merchants of Cairo, hearing of this event, suborned a common fellah, who was the bowwab or door-keeper of a respected sheykh, and whose parents (both of them Arabs) were known to many persons, to assert himself a son of a brother of the deceased. The case was brought before the Ckadee, and as it was one of considerable importance, several of the principal Oolama of the city were summoned to decide it. They were all bribed or influenced by El-Mahhroocke (chief of the merchants), as will presently be shown; false witnesses were brought forward to swear to the truth of the bowwab's pretensions, and others to give testimony to the good character of these witnesses. Three thousand purses were adjudged to the daughter of the deceased, and the other half of the property to the bowwab. The chief Mooftee was absent from Cairo when the case was tried. On his return to the metropolis, the daughter of the deceased merchant repaired to his house, stated her case to him, and earnestly solicited redress. The Mooftee, though convinced of the injustice which she had suffered, and not doubting the truth of what she related respecting the part which El Mahhroockee had taken in this affair, told her that he feared it was impossible for him to annul the judgment unless there were some singularity in the proceedings of the court, but that he would look at the record of the case in the register of the Mahkemeh. Having done this he betook himself to the Basha, with whom he was in great favour, for his knowledge and integrity, and complained to him that the tribunal of the Ckadee was disgraced by the administration of the most flagrant injustice; that false witness was admitted by the Oolama, however evident and glaring

Digitized by Google

it might be; and that a judgment which had been given in a late case, during his absence, was the general talk and wonder of the town.

'The Basha summoned the Ckadee, and all the Oolama who had tried this case, to meet the Mooftee in the Citadel, and, when they had assembled there, addressed them, as from himself, with the Mooftee's complaint. The Ckadee appearing like the Oolama highly indignant at this charge, demanded to know upon what it was grounded. The Basha replied that it was a general charge but particularly grounded upon the case in which the court had admitted the claim of a bowwab to relationship and inheritance which they could not believe to be his right. The Ckadee here urged that he had passed sentence in accordance with the unanimous decision of the Oolama then present. "Let the record of the case be read," said the Basha. The journal being sent for, this was done; and when the secretary had finished reading the minutes, the Ckadee in a loud tone of proud authority, said, "And I judged so." The Mooftee in a louder and more authoritative tone exclaimed, "And thy judgment is false." All eyes were fixed in astonishment, now at the Mooftee, now at the Basha, now at the other Oolama. The Ckadee and the Oolama rolled their heads and stroked their beards. The former exclaimed, tapping his breast, "I, the Ckadee of Musr, pass a false sentence!" "And we," said the Oolama, "we, Sheykh Mahdee, we, Oolama el-Islam give a false decision!" "O Sheykh Mahdee," said Mahhroockee (who, from his commercial transactions with the Basha could generally obtain a place in his councils), "respect the Oolama as they respect thee." "O Mahhroockee," exclaimed the Mooftee, "art thou concerned in this affair? Declare what part thou hast in it, or else hold thy peace: Go speak in the assemblies of the merchants, but presume not again to open thy mouth in the council of the Oolama." Mahhroockee immediately left the palace, for he saw how the affair would terminate, and had to make his arrangements accordingly. The Mooftee was now desired by the other Oolama to adduce a proof of the invalidity of their decision. Drawing from his breast a small book on the laws of inheritance, he read from it: "To establish a claim to relationship and inheritance, the names of the father and mother of the claimant, and those of his father's father and mother, and of his mother's father and mother, must be ascertained." The names of the father and mother of the pretended father of the bowwab, the false witnesses had not been prepared to give; and this deficiency in the testimony (which the Oolama, in trying the case, purposely overlooked) now caused the sentence to be annulled.'—Vol. i. p. 136, *et seq.*

The three thousand purses were immediately restored by the hands of the bowwab's master, who was employed for the purpose by Mahroockee, chief of the merchants, and the bowwab himself was 'severely bastinaded,'—a punishment which ought much rather to have been administered, by way of correction, to the Cadi and the Ulema.

The revenue of the Pasha of Egypt is generally said to amount to about three millions sterling. Of this nearly one-half arises

Digitized by Google

from the direct taxes on land, and from the indirect exactions to which the fellaheen or peasants are subjected; the remainder is made up of the customs, a tax on palm-trees, a kind of income tax, and the sale of various productions of the land, by which the government frequently obtains a profit of fifty per cent. All accounts agree that the present Pasha has increased his revenue to this enormous amount by the most oppressive measures.

He has dispossessed of their lands all the private proprietors throughout his dominions, alloting to each as a partial compensation, a pension for life, proportioned to the extent and quality of the land which belonged to him; so that the farmer has nothing to leave to his children, except his hut, and perhaps a few cattle, with some small savings. He has also thrown into his treasury a considerable proportion of the incomes of religious and charitable institutions, and thus rendered himself extremely odious to most persons of the religious and learned professions. Of all monopolists indeed he is the most grinding and insatiable; but his system, in this respect, is gradually working out its own cure by the failure of most of his manufacturing and commercial speculations. The direct taxes on land are proportioned to the natural advantages of the soil; but their average amount is about eight shillings per feddan, or English acre. The cultivator, however, cannot calculate exactly the extent of the government demand; and he not only suffers from indirect exactions of butter, honey, wax, wool, and other commodities, but is even obliged to pay the hire of the camels which convey his grain to the government granary, besides defraying various other expenses. A portion of the produce of his land, sometimes the whole, is taken by the government at a fixed price; but in many parts of Egypt this is retained to make up for the debts of the insolvent peasants. The consequence is, that the wretched fellah, to supply the bare means of existence, is obliged to steal and convey secretly to his hut as much as he can of the produce of the land. He may either himself supply the seed, or obtain it in loan from the government; but in the latter case he seldom obtains a sufficient quantity; a considerable portion being generally stolen by the persons through whose hands it passes before he receives it. In fact, it would require a volume to contain an enumeration of all the oppressions endured by the peasantry of Egypt. 'It would be scarcely 'possible,' says Mr Lane, 'for them to suffer more, and live.' Hence the whole land is the habitation of wretchedness and misery. Captain Scott 'doubts whether the fellah would labour 'with more zeal and activity if the ground he tilled were his own.' This observation, however, is at equal variance with principle and experience. No man will labour assiduously who is depri-

Digitized by Google

ved of all interest in the fruits of his own toil. Security is the condition of industry and improvement. At present, the fellah is quite destitute of property of any sort; and being a mere mechanical engine, working principally, if not exclusively, for the benefit of others, whilst he is at the same time exposed to ever-recurring oppressions and exactions, the wonder is, not that he should be indolent, crafty, and mistrustful, but that, amidst so much suffering and misery, he should still retain qualities which almost serve to redeem his character, and to entitle him to our respect and sympathy. He is by nature mild, sober, intelligent; oppression has made him lazy, cunning, and suspicious.

We shall here advert to Mr Lane's opinion respecting the innovations introduced into Egypt by the present ruler of that country. There has been a great deal of exaggeration on this subject, and that too in opposite directions. Some persons talk in extravagant terms of the advance of civilisation in Egypt, and prognosticate results still more wonderful than any which they allege to have been yet realized; whilst others, again, appalled by the spectacle of universal misery and oppression, denounce the tyranny of Mohammed Ali as worse than that of the Turks and Mamlukes united. But the truth will, as usual, be found to lie pretty nearly in the middle between these extremes. Even in the most favourable circumstances, civilisation is the work of time. A nation is not to be regenerated by the mere fiat of a despotic ruler; and though an illusive appearance of improvement may be superinduced by arbitrary means, yet for a long period to come this must be entirely superficial, leaving the mass nearly in the same state as before. On the other hand, a powerful impulse has undoubtedly been given, and a beginning made in the work of reformation, though no doubt at a terrible expense of human suffering. A state of society, considered as almost immutable, has been shaken to its very foundation; and European customs have begun to spread to an extent which augurs the ultimate overthrow of those ancient barriers which have so long withstood the advancing tide of Christian civilisation. But let us hear Mr Lane—

'The present state of the government of this country,' says he, 'shows how absurd is the assertion that Egypt possesses a legislative assembly that can with any propriety be called representative of the people. The will of the Basha is still absolute; but he has certainly effected a great reform by the introduction of European military and naval tactics, the results of which have already been considerable, and will be yet more extensive, and, in most respects, desirable. Already it has removed a great portion of that weight of prejudice which has held down the Turks so low in the scale of humanity; by convincing them that one of our branches of science and practice is so far superior to that to which they

Digitized by Google

were accustomed, it has made them in general willing, if not desirous, to learn what more we are able to teach them. One of its effects already manifest might be regarded by an unreflecting mind as of no importance, but is considered by the philosophical Mooslim as awfully portentous, and hailed by the Christian as an omen of the brightest promise. *The Turks have been led to imitate us in our luxuries;* several of the more wealthy began by adopting the use of the knife and the fork; the habit of openly drinking wine immediately followed, and has become common among a great number of the higher officers of the government. That a remarkable indifference to religion is indicated by this innovation is evident; and the principles of the dominant class will doubtless spread, though they have not yet done so, among the inferior members of the community. The former have begun to undermine the foundations of El-Islam; the latter as yet seem to look on with apathy, or at least with resignation to the decrees of Providence; but they will probably soon assist in the work, and the overthrow of the whole fabric may reasonably be expected to ensue at a period not very remote.

'The acquisition of a powerful empire, independent of the Porte, appears to have been the grand, and almost the sole object of the present Basha of Egypt. He has introduced many European sciences, arts, and manufactures, but all in furtherance of this project; for his new manufactures have impoverished his people. He has established a printing-office; but the works which have issued from it are almost solely intended for the instruction of his military, naval, and civil servants. A newspaper is printed at another press in the citadel; its paragraphs, however, are seldom on any other subject than the affairs of the government.

'I have candidly stated my opinion, that the policy of Mohammed Alee is in several respects erroneous, and that his people are in several respects severely oppressed; but the circumstances in which he has been placed offer large excuses for his severity. To judge of his character fairly, we should compare him with another Turkish reformer, his nominal sovereign, the Sooltan. In every point of view he has shown his superiority to the latter, and especially in the discipline of his forces. While the Sooltan has been more closely imitating us in trivial matters, as, for instance, in the new military dress which he has introduced, Mohammed Alee has aimed at and attained more important objects. When we would estimate his character by the massacre of the Mamelooks, a fact most painful to reflect upon, we should admit that he had recourse to this horrid expedient for a most desirable end; and may at the same time place in the opposite scale the asylum which he granted to the Greek refugees when the blood of their countrymen ran in the gutters of Constantinople. It is much to be wished, for the relief of his people, who now suffer so much in consequence of his ambition, that Mohammed Alee were either acknowledged an independent prince, or induced to join hand and heart with the Sooltan."—Vol. ii. pp. 349, 352.

In the general scope of these observations we entirely coincide. We give the Viceroy full credit for the reforms he has achieved, whatever may have been the motive which impelled him to under-

Digitized by Google

take them; we even admit that a tyranny like his may have, to a certain extent, been necessary to originate and enforce changes so repugnant to the confirmed habits and manners of the people; and we only regret that his ambition, or his avarice, or both, should have induced him to push his system to an extent that endangers its stability, by nurturing in its bosom elements of opposition, which may explode in some violent and destructive convulsion when the restraining power of government has passed into a less able and vigorous hand. In some respects, however, he is retracing his steps, and endeavouring, as his subjects advance in intelligence, to mitigate the pressure of those burdens, which cannot be altogether removed. Even the Arab fellaheen, amidst all the oppressions and exactions to which they are exposed, have derived some compensating advantages of which they cannot possibly be insensible. From being considered as little better than beasts of burden, or fit only to direct the oxen that drew their ploughs or turned their water-wheels, they have been raised to fill offices of trust in every branch of the administration. The Viceroy has given to his system a character essentially national, because it has been created solely out of the elements which were supplied by the country. It is not a foreign but a native despotism. Hence, if the people are now compelled to cultivate eight times the quantity of land that is necessary for their own subsistence; if they are obliged to excavate canals, and construct roads, bridges, and other public works; if they are sent by order of government to receive instruction in the sciences and arts as taught in the various arsenals, manufactories, schools, and colleges which have been established, or even commanded to repair to foreign countries, with a view to their still greater improvement; and, lastly, if they are forced, by an unsparing conscription, to enter the military service, by which the whole system is upheld; all this is the product of a tyranny which must eventually improve their condition; and which, being identified with the cause of national advancement, must relax in its pressure, and become milder and milder in proportion as the new order of things acquires sufficient energy to sustain and explicate itself without extrinsic applications or violent impulsions.

The regular Egyptian army is now recruited almost exclusively from the fellaheen, or native Arab population of Egypt; and if all the regiments of which it is composed were kept to their full establishment, it would amount to about ninety thousand men of all arms. But as few, if any, of the regiments are complete—indeed some of them are mere skeletons—the strength of the regular force, including even the staff and the military schools, cannot, according to Captain Scott, be estimated at more than

Digitized by Google

eighty thousand men ;—an enormous body of troops to be in great measure raised out of a population, not much exceeding that of Scotland. This estimate is exclusive of the troops raised in Syria since the acquisition of that country; and also of the irregular force kept in pay by Mohammed Ali, consisting of Bedouins and other tribes.

The native of Egypt is, in many respects, fitted to make a good soldier. He is hardy, and capable of enduring great bodily fatigue; temperate, and satisfied with the coarsest food; docile, and easily led, particularly by kindness; respectful to his superiors, and obedient to the rules of military discipline. But, as Captain Scott observes, it may be doubted whether the Frank instructors of the Egyptian army themselves know the true meaning of the term discipline; and, from all that we can learn, they are of a class not much fitted to elicit respect even from ignorant Arabs. In the qualities of alertness on their posts, order and regularity in their quarters, or cleanliness and respectability in their appearance, the soldiers of the present army of Egypt are still deplorably defective; indeed the filthy habits of these men were far more revolting to the decent Turks than all the excesses they committed during the campaign which terminated with the decisive battle of Konieh.

'In the formation of the Egyptian army,' says Captain Scott, 'Mohammed Ali's greatest difficulty was to find a class of whom he could make officers. The Arabs, with all their ignorance, were probably more fit for the purpose than the Turks; but he was justly fearful that the officers, if taken from the same class with the soldiers, would acquire an influence which might prove subversive of his plans, and cause his own destruction, without effecting any permanent good for the country; whereas by persuading the Turks to accept the superior offices, he kept them in his interest, without apparently doing any injustice to the contemned native fellah.

'Aware, however, that this state of things cannot last, Mohammed Ali, whilst he affects to favour the Turks, and is obliged to humour their prejudices, is at the same time preparing the natives of the country (who are by no means so inveterately opposed to Frank innovations, and do not possess the overbearing conceit and obstinacy of the Osmanlees) to take the stations to which their superior acquirements will entitle them. By the encouragement given to talent, and the establishment of schools, they are already made aware of the debt of obligation they owe Mohammed Ali. *They are also daily losing some portion of the awe with which they have been accustomed to regard their Turkish oppressors.*'—*Rambles*, vol. ii. pp. 226, 227.

This is perhaps the greatest advantage of all. When the oppressed once learn to despise, they soon cease to dread their oppressors, and the reign of the latter is near its close. But from all that we

Digitized by Google

learn of the Egyptian army, it appears that the officers compose by far the worst class in that body. In all military qualities they are inferior to the men in the ranks; and hence the Arab troops are not what the French call *troupes manœuvrières*. Their movements are deficient in celerity, precision, and unity; indeed their utmost knowledge of tactics, or rather their utmost instruction in tactical evolutions, consists in deploying from column into line, re-forming column, and some few other equally simple movements; and even these are not only executed in a loose and slovenly manner, but occupy a space of time which would insure their complete destruction before most European troops. Some of the Viceroy's parasites are, we know, in the habit of telling him that his troops are a match for the best-disciplined soldiers in Europe; but he would do well not to put much faith in such flattering statements. He has not a regiment in his service which, if surprised by a body of European cavalry, could form square in time to resist it; or which, even in the best formation, could withstand the shock of a vigorous charge by Austrian, Prussian, or even Russian horse. As to his infantry being a match for that of any European military power, the idea is perfectly preposterous. However brave the individual soldiers may be, the mass has not yet acquired that unity of action and rapidity of movement which alone could give it a chance against European infantry, even of the second class. Besides, we suspect, it yet wants the moral power which, as Napoleon observed, is to the physical as three parts to one. 'But if Mohammed Ali has not 'succeeded in bringing his army to a very high state of either 'instruction or discipline, he has, at all events,' says Captain Scott, 'organized a body of men fully equal to cope with any 'enemy against whom he is for some time likely to have to con-'tend.' It proved itself superior to the irregular troops of the Sultan, both at Ham and at Konieh; and it has, though not without great difficulty, prevailed against the wild, undisciplined valour of the fanatical sectaries of Arabia. But the prudence of the Viceroy will no doubt defer as long as possible a formal trial of strength and skill with the soldiers and the tactics of Europe.

'Regarding the Egyptian army in that light (viz. as a match for the best disciplined soldiers of Europe), there is something quite ludicrous,' says Captain Scott, 'in its present Franco-Mussulman state; from the short *affairé* gait of the French Pasha, its instructor-general [Suleiman-Pasha, *alias* Colonel Sèves, ex-aid-de-camp to Marshal Ney, who, by the way, deserted to the Sultan not long after the battle of Konieh], whose ex-Christian legs, encumbered in a Turkish nether garment, struggle in vain for the mastery over its cumbersome and ample folds,

Digitized by Google

to the listless Arab sentinel posted at his door, who—regardless of all decorum, civil, and military—having laid his firelock down in a corner, sits at his ease, *faccendo la caccia dei pidocchi.*'—*Rambles*, vol. ii. pp. 228, 229.

But with every deduction that can reasonably be made, it must be confessed that the Viceroy has effected wonders. In little more than thirty years he has not only raised himself from a Bimbashi, or captain, in which capacity he landed in Egypt, to be the undisputed sovereign of that country, but having swept away all his enemies in succession, he has created an army and a navy; introduced arts, sciences, and manufactures; established order and tranquillity throughout his dominions; vanquished prejudices which appeared to be immutable and insuperable; overcome Turkish pride and obstinacy, as well as Arab indolence and ignorance; carried his victorious arms into Abyssinia, Arabia, the Morea, Syria, and the country beyond the Taurus; humbled the Porte, his nominal sovereign; added Syria and the island of Candia to Egypt; and established his independence upon so solid a basis that, independently of its virtual, if not formal, recognition by the powers of Europe, his successor, though possessing far less ability than himself, will find it a comparatively easy matter to maintain the power which he has acquired and established. These are not the achievements of an ordinary man; they are the fruits of rare sagacity, unwearied perseverance, indomitable energy, and mental endowments of the very highest order. That his sway is absolute and despotic no one can deny; but if the case had been otherwise he would in all probability have laboured in vain. It is by unity of purpose and of will, backed by inflexible courage and resolution, that he has been able to create a new order of things out of the very elements of anarchy and discord, and to lay a good foundation for future improvement.

Of the difficulties which he has to contend against, few except those who have visited Egypt and are intimately acquainted with the Turkish and the Arab character, can form any adequate conception. But they have, in part at least, been accurately described by Machiavelli in the sixth chapter of the *Principe*, which treats *De' Principati nuovi che con le proprie armi et virtù s'acquistano.* After remarking that 'le difficultà che hanno '(Principi) nell'acquistare il Principato, nascono in parte da'nuovi 'ordini et modi che sono forzati d'introdurre, per fondare lo Stato 'loro, e la loro sicurtà,' the far-sighted Florentine Secretary proceeds thus: 'Et debbesi considerare, come non è cosa più diffi-'cile à trattare, ne più dubbia à riuscire, ne più pericolosa à ma-'neggiare, che farsi capo ad introdurre nuovi ordini. Perche l'in-'troduttore hà per nemici, tutti coloro che degli ordini vecchi fanno

Digitized by Google

'bene; et ha tiepidi difensori tutti quelli che degli ordini nuovi fa-
'rebbono bene: laqual tiepidezza nasce, parte per paura degli av-
'versarii che hanno le leggi in beneficio loro, parte della incre-
'dulità degli huomini, i quali non credono in verità una cosa
'nuova, *se non ne veggono nata esperienza ferma.* Donde nasce,
'che qualunque volta quelli che sono nemici hanno occasione
'd'assaltare, lo fanno partialmente, et quegli altri diffendono tie-
'pidamente, in modo che insieme con loro si periclita.'

The most formidable difficulties of his position have already been surmounted by the Viceroy; but he has still others to contend against, some of them arising out of his very successes. The basis of his whole system is his army; which he is consequently obliged to maintain upon a scale altogether disproportioned to the population and resources of the country whence it is chiefly drawn. It is recruited by a conscription, which is enforced in the same rude and unceremonious manner as in Russia; a certain number of recruits are required from a village, and, to obtain them, the sheikh, who is entrusted with the execution of the order, generally adopts the plan which gives him the least trouble, and which, for the same reason, is almost always the most oppressive in its operation. Hence, notwithstanding the advantages which the military service holds out, most parents have a great horror at parting with their children as recruits, and, to defeat the conscription, mutilation is practised to a shocking extent. 'There is now,' says Mr Lane, referring to the year 1834, 'seldom to be found, in any of the villages, an able-bodied 'youth or young man, who has not had one or more of his teeth 'broken out, that he may not be able to bite a cartridge, or a 'finger cut off, or an eye pulled out or blinded, to prevent his 'being taken as a recruit' (vol. i. p. 246.) The draughts, too, are more numerous than the population can supply, and in many places the cultivation of the soil is consequently abandoned for want of labourers.

The recent acquisitions of the Viceroy form another source of difficulty to his government. Syria is but half conquered. Since it fell under the dominion of Mohammed Ali frequent insurrections have broken out; and, in fact, the country is rather in a state of military occupation, than in that of entire and complete subjection to his sway. The Syrians discovered, when it was too late, the fatal error they had committed, when, in a moment of discontent, they assisted Ibrahim Pasha in driving the Turks beyond the Taurus; and, impatient of taxation, accustomed to a species of wild independence, and maddened by the searching rigour of the Egyptian system, so different from the irregular but upon the whole mild rule of the Sultan, they have made repeated and

Digitized by Google

desperate efforts to cast off the yoke which they aided in placing on their own necks. The fierce, untamed tribes who inhabit the inaccessible fastnesses of Mount Lebanon are also a source of serious annoyance; and their inroads, invited and encouraged by the general discontent which prevails in the country, require, for their repression, the constant presence of a large military force. Candia is in some respects similarly circumstanced; and being only as it were provisionally occupied, is consequently another source of weakness. The revenue raised in the island is insufficient to defray the current expenses of the government, and to pay the Egyptian troops necessary for its protection. Far from being a source of profit to the Viceroy, Candia obliges him to expend, in maintaining his authority, part of the taxes levied from the oppressed people of Egypt; and whilst its possession is calculated to excite the jealousy of the Greeks, a large force would, in the event of another war with Turkey, be necessary for its defence. In short, with Syria in a state of chronic insurrection on the one hand, and Candia draining his finances, and neutralizing a portion of troops, on the other, the Viceroy, from the dissemination of his force alone, independently of all other causes, is placed in so critical a situation, that all his sagacity and firmness will be requisite to effect his extrication. His ambition has greatly outrun his prudence, and even endangered the stability of his power, which time alone can consolidate. Of this, indeed, he seems to have become fully aware, and he is now shaping his policy accordingly.

In the mean while, it is above all things his interest to remain at peace with the Sultan, his nominal master; and we also agree with Captain Scott in thinking that it is also the interest of Great Britain 'to increase the power of Egypt by every pos-'sible means.' The policy of attempting to keep Egypt in a state of dependence upon Turkey, would, if pursued, serve only to advance the designs of Russia. It is as an independent power alone, and not as a feudatory or dependent state, that the resources created in that country can be rendered available, to their full extent, for sustaining the Sultan, in any new contest with Russia, and co-operating in the general system of repression which it is most clearly for the interest of the powers of Europe, particularly Great Britain, to pursue in reference to Russia. At present, therefore, with a view to the preservation of some balance of power in the East, it ought to be a main object, not only to prevent any collision between Egypt and Turkey, but to strengthen the former by every means, to assist her in extricating herself from her present embarrassments, and even to encourage her to extend her frontier beyond Syria, until it reaches the Tigris, and

Digitized by Google

abuts upon the mountains of Armenia. It is only by following such a line of policy that effectual protection can be extended to Turkey, and means provided for giving a decided check to any further encroachments on the part of Russia. The real interests of the Sultan and of Mohammed Ali, when rightly understood, are not adverse but identical. He cannot lessen the power of the Porte without in a great degree endangering his own; he cannot cripple Turkey without advancing the interests of that power, which is manifestly waiting the favourable moment for the developement of its long cherished designs, and, if successful in its first and grand effort, would inevitably crush him in his turn. Of this the Viceroy, judging from his conduct, appears to have been all along fully aware. This accounts for the extreme moderation he evinced when, after the victory of Konieh, he found Russia so ready to profit by his success, in offering her Sinonic aid to the Porte;—his eyes were then opened to the real character of that insidious policy which, blending audacity with intrigue, the most plausible professions with the most selfish and deep-laid designs, misses no chance, no occasion, no opportunity which promises an advantage; and there can be little doubt that his present critical situation, pregnant with hazards as well as difficulties, has not tended to diminish the strength of the conviction then produced upon his mind. Mean while Russia, true to her purposes, and ever watchful to promote them, has sent an envoy to the Viceroy's court to observe his proceedings. This power at least fully understands the importance of his position, and appreciates, at their true value, those circumstances which appear to escape the notice of other nations.

But, with a view to the objects here pointed at, some persons have thought that the possession of the island of Candia has become necessary to this country; not only as an outpost whence to watch the operations of the enemy, but also as a central rendezvous for an army, in the event of a war in the East. To Mohammed Ali this island is worse than useless; and Captain Scott is of opinion that he would willingly barter away the unprofitable distinction of possessing such a dependency for any advantage, however trifling, if he could do so with honour. He knows that the mutual jealousy of the European Powers placed this island as a kind of deposit in his hands; he feels the burden of maintaining it, whilst Syria still remains unsettled and unsubdued; and he is sensible of the impossibility of maintaining it for any length of time, excepting at sacrifices which, in his estimation, must far outweigh any benefits he can possibly derive from its possession. Besides, the bulk of the population consists of Greeks, who have an ineradicable aversion to any

Digitized by Google

Mahommedan government; they were from the first exasperated by the severities exercised against them; and this feeling has deepened into the most implacable hatred, in consequence of the stupid ferocity of the Viceroy's drunken admiral, Osman Pasha, who chose to carry into effect instructions given him, upon the supposition that the island was in a state of insurrection, some time after the disturbances had been suppressed by the governor, and terms granted to the insurgents. The whole odium of this act of treachery fell, naturally enough, upon Mahommed Ali, and gave a deathblow to all confidence in his government. Explanations were offered, but in vain. The barbarity of the Moslem drunkard ruined all; and Mohammed Ali knows well enough that the very first indication of an attack from without would be the signal for a general insurrection within.

On the other hand, the advantages offered to Great Britain by the acquisition of Candia, would, according to the same authorities, be of the very greatest importance. It is so situated that from it the whole of the Levant, and particularly the entrance to the Dardanelles might be constantly watched; whilst the Bay of Suda, on the northern coast of Africa, forms a harbour unrivalled in the Mediterranean; and which, if Captain Scott's opinion is well founded, might be rendered as strong as either Port Mahon or La Valetta. 'The island,' says he, 'is capacious enough to 'contain a force of sufficient strength to be of service in the event 'of an armed intervention being necessary; and it would not, like 'most of the present possessions of Great Britain in the Medi-'terranean, be dependent upon other countries for its supplies.' The expense attendant upon its occupation would no doubt be heavy, in the first instance, owing to the dilapidated condition of the fortified points, harbours, roads, and other works; but the fertility of the soil, which Captain Scott describes as altogether extraordinary, would, under proper management, soon repay this expenditure; and this country, having acquired such a possession, might in that case save the expense she incurs by 'pro-'tecting' five of the seven islands composing that useless appendage—the Ionian Republic. Nor would she improve her own position only by the acquisition of Candia; she would at the same time strengthen Egypt, by relieving that power of a burdensome possession, and allowing it to direct its undivided attention to Syria, on which alone its energies should be concentrated.

The surest way to avoid a war is to be prepared to meet it. If our preponderance in the East be worth preserving, the proper means should be employed to maintain it; and of these by far the most important appear to be the occupation of Candia,

Digitized by Google

and the decided support of Egypt in establishing her power in Syria. What is the actual position of Russia? The boundaries of that power may now be considered as advanced to the Dardanelles, and even to Cape Matapan; for the kingdom of Greece, if suffered to exist, will always act in obedience to the dictates of the Court of St Petersburg. Russia, it is well known, regards the Dardanelles as 'the key of her own house,' and her hand is already extended to grasp it; she, in fact, clutches at it, and, unless prevented, will soon seize it, without ceremony. The Emperor Alexander, in the conferences at Tilsit and Erfurth, let out the real views of his Cabinet to Napoleon; he thought he had found an ally who would willingly give up Turkey as the price of his friendship; and, in this conviction, he laid aside all reserve. He was mistaken in his calculation; but subsequent events have shown how truly he indicated the true aim of his policy. The Russian system never changes. It is the same now as when Alexander sought in vain to render Napoleon an accomplice in the dismemberment of Turkey. Is it not then incumbent on Great Britain to take up a position, where she may be at hand to frustrate the daring projects of that unscrupulous power, and to protect those interests, the support of which is as essential to the maintenance of our own preponderance and power as to the preservation of Turkey, and the maintenance of tranquillity in Europe? 'Malta,' says Captain Scott, 'is no longer sufficiently near the Levant to protect our trade, 'and give timely support to Greece, Syria, and Egypt, in 'case of need; particularly, keeping in view the change that 'will be effected in naval warfare by the application of 'steam. The same may be said of all the Ionian Islands, ex-'cept Cerigo, *which, however, does not possess a port that could* '*contain a collier, much less shelter a fleet.*'—(*Rambles*, vol. ii. p. 348.) Russia looks far before her, and also on either side. Possessed of Constantinople and commanding the Dardanelles, she would not only be in a situation to establish her supremacy in the Mediterranean, but would, in effect, be more than half way in her contemplated progress to the Indus and the Punjab.

We cannot conclude without apprising our readers that we have not been able to devote any part of our space to those parts of Mr Lane's work which treat of Domestic Life, the Common Usages of Society, Language, Literature and Science, Superstitions, Magic, Astrology, Alchemy, Amusements, Music, Public Recitations of Romances, Festivals, Private Festivities, Death and Funeral Rites, and several other matters; all of which are the more instructive as they contain a record of manners and customs, which, under the influence of the changes at present in operation in Egypt, are likely soon to disappear.

Digitized by Google

To those, however, who take an interest in examining the details of Oriental life, and comparing them with such as are exhibited under different and more advanced forms of social existence, this work presents a mine of curious information which none can explore without advantage; and we may add, that the author's descriptions are materially illustrated by the numerous woodcuts interspersed throughout his book.

On one subject only do we wish that this assiduous and patient observer had given us more ample details; we mean, in respect to the Coptic portion of the population of Egypt. This singular race, who are unquestionably, to a certain extent, the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the country, and in whose language have been preserved, intermixed with other elements, the remains of that original idiom which prevailed in Egypt in the time of the Pharaohs, have acquired a peculiar importance, in the estimation of European scholars, from the insight which has latterly been obtained into the ancient history and literature of Egypt; and we therefore regret that Mr Lane did not direct more of his attention to an examination of their actual condition and manners. The exemption which they enjoy from military service is itself an immunity which sufficiently attests their superiority to the rest of the native population; and shows that the Pasha considers them as better qualified to serve him in other departments. They are still distinguished by the generic term of *writers;* but, according to Captain Scott, their numbers, as well as their influence, are very much reduced. Under the Mamlukes and the Turks, they occupied nearly all the inferior offices connected with the collection of the revenue; being the only portion of the population that possessed any degree of instruction. At present their occupations are considerably more varied than formerly; and they appear, upon the whole, to have been depressed by those innovations which must eventually prove so beneficial to their country. They profess Christianity, which, however, has been completely overlaid with superstitions of various kinds; insomuch that all which bears the name in Egypt is but the sightless and hideous mummy of a Christian church. Still they are a singular people, and as their lineage gives them an interest to Egyptian scholars, so their language has latterly acquired a peculiar importance from the cause already alluded to. We trust, therefore, that future travellers will devote a portion of their attention to a matter in regard to which nearly all of them have been equally incurious;—we mean the collection of Coptic manuscripts. A small document of this kind, especially if it happened to be a lexicon—and it is known that at least *one* such work exists—would be worth a thousand camel-loads of modern descriptions.

Digitized by Google

ART. VIII.—1. *Letter from* W. R. HAMILTON, Esq. *to the* EARL *of* ELGIN, *on the New Houses of Parliament.* London: 1836.

2. *Second Letter from* W. R. HAMILTON, Esq. *to the* EARL *of* ELGIN, *on the propriety of adopting the Greek style of Architecture in the construction of the New Houses of Parliament.* London: 1836.

WE hold it to be undeniable that Mr Hamilton, by publishing these letters, has rendered a most important service to the arts, to the cause of good taste, and indeed to the character of this country. His reputation as a scholar stands deservedly high; his experience in matters connected with the subject in question has been extensive and varied; he has been, at different periods of his life, engaged, and creditably known, in high political situations; his connexions might naturally be supposed to lie among those persons whose prejudices are enlisted on the side of the prevailing architectural fashion; nevertheless, he comes forward manfully to protest against the barbarism into which, we grieve to say, the constituted authorities appear, without any thing like due consideration, to have been hurried: he has at least reaped the satisfaction of finding that he immediately rallied round him all those whose opinions were most worthy of regard; and he may possibly even yet be the means of averting the evil which he so much and so justly apprehends.

None but the most ignorant or the most frivolous minds will treat this as a matter of small account. The question relates to an event which, in the history of the arts, never occurred before in this country, and is not likely to happen again for a long course of ages—the erecting of a building upon a scale of adequate magnificence, for the most exalted objects known among a free people, the transaction of its legislative business. To this structure is devoted a vast space of the ground consecrated by the most noble associations, and bordering upon, or in view of the finest buildings of the metropolis, and of the great river which washes their walls. Most ample sums of money are set apart for the performance of the work. A mighty interest is naturally excited in the choice of the plan; the competition of artists is invited; the most eminent in the empire have come forward to the struggle; and there is nothing like exaggeration in affirming that upon the selection which shall be made must depend, for generations, the place that this country will occupy among the nations of Modern Europe for architectural taste. But let us not deceive ourselves by imagining that any such line can be drawn between one department and all others; upon the selection must depend our national reputation for taste; and the state of the arts

Digitized by Google

amongst us, in the present age, will for ever be judged of by the choice and by the execution of this plan. In these circumstances, we speak it with some pain, it was deemed expedient to restrict the artists to two kinds of architecture; one, the growth of a dark age,—the Gothic; the other, the Elizabethan modification, as it were, of the Gothic, which formed a kind of transition from that to the architecture of later times, when the pure models of Italy, and the yet chaster models of Greece, were happily resorted to. Against this error Mr Hamilton earnestly, forcibly, and learnedly contends; his arguments meet with a general assent; no impartial and disinterested person seems able, or indeed inclined to controvert them; yet the Gothic or the Elizabethan plan is persevered in, and the choice will be consummated, if an immediate expression of opinion does not take place. We have, therefore, deemed it a duty to bring before the reader some of the learned author's observations, referring to the Tracts themselves for a fuller discussion, and promising, as we safely can, that they will prove equally interesting to the man of taste and the man of letters.

The first thing that strikes an observer in this preference of the two given styles, is the absurdity of building, in the nineteenth century, according to the taste of the twelfth or the sixteenth. Hitherto the architecture of each age has been its own; even the models of perennial admiration furnished by the ancients have been adopted only with such varieties and adaptations as might be said to naturalize the Greek or Roman style in the different periods which imitated them. But now we are, it seems, to build as William Rufus or Cardinal Wolsey would have built—or rather (for their taste and their sense would probably have been better had they lived in our days) we are to build now as we should have built had we lived under the Normans and the Tudors. A structure is about to be erected, which, in size and in costliness, may vie with any in Europe—perhaps surpass them all—a structure to which Europe will look with the greatest interest, possibly with a somewhat jealous eye; and we wilfully reject the matchless beauties of Italian and Grecian architecture—the great triumphs of the art in the most enlightened ages of the ancient and modern world, for the remains of the most ignorant and barbarous times.

The reign of the Elizabethan style, Mr Hamilton observes, was of short duration. It had superseded the Gothic, and was soon supplanted by the Italian school, in the seventeenth and earlier part of the eighteenth century. About the middle of the latter, our style was still further improved and exalted, by a resort to the purer school of Greece; and although for the last fifty or sixty years there has been a considerable tendency to the style in question (en-

Digitized by Google

couraged, our author thinks, if not mainly begun, by Horace Walpole), it is yet undeniable that unless in private houses, where that style has some recommendation from convenience, and in Churches, where it has been retained from a desire to imitate the grand Cathedrals, by far the greater number,—indeed with a very few exceptions,—all the most important of the public buildings have been constructed after the ancient and classic models. It may be added, that although the associations which connect the Gothic style with Church architecture, form a very just ground of preference, it is only by the sacrifice of taste to feelings of a higher nature that this can be justified—for doubtless there can be nothing more paltry than the spectacle exhibited by the reduction of such structures as Westminster Abbey and York Minster to the proportions of a small church or chapel,—more especially if the ornamental luxuriancy be retained, excusable only where the building is upon an immense scale.

The argument in favour of the Gothic plan, drawn from convenience as to internal arrangements, plainly has no application to public buildings like those in question. But there is an argument of convenience against it which Mr Hamilton presses with great force. 'We are all sensible' (he says) 'of the daily 'increasing inconvenience from the increased consumption of coal 'in every part of the city; and the injury done often to the ap-'pearance of our public edifices where there are many projecting 'members, with intricate details, cannot have escaped notice. 'Not to mention less conspicuous examples of this great evil, 'St Paul's may be quoted as an instance of it in one species of 'architecture, and the recently restored parts of Henry VII.'s 'chapel in the other. Now, the Greek architecture is, of all 'others, the best adapted for avoiding this crying nuisance; the 'comparatively few intersections which the parts of it require—'the small projections of the mouldings, compatible with large 'and massive general features,—the almost total absence of under-'cuttings—the simplicity of its ornaments, and the consequent fa-'cility of cleaning and restoring the surfaces, are all so many re-'commendations of the Greek style; independent of the supe-'rior effect it produces upon the eye by its beautiful proportions.' The erection of a long series of Gothic window-buttresses of jet black, along the banks of the Thames, will present, it may well be apprehended, any thing rather than an agreeable, far less a grand, object upon which the eye may repose.

The following remarks are well deserving of attention:—

'The architecture of the Goths, which perhaps was nothing in the main but the degraded Roman, the result of ages sinking deeper and deeper into barbarism, and which was totally deficient in that which

Digitized by Google

forms the elements of real beauty (like the media officia of the Stoics, which never possessed the perfectum honestum, quod omnes numeros habet, but were merely similitudines honesti), can only present, even in its greatest perfection, that species of beauty, which strikes as something imposing, and beautiful as a mass, "cumulatè videtur perfectum." The common mind is incapable of perceiving in it what is defective, or why it is imperfect; but as far as it does comprehend, it thinks that nothing has been overlooked. Cicero compares this species of approval to that which is passed upon poems and upon pictures by those who are pleased with, and who praise what is not deserving of their praise, but who when better informed, easily change their opinion, "ob eam, credo, causam, quòd insit in his aliquod probi, quod capiat ignaros, qui iidem, quid in unâquâque re vitii sit, nequeant judicare. Itaque cum sunt docti a peritis, facile desistunt a sententiâ."

'In all complete styles of architecture, to produce a satisfactory result, the decorative members of the building ought to be at the same time efficient parts of it. The eye and the reason are then equally gratified; but when, as in the Gothic, the apparent frame is totally different from the real one, and weak forms, as well of weight, as of support, are superinduced upon the mechanical construction, an illusion is produced, which may give us a partial pleasure, but necessarily leads to a confusion of ideas: and the facility with which the fancy may create these merely decorative compositions, the avowed objects of which are to play with the imagination, and to substitute falsehood for truth, is sure to lead to the indulgence of an impure taste, and to all the other discrepancies, which must result from an attempt to harmonize two contending principles.'

'With these and other objections against the re-introduction of Gothic architecture amongst us, and when we have only to look around, either in the metropolis, or in the great provincial towns, where the Greek or the Italian styles, in buildings, too, decided upon by the great body of the people, and even in many of the modern churches erected under episcopal sanction, are, as has been shown, so generally prevalent, I cannot believe it possible, that the final decision of the nation, through the representatives either of its numbers, or of its property and intelligence, will be in favour of the former. No one, even the staunchest advocate of the Gothic, maintains its superiority over the Greek abstractedly, either in respect to harmony, or proportions, or majestic simplicity, or convenience: and the circumstance just mentioned is quite a sufficient reply to the singular notion, that Gothic arches and pointed windows are necessarily, from habit or otherwise, connected with, or calculated to inspire a feeling of devotion—and that square windows and horizontal beams are suited only to Pagan superstition. When our architects begin their studies, they are not put to learn the principles upon which a pinnacle must be placed upon a turret, or the proportions which the oriel window should bear to the hall, or even to the strength of the buttress required to support the wall which would be crushed without it; these are subsequent considerations, which must be learnt, in order to enable them to execute commissions imposed upon them by individuals; but they do learn the distinctive characters of the Greek orders, the proportions between the height and diameter of a shaft, those of the echinus, the mutules

Digitized by Google

and the abacus, those of the entablature, and the pediments; these are what the best masters in the best times, and in the most civilized communities, set before their scholars, and these are the principles, which, if left to their own judgment and genius, they would all wish to put in practice. Let it not be said, then, that we run away from our own principles, when an opportunity is offered of placing before the eyes of Europe what we can effect; or that we are fearful of competing with others, in a monument founded upon the same principles, which are now acted upon every where else. Gothic architecture having in truth no strict rules of proportion—size, height, mouldings, decoration being all arbitrary—you will there indeed be safe from criticism; judges, amateurs, and architects may all have different opinions, and be all right, or all wrong; what was inadmissible in one country, or in one generation, will meet with its archetype in another; what was never before seen in England, will be defended by examples from Rouen, or Auch, or from Cologne; and we shall have such a medley as eye never saw, or pen never drew before—

'They talk of principles, but nothing prize,
'And all to one lov'd folly sacrifice.'

In truth, since the subject has been brought into discussion by Mr Hamilton's Letters, there appears to be only one solitary argument upon which the advocates of the plan rely. They say that in whatever way the building is laid out, Westminster Hall must be included within its limits, or attached to it; and, as this grand structure is Gothic, there can be no other style adopted for the rest. But there are many satisfactory answers to this argument. In the first place, as Mr Hamilton observes, if the new building must of necessity harmonize with the neighbouring ancient structures of Westminster Hall and Abbey, how happens it that the alternative of the Elizabethan style is presented? Then, the style of those ancient buildings themselves is very far from being the same; indeed, that of Henry VII.'s chapel, if not of an architecture peculiar to itself, at least bears no resemblance either to the Hall or the Abbey. Perhaps it is enough to say that the beauty of Westminster Hall lies in the inside view; and that any device which might be resorted to for correcting the outside, would in no respect improve it. But what necessity is there for including it within the precincts of the building? Why may not the two Houses of Parliament, where Laws are made, be near the hall where Justice is administered, without forming part of the same structure?

We have already said that our object is rather to direct the reader's attention towards Mr Hamilton's Tracts than to give any abstract of them. But we cannot close this article without quoting the following general, and extremely judicious remarks.

'There have been six principal epochs in modern history, at each of which the knowledge of ancient art has made gigantic strides—the first was that in which the increased wealth and learning of the Italians in

Digitized by Google

the age of Leo led the way, by excavations for palaces and churches, to the recovery of so many lost remains from the ruins and rubbish of Rome, which, with the revival of literature, and the liberal patronage of the great, contributed to form the eminent artists of those days. The second was the discovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii, which first brought us acquainted with the beautiful forms familiar to the ancients in their household utensils, and with specimens of their mural paintings, though these in truth were in part made known, when the palaces of the Cesars, and the baths of Titus, were cleared in the sixteenth century. Then came the excavations in Hadrian's villa below Tivoli, the vases of Nola and of Magna Græcia, the speculations undertaken to excavate at Veii, and in the environs of the eternal city, and the contemporaneous munificence of Pius VI., the real founder of the Museum of the Vatican; together with the liberality of our own countrymen in purchasing some of the most precious monuments, which these operations brought to light. The fourth epoch was marked by the visits of our learned travellers and artists to the ruins of Balbeck and of Athens, and of the lesser Asia, and by the successive publications of the Society of Dilettanti. Your Lordship then stepped forward to rescue from the hands of barbarians, and eventually from the more destructive struggles of civil war, the *chefs-d'œuvres* of Phidias, which we had already begun to appreciate from drawings and measurements and engravings. The sixth and last great event of this character was the discovery of the tombs of the Greek inhabitants of parts of Etruria; and the last fifteen years have produced from this rich and still unexhausted mine, proofs of the extensive range and high quality of Greek art, which we could not have gleaned from history, and which are furnishing us with more data, whence to pursue our reciprocal illustrations of art by literature, and literature by art, than all which we possessed before.

'These are a few of the points to which the attention of the youth of our upper classes ought to be directed; and when we add to a knowledge of such historical details, a familiarity with the works of the ancients, either by casts or engravings, and the literary labours of those, who have best illustrated these triumphs of genius; and have accompanied the whole with a study of the chief characteristics of the Greek and Roman medals and lapidary inscriptions, the best correctors and lights of history, geography, mythology, and archæology, in general, we may then hope to see a genuine feeling for beauty in art pervade those classes, which ought to give the tone, and perform the part of judges and protectors to others, who look up to them for employment; for such as is the demand, such will be the supply—if we are willing to pay for indifferent performances, because we are satisfied with mediocrity, we shall never be disappointed. It will come to our doors in shoals, unasked for and not wanted; the plant that is not well trained by the hand of the gardener, will luxuriate in barren poverty, and will rival the weed of the field; but if those who are to guide, know and put in practice the rules of culture, the production will reward them for their toil, and reflect honour on the hand which reared it.'

Digitized by Google

ART. IX.—1. *Attila, a Romance.* By the Author of the Gipsy, &c. (G. P. R. JAMES, Esq.) 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1837.
2. *Rookwood, a Romance.* By W. HARRISON AINSWORTH, Esq. Fourth Edition. 8vo. London: 1836.
3. *Crichton.* By W. HARRISON AINSWORTH, Esq. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1836.

THE state of Romance, since the death of Sir Walter Scott, has not been of the most high and palmy kind. In his own department that great writer had so completely preoccupied the ground,—had so nearly filled the picture gallery of Romance, with historical or imaginary portraits from his own pencil,—that little or no room seemed left for the performances of the most meritorious artists. Even the small space which he left unoccupied, we can hardly consider as since filled up, by any production entitled to take its place beside his majestic and beautiful delineations. Aladdin, we remember, left but the twenty-fourth window of his palace-hall to the Sultan to finish, and after all he could not accomplish it. He had to wait till that genius who had executed the other twenty-three came to his assistance. We, too, must wait until a genius of a kindred order to Sir Walter Scott shall arise, ere we can hope to see the spirit of Romance revive in all its former majesty and beauty.

We do not wonder then, that the inventive talent of the age has, of late, taken so much more decidedly the direction of Novel-writing, than of Romance. In the former, moderate abilities, acquaintance with society, and a quick perception of characteristic traits,—with some infusion of humour, seem sufficient to ensure success. To the novelist, 'the world's his oyster, 'which he with *pen* doth open:' he has but to look about him upon the beings with whom he is brought into daily contact,—the feelings, interests, and prejudices which regulate his own conduct and that of those around him,—to set in his note-book common characters, common events, and conversations, and the materials of an amusing, nay strongly interesting novel are ready to his hands. Add to this, ordinary tact in selection and liveliness of narrative, and we enumerate all that this branch of fiction seems to need. But Romance requires abilities of a different order. A novelist may be amusing, and yet the most prosaic of mortals. Such was Fielding;—such, except in a few scenes of Clarissa, is Richardson; but a Romance writer, if he is to be tolerated at all, must be a poet in feeling and in heart. He can

Digitized by Google

find but to a very small extent the materials of composition in the scenes around him. Even the annals of the past, to which he must revert as his sources, present him with his materials in the rudest, barest, and most disjointed form. The more he penetrates into the minutiæ of history, the more he accumulates about him a mass of incoherent particulars. The *callida junctura* must be his own; the fire by which all these scattered substances are to be fused into one coherent whole, must come from within; and it must be the flame of genius, not general talent merely, that will suffice for that purpose. Talent may enable a Romance writer to make a tolerable historical mosaic; but in no mosaic can the real separation of the parts, and their artificial junction, be altogether concealed. There must be a strong and independent energy of mind exerted on the materials accumulated by study and observation, by which they are not merely dynamically but thoroughly united;—an interpenetrating and subtile power which, like the long sought for menstruum of the alchymists, shall act as a universal solvent, and enable the projector to extract at last from the discordant elements which filled his alembic, a compact, beautiful, and homogeneous whole.

It is natural enough, then, we think, considering the comparative ease of Novel writing and its probability of success, if executed with even ordinary knowledge of the world, and address in the management of incident and dialogue; and on the other hand, the high qualities which a true Romance presupposes on the part of its author, and the disproportionate study and reflection necessary for the accumulation, selection, and due disposition of its materials—with the conspicuous and complete nature of the failure, in the event of want of success—(for that middle state of doubtful popularity with the prospect of which a novelist may console himself, falls not to the lot of the Romance writer, whose work 'either makes him or unmakes him quite,')—it is natural enough, we think, that while our novelists of talent have of late been numerous, few writers of any eminence have ventured to attempt the task of sustaining the sinking fortunes of Romance. The day labourers, the ordinary hewers of wood and drawers of water for the circulating libraries, to whom it is all one whether they pen a heroic Romance, 'or turn a Persian 'tale for half a crown,' of course continue as numerous as ever; they 'have their reward' as usual; but we speak at present of men of higher mark—writers of some strength and originality of mind, who guide instead of following the public taste, and whose productions will in some measure contribute to form the literary tastes and character of the age. And of these almost all

Digitized by Google

have devoted themselves to different departments of the Novel; according as their powers leant towards the delineation of scenes of domestic life, or of bustling adventure; or towards the exhibition, in broad and laughable caricature, of characteristic peculiarities and vulgarities. We certainly feel grateful to such writers as Mr Lister, Captain Marryat, Mrs Gore, and Mr Morier, for their lively and amusing *sketches* of life, for such they are; and have seldom been better pleased than with the 'Abel Allnut' of the latter, which, in its quiet unpretending humour and simplicity, recals to us not unpleasantly the recollection of Goldsmith. We acknowledge our obligations to Mr Hook for more than one burst of laughter (reviewers do laugh occasionally) over some of those accumulations of comic miseries, which he showers upon his characters as from a cornucopia, with a prodigality of invention unequalled since the persecutions with which the mischievous ingenuity of Pickle assailed the unfortunate Pallet at the inn in Flanders. Of the eloquence, deep feeling, and powerful interest of Mr Bulwer's novels we have, on a former occasion, expressed our high sense. They in fact carry the poetry of Romance into the field of the Novel; and might perhaps be as justly considered as belonging to the former as to the latter class of fictions. We are not, therefore, we trust, of that ungrateful class of readers who while they read and are amused, are disposed to undervalue the merits of those to whom they are indebted for that amusement—who, like Milton's spirits, 'cram and blaspheme their feeder;'—but, with all due admiration of our clever and ingenious novelists of the present day, we regret to see the nobler field of Romance left uncultivated, except by persons of slender capital,—occupied with no higher object than that of drawing from it a mere subsistence—and are delighted when we observe such writers as those to whom we are indebted for the volumes the names of which we have placed at the head of this article, from time to time appearing to redeem it from barrenness; and to show, that though 'the mighty minstrel 'breathes no longer,' a portion of his mantle (for we fear it has at best been torn to pieces and divided) has descended to some of his successors.

There are few points of resemblance, however, between Mr James and Mr Ainsworth; except that they have both written historical romances which have been popular and deservedly so. They are both men of high talent, if not genius; but in the construction of their minds, in their prevailing tastes, in the objects at which they respectively aim, as embodying their views of the true scope and proper field of Romance, they have but few points in common. There is more of brilliancy,—more of what looks at

Digitized by Google

first sight like genius and originality about the author of Rookwood; there is much more of a due balance of mind, and of a more varied and better adjustment of the different qualities necessary for a romance writer in the author of Attila.

Mr James has not only framed his Romances upon the model of those of Sir Walter Scott; but, whether naturally, or by that early admiration and imitation which almost amounts to second nature, his whole tastes and modes of thinking have grown into a singular harmony with those of the great original from which he drew. He has to some extent his excellencies; he is chargeable with all his faults. He has, for instance, the same loving admiration of the past, prompting him naturally to revert to the fancied glories of chivalry, and to revive for our own time the splendours of pageants which have past away. The warmth and sincerity of this feeling leads him to a thorough study of the periods in which the scenes of his varied historical picture gallery have been placed; a study not merely of general features but of details; for to him as to Scott it is not sufficient to reconstruct the halls and chief apartments of the fallen edifice of former times, but every minute closet, staircase, or vault has its interest and importance; 'no jutty, frieze, or buttress, nor coigne of vantage' must be neglected. It is a labour of love for both to grope among the old walls, and from fragments of broken arches, and vestiges of pillars and rafters, to divine the original plan, and to build up anew the social structure of other days in its original completeness and symmetry. This gives to the productions of both extreme distinctness of portraiture, and appearance of individuality in their sketches of the manners, dresses, and domestic arrangements of other times—in all the *externals* of romance;—which, however, are of extreme importance and value in strengthening the impressions arising from the delineation of passion and character. In both cases also, it has led to prolixity and *longueurs;* the writers not perceiving that to readers in general such details have no interest or value for their own sake; and that the moment they withdraw the attention from the more important considerations of incident and character, they become mere impertinencies, over which the reader hurries with as much precipitation as possible. Scott, as we have said, is by no means exempt from these *passages*, which, like those in Mrs Radcliffe's castles, lead to nothing; particularly in his later romances, where the details of dresses and pageants, and the description of mere matters of stone and lime are needlessly frequent, and have no tendency to advance the interest. Mr James, we are sorry to say, sins still more grievously in this respect. As his historical and antiquarian information would rather seem to have been generally acquired for each novel, and

Digitized by Google

not, like Scott's, to have been the fruit of early and singularly discursive reading, it has a proportional value in his eyes; he cannot afford to part with any of it; in some shape or other it must be laid before his readers; and what cannot be crowded into one part is carefully saved and laid by for another. He is so much enamoured, in short, of his workmanship, that he leaves the scaffolding visible, as well as the building itself; so that not unfrequently the interest of scenes, in themselves extremely striking, is materially impaired by the long antiquarian preparation, or needlessly minute descriptions of scenery or situation by which they are prefaced.

> 'S'il rencontre un palais il m'en decrit la face
> Il me promene après de terrasse en terrasse,
> Je saute vingt feuillets pour en trouver la fin,
> Et je me sauve â peine au travers du jardin.'

Let us, however, limit this objection. In the description of manners which have past away, of dresses which are forgotten, of buildings suited to those manners and habits, and unsuited to those by which they have been superseded;—in the description of every thing ephemeral or temporary, a romance writer is apt to err on the side of over-minuteness, and such portions of his work, with whatever skill they may be woven into the narrative, will necessarily be tedious to ordinary readers. It is *not* so with descriptions of natural scenery, though apparently just as little connected with the furtherance of the plot. If executed with ability, these continue to have the same charm for all ages; because they are unalterable in their main features; because the aspects of nature will continue to the end of time to connect themselves in the same manner with human feelings and emotions—to impart a feeling of cheerfulness or depression to the human heart, and to receive from it a colouring of sunshine or shadow in return. 'The generations of men,' says Schiller, 'wander under the same azure, over the same 'green, and the sun that shone on Homer smiles also upon us.' All can judge of the truth of such delineations; for in the school of nature all are unconsciously educated, and her features impressed more or less on the memories of all. Hence the pleasure derived from descriptive poetry, even while it is but slenderly if at all connected with incident or feeling. Hence the deeper charm which it acquires, when, in the hands of a poetical artist, descriptions of scenery, and the stormy or smiling aspects of nature, are made to influence and to deepen the feelings of the actors in some story of human passions; or when in turn, those feelings are made to communicate their own tinge to the landscape, 'making a sunshine in the shady place,' or a wilderness of the whole promised land from Dan to

Digitized by Google

Beersheba. How admirably, for instance, as an illustration of the first, are these external and physical influences made to heighten and bring out in strong relief the moral interest of the play of human feeling in the opening scenes of Hamlet! The gloomy background of the towers of Elsineur, the lonely platform, the bitter cold that makes the sentry sick at heart, the star seen westward of the pole as the bell beats one; all these little circumstances of an extrinsic character are made most effective agents in producing the full effect of the piece, by tuning the mind as it were into that supernatural key to which it must be brought ere it can fully sympathize with that mysterious and wonderful play. We have a fine instance again of the second—the judicious employment of landscape painting to illustrate the power of human feelings in imparting their own character to all around them, in Crabbe's Tale of the Lover's Journey. To the heart filled 'with hope and calm enjoyment,' the gorse-covered heath, the dusty lanes of burning sand, the barren common, 'with short 'sere herbage withering all around,' the marshy fens fringed with brown rushes and marshmallows, 'where the straitened flood 'rolls through its sloping banks of slimy mud,' appear all emblems of cheerfulness and comfort. Returning by another road, under the influence of disappointment, the majestic river by which the lover passes—winding 'by lovely meadows which the 'waters fed,' the hills, the green hedgerows, the stately mansion with its 'full-fed steeds, and herds of grazing deer,' the distant town, the fields rich with cattle—all objects, however beautiful in themselves, have lost their interest for him:

> 'It is the soul that sees, the outward eyes
> Present the object, but the mind descries!'

Now Mr James is frequently very successful in his landscape-painting, and in connecting his descriptions with the feelings of his personages, so as not to render his sketches a *mere* excrescence on the story. He manages his *accidents*, as they are called by painters, with very considerable address; dropping his clouds or sunshine, so as to present his heroes in the best relief; timing his tempests judiciously, and making his rain and thunder descend in a manner very serviceable to his purposes. His descriptions have another merit, which he shares with Sir Walter Scott. They are not made the mere vehicles of fine writing; his main object seems to be understood; and, provided he sketches the features of the scene so as to present them clearly to the mind's eye, he seems not a little indifferent whether he has turned his periods in the most unexceptionable manner or not. In hitting the characteristic features of a scene, so as to enable the mind to form a picture, he does not often fail; there is no mistiness or confusion about his draught.

Digitized by Google

We have, indeed, frequently admired the success with which he has given in his pages the features of wide landscape, seen from a mountainous country, or the appearance of some woodland chase or vast forest stretching away over a wide valley to the bases of the hills, or towards some wide watered shore. We have a lively recollection of more than one passage of this kind in De L'Orme and Henry Masterton; and, in particular, of a forest scene, with a thunderstorm, in Mary of Burgundy,—admirably painted, with a broad and firm hand—though, not having the work at present beside us, we cannot more particularly refer to the passage we allude to.

In point of plot, Mr James's Romances are neither conspicuously excellent nor the reverse. His plots frequently hang somewhat loosely together, and, tried by the test of such a work as Tom Jones, it would be difficult to vindicate the 'suffi-'cient cause' of some of the incidents, or to show their necessary bearing on the catastrophe. In this, however, Mr James noways differs from most of his brethren of the present day; and, save in the case of Kenilworth and the Bride of Lammermoor, in which, with a few exceptions, all the incidents are made to have a direct bearing on the catastrophe, we could not point to any of Sir Walter Scott's to which a similar objection might not be plausibly taken. Plot, in fact, is not the strong point either of modern novelists or romancers. If the incidents be separately good, and tend to develope character, it seems all that we are, in these degenerate days, entitled to expect. The highest test we can now venture to propose is, to ask whether the work amuses, whether the interest is sustained throughout,—be the connexion of the incidents what it may. In this respect, Mr James will not be found deficient. We never took up a work of his without being carried forward, pleasingly and agreeably, perhaps, rather than with intense interest, to the close. We could have sometimes wished his march a little more rapid, and that he had conducted us through scenes which did not so often suggest the idea that, somewhere or other, we had seen something like them before; but, after all, his route lies through pleasant places, and some interesting agreeable object always presents itself in time to beguile us on with satisfaction to the end of our journey. He is by no means limited to one class of subjects or incidents; 'his ventures are not to one bottom trusted, nor to one 'place;' on the contrary, there is ample variety and contrast of all kinds in his works. We pass lightly from the noise and bustle of courts and camps, battles and banquets, to the stillness of ancestral castles and quiet woodland haunts, 'sleep-soothing groves 'and quiet lands between;' 'fierce wars and faithful loves,' alter-

Digitized by Google

nate with court intrigues; scenes of faction, revolt, and popular tumult, with tournaments, and 'fields of cloth of gold.' The actors in these scenes are as diversified as the situations. Ermined monarchs, adventurers or *fainéants* 'in sceptred pall come sweeping by;' nobles, chivalrous or dark-souled, make love, intrigue, and combat; friars and eremites, and cardinals crimson-stoled, plot and counterplot, and turn the weakness of kings and the passions of nobles to their purposes; high-born and gentle dames amble and coquette, breaking promises and hearts with as much indifference as their knightly admirers break lances and heads in their honour; court fools, the chartered libertines of the time, utter their quiddities and quaint jests, insinuating truth in that motley garb in which alone it could find entrance to the palace and the castle; while peasants, robbers, smugglers, serving-men, gipsies, and mountaineers bring up the rear of the procession—exemplifying most of the leading forms in which society arrayed itself during those stirring and troublous times. It is much for any one to be able to say that he has painted with even tolerable truth and vivacity so many forms of many-coloured life, and dealt with countries and epochs so different as Mr James has done, and yet succeeded in interesting us in all; and yet this, we think, he *is* entitled to say. For though his works are not all of equal merit, there is really none, with perhaps the exception of the last, in which we can say there is a lack of interest in the fate and fortunes of the leading actors or sufferers in the scene. In one he leads us back to the days of Richelieu, to the weak reign of Louis XIII., and the conspiracy of Cinq Mars, connecting with these the history of the hero and heroine of his Romance De Blenau and Pauline. In another, he reverts to the earlier period of Philip Augustus, or to the brilliant court of Henri Quatre. In Darnley, the scene is changed to England and the court of Henry VIII., or the field of Ardres. The kindred spirit of Wolsey replaces Richelieu; and the changing humours of the impetuous, but heartless Henry are given with the same spirit as the weakness and vacillation of Louis XIII. In Mary of Burgundy we have the revolt of Ghent under the Flemish Masaniello, Artevelde. In Henry Masterton and John Marston Hall, we are placed on the oft-trodden ground of the English civil wars; and it is enough to say, that even after Scott's masterly pictures of opposing Cavaliers and Puritans, these spirited reproductions of a similar topic may be perused with pleasure. Again, in the Gipsy, we have an English story of comparatively recent date, without the advantages in point of effect afforded by the pageantry and more elevated character of Mr James's former works; in which, notwith-

Digitized by Google

standing, the interest seems as well sustained as in the most chivalrous of his themes.

We have, therefore, very little to complain of in Mr James's Tales, so far as plot is concerned. They may be loose, but they seldom lag; and this seems to us the main condition of a good plot. 'Tout les genres sont bons hors le genre ennuyeux.' And under this class Mr James's Tales do *not* fall.

In depicting character his position is more questionable. He is not, like Scott, a creator of character from his independent resources; apart from the outlines furnished by history, he has not much original invention in this department. In his purely imaginary personages he paints little beyond the outward show of things—the more salient and general points which make up the character; he seems to require for his purpose a canvass already set, outlines already touched in by history—some fixed points round which his imagination may wind its gradual coil. These once given, he is quick-witted and sagacious enough in filling up the interstices of character with traits which, if they do not flash upon us any new light, or clear up the moral problems which antiquity has left doubtful, at least in no way contradict the probable conclusions deducible from the facts already known; or rather, on the whole, furnish a tolerably satisfactory notion of the man, and a plausible rationale of the motives by which he was actuated. His Richelieu, Cinq Mars, Wolsey, and Henry VIII. are all in good keeping with history and with themselves.

In one point in particular we feel greatly indebted to Mr James—we mean for the absence of exaggeration, either in character or incident; the cheerfulness of tone and purity of feeling; the freedom from topics of doubtful morality; or, what is worse, the insinuation of opinions of which the morality is *not* doubtful—which is a distinguishing and most honourable characteristic of all his Fictions. With the powers of description which he possesses (for occasional passages show that even in the department of terror his powers are not inconsiderable), it would have been easy for him, we doubt not, had these powers been less regulated by a sound taste, or less controlled by a strong feeling of the high standard of morality which all literature that aspires permanently to please demands—to have attained a louder and more noisy popularity, by dealing in those violent and overstrained pictures of passion—those sudden and inexplicable transitions of character, and that distempered and mocking spirit in regard to ordinary sentiments, and the tranquil and domestic virtues of life, by which our French neighbours have obtained, even with ourselves, not 'fit audience' certainly, but at least 'not few.' Good sense and good feeling combine to keep him clear of all such questionable topics; he does

Digitized by Google

not put his characters through their paces, or strain them into attitudes the most unlike their ordinary bearing, in order to boast that he is master of their inner man, and can display, like an intellectual showman, the whole psychological mechanism of his puppets; and still less does he invite or dwell upon the delineation of those scenes or situations of which we have had so many from the quarter to which we have alluded, and with regard to which all men either of right head or heart equally feel the propriety of Virgil's advice to Dante when he began to pry into matters which did not concern him,

'Non ragioniam di lor—ma guarda e passa.'

Our readers will perceive, from these general observations, that we estimate Mr James's abilities as a romance writer highly. He is decidedly of the school of Scott; so much so, that it is problematical to us whether, if Scott had not written, he would have been a romance writer at all. But though not entitled to the honour of high original talent, his works are lively and interesting; and animated by a spirit of sound and healthy morality in feeling, and of natural delineation in character, which, we think, will secure to them a calm popularity, which will last beyond the present day.

It would now be absurd to enter on any formal notice of the merits or demerits of individual works, as to which public opinion has long been made up (and which accidental circumstances alone have prevented us from previously noticing),—and, therefore, merely remarking that of the romances hitherto published, our favourites are Richelieu, Darnley, and Philip Augustus—which last, the author, with amiable candour, admits to be 'the best 'thing he has yet composed,'* we pass at once to the last, and, we are sorry to add, to us the least interesting of his compositions, Attila. This too we must despatch in few words.

We do not much blame Mr James for this want of interest, nor consider it as affording any evidence either of less attention and study, or less ability, than his former romances: the error seems to us to lie, necessarily, in the choice of such a subject. With the single exception of Mr Lockhart's Valerius, we know no case in which the difficulties attending a subject of such remote antiquity, when treated as a fictitious narrative in prose, have been overcome; and Valerius, though imbued with a fine classical feeling, really owed its interest to the contest of Christianity with Paganism, or rather to the pure and spirit-stirring emotions, awakened by the picture of a spiritual religion operating upon a pure and loving female

* Dedication to Dr Southey.

Digitized by Google

heart. Of this in Attila we have nothing—religion scarcely plays any part in this drama of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire: it is simply the contrast of the rude valour and rude virtues of the Hun with the specious vices and effeminacy of the former masters of the world. Of Attila's character we certainly know far too little to enable us to speak of it with assurance; all we shall say is, that, as drawn by Mr James in this romance, it seems to us to want keeping and coherence. He exaggerates, in the first instance, the savage virtues of generosity and justice he possessed, and thus renders his transition to wanton cruelty and treachery the more inexplicable. The most striking or successful scenes which it contains, are, that of the earthquake in the commencement, which destroyed the palace of Dioclesian; the description of the quiet abode of Bleda, the brother of Attila—the scenes with his daughter Neva—the escape and pursuit of Theodore by the followers of Bleda, and the stern vengeance of Attila; and the interview between Attila and the Roman Pontiff, when the remonstrances of the latter induce the monarch of the Huns to abandon his resolution of destroying Rome. There seems to us much truth and delicacy in the following scene between Theodore, a Roman prisoner in the camp of the Huns, and dwelling in the house of Bleda, and Neva, the innocent and tender-hearted daughter of the Bavarian chief, by whom the young Roman had been nursed and tended in his illness. Theodore has recovered his strength, but has inspired the barbarian maid with feelings, the existence of which he accidentally begins to suspect, but to which he can make no return, for he is already the affianced lover of Ildica.

'After two long days of unsuccessful hunting, having found nothing within several miles of the village, Theodore threw down his spear and arrows, declaring he would go no more; and on the following morning, while the dew was still upon the grass, Neva offered to lead him up to the fall of a river in the woods, whose roar he had often heard at a distance, but which he had never seen, so deeply was it buried in the intricacies of the forest. He gladly followed, resolved to seize that moment to tell her all. And yet Theodore was agitated, for he wished not to pain or to grieve her; but still he feared, from her whole manner, and from the tender light which poured from her blue eyes, that the words he had to speak would be displeasing to her ear. It was a bright morning, and between the tall trunks of the trees, over bush and underwood, and mossy turf, the slanting sun poured his golden light, in the first bright freshness of the rising day.

'"What a lovely morning is this!" said Theodore, after they had walked on some way, for Neva had remained silent, under emotions of her own. "What a lovely morning! how clear—how beautiful!"

'"Have you not such in your own land?" demanded Neva.

Digitized by Google

'"Oh, yes," answered Theodore, "we have many; and these mornings and the evening are our chief hours of delight, for the heat of the risen day is oppressive. I remember such a morning as this," he added, willing to lead the conversation to the matter on which he desired to speak; "I remember such a morning, some four or five months ago, so bright, so beautiful, shining upon my path, as I returned from Constantinople, towards what I have always called my home."

'"And was it not your home?" demanded Neva. "Did no one wait you there to welcome you?"

'"Oh, several," answered Theodore; "several that I loved, and still love more dearly than any thing else on earth." Neva cast down her eyes, and her cheek grew deadly pale. "There was my mother," continued Theodore, "I mean the mother who has adopted me, and ever treated me as one of her own children." The colour came again into Neva's cheek. "Then there was my sister," he went on. "And last," he added in a lower tone, "there was my promised bride, my Ildica, who will one day be my wife."

'Neva spoke not, but the rose again left her cheek. That, however, was the only sign of emotion she displayed, except, perhaps, that she walked on more rapidly, and that her small feet brushed the dew from the grass on either side of the path, wavering, as she went, with an unsteady pace. Theodore followed close to her side, scarce knowing how to break that painful silence. It had continued so long, that, ere a word was uttered, he heard the roar of the waterfall, and he resolved to speak, let it be on what it would. But at the first word he breathed, the fair girl pressed her right hand upon her heart with a convulsive sob, and fell fainting at his feet.

'Theodore caught her up in his arms, and ran on upon the path. He could not find the cataract, but the stream which formed it soon caught his eye; and laying Neva on the bank, he bathed her brow with water from the river, and strove to recall her to herself by words of comfort and consolation.

'At length she opened her eyes; and finding herself lying in the arms of the man she loved, with her head supported on his shoulder, she turned her face to his bosom, and wept long and bitterly. Theodore said little, but all he did say, were words of kindness and of comfort; and Neva seemed to feel them as such, and thanked him by a gentle pressure of the hand. At length she spoke. "I had thought," she said in the undisguised simplicity of her heart, "I had thought to be your first and only wife. I was foolish to think that others would not love you as well as I."

'Theodore had now the harder task of explaining to her, and making her comprehend, that in his land, and with his religion, polygamy, so common amongst her people, could not exist; but the effect produced was more gratifying than he could have expected.

'"Better, far better, that it should not," cried the girl, raising her head, and gazing full in his face, with those earnest devoted eyes. "Better, far better, that it should not. Had you asked me, I could not have refused, feeling as I feel; but I should have been miserable to be

Digitized by Google

the second to any one. To have seen you caress her, to have known that you loved her better, and had loved her earlier than you loved me, would have been daily misery; but now I can love you as a thing apart. You will marry her, and I will have no jealousy, for I have no share; I will think of you every hour, and every moment, and pray to all the gods to make you happy with her you love. But oh, stranger, it were better, till I can rule my feelings and my words, and gain full command over every thought, that you should leave me."

'"Would to God!" said Theodore, "that I had never beheld you, or that you could forget all such feelings, and look on me as a mere stranger."

'"Not for worlds!" she exclaimed, "not for all the empire of my uncle Attila. I would not lose the remembrance of thee if I could win the love of the brightest and the best on earth. I would not change the privilege of having seen, and known, and loved thee, for the happiest fate that fancy could devise. Oh, Theodore, would you take from me my last treasure? But, perchance, you think me bold and impudent, in thus speaking all that is at my heart; but if you do so, you do not know me."

'"I do, I do, indeed," cried Theodore. "I do know, I do admire, I do esteem you; and had not every feeling of my heart been bound to another ere I saw you, I could not have failed to love one so beautiful, so excellent, so kind. Nay, I do love you, Neva, though it must be as a brother loves a sister."

'"Hush, hush!" she said. "Make me not regret—and yet love me so still. Forget, too, that I love you better, but, oh, believe that no sister ever yet lived that will do for you what Neva will; and in the moment of danger, in the hour of sickness, in the time of woe, if you need aid, or tendance, or consolation, send for me; and though my unskilful hand and tongue may be little able to serve, the deep affection of my heart shall find means, if they be bought with my life's blood, to compensate for my weakness, and my want of knowledge;" and carried away by the intensity of her feelings, she once more cast herself on his bosom and wept. "But you must leave me," she continued, "you must leave me. Yes, and when I see you again, I will see you calmly—not as you now see me. Yet you must have some excuse for going, and whither will you go?"

'"When your uncle Attila bade me come into Dacia till his return," replied Theodore, "Edicon, who remained with me, affirmed that it was the monarch's will I should proceed to his own usual dwelling-place, on the banks of the Tibiscus."

'Neva thought for a moment, as if she did not remember the name; but then exclaimed, "Ha! the Teyssa—what you call the Tibiscus we name the Teyssa. That is much farther on; but let my mother know that such were the directions of Attila, and she will herself hasten your departure; for my father and my uncle often jar, and my mother would fain remove all cause of strife. Or I will tell her," she added, with a faint smile, "I will tell her; and you shall see how calmly I can talk of your departure."

Digitized by Google

'She then spoke for some time longer, in a tranquil tone, of all the arrangements that were to be made; and as she did so, still, from time to time, her eyes were raised to the young Roman's face with a long earnest glance, as if she would fain have fixed his image upon memory, so that years could not blot it out. Then, in the stream, she bathed the traces of the tears from her eyes; and looking up calmly, though sadly, said, "Let us go, my brother. It is sweet, but it must end."

'They took some steps homeward; but ere they had gone far she paused, and laying her hands upon his, she said, "Oh, Theodore! promise me, that if ever, while you are in our land, you need help or aid, you will send to me. Send me this trinket back by a messenger;" and she gave him one of the small golden ornaments which she wore in her hair; "send it me back, and I will come to you, be it wheresoever it may. Deeply as I love thee, I would not wed thee now for worlds; but, oh! I would give life itself to render thee some service, which should make thee say in after years Alas! poor Neva! she loved me well indeed!"'

'Thus wandered they homeward; and often did she pause to add something more, and to give some new token of that deep, and all unconcealed, but pure affection, which had taken so firm a hold of her young heart. Theodore, too, strove to soothe and to comfort her; and all that was kind, all that was tender—except such words as only the ear of the beloved one should ever hear—he said, to give her consolation. As they came near the village, however, she spoke less, for she seemed to fear that her emotions might leave traces behind for other eyes than his; but she gained courage as they went on; and, to Theodore's surprise, when they joined the household, no sign of all the busy feelings which he knew to be active in her breast, was in the slightest degree apparent, except, indeed, in a shade of grave melancholy, which was not natural to her.'

We now turn to Mr Ainsworth, who has certainly produced in his Rookwood a work indicating very considerable powers and resources. The experiment was a bold one; but its success is evinced by the fact that the edition which lies before us is the fourth, and that it has been thought worthy of being illustrated by the graphic powers of Cruickshank—who has given to the picture of Turpin's flight to York, already described by Mr Ainsworth with no ordinary vivacity in words, the additional attraction of some excellent and characteristic illustrations. What Mr Ainsworth has ventured to do, and successfully, was to revive the almost exploded interest afforded by the supernatural; and to preserve this, too, not in connexion with days long gone by, but side by side with the sober realities of 1737,—with the convivialities of Yorkshire squires and country attorneys, with the humours of justices of the peace, and the feats of Dick Turpin the highwayman. Now, even with all the advantages derived from remoteness of time or distance of place, which, to a

Digitized by Google

certain extent, answers the same purpose, it must be admitted that of late all attempts to awaken a supernatural interest—nay, even to save from ridicule any tale in which such agency was allowed to interfere—have been absolute failures. Even Mrs Radcliffe, the great mistress, if not the originator of the school of terror, exhibited a signal proof of her inability to manage a tale founded upon the reality of such agency, in her posthumous work of Gaston de Blondeville. Maturin alone, among our late writers, succeeded in imparting some colouring of truth to such themes, and creating something of that creeping and shuddering feeling of which poor Orra, in Miss Baillie's play, speaks so feelingly—in his strange and unequal but powerful romance of the Family of Montorio. The mere announcement of such juxtaposition as takes place in Rookwood, will satisfy any one that it is not a romance on the ordinary plan; and will probably enable them also to conjecture that its claims to the title of romance, in the highest sense of the word, are at least doubtful. The writer himself observes in his introduction, that 'the chief object he had in view 'was to see how far the infusions of a warmer and more genial 'current into the veins of old romance would succeed in reviving 'her fluttering and feeble pulses.' He has raised her pulse certainly, but it is by the common expedient of administering a dram. It is by pitching every thing upon a key above nature and truth—and playing up to it—no doubt with much vigour and execution, but still, with an obvious straining, at times, on his own part, and with a corresponding sensation of occasional anxiety and discomfort on the part of the audience. 'Romance,' proceeds Mr Ainsworth, 'if I am not mistaken, is destined shortly to undergo an 'important change. Modified by the German and French wri-'ters—by Hoffmann, Tieck, Hugo, Dumas, Balzac, and Paul 'Lacroix (Le Bibliophile Jacob), the structure commenced in 'our own land by Horace Walpole, Lewis, Mrs Radcliffe, 'and Maturin, but left imperfect and inharmonious, requires, 'now that the rubbish which choked up its approach is removed, 'only the hand of the skilful architect to its entire renovation 'and perfection. I have not included the great name of Walter 'Scott in this list, because, in the sense to which I would con-'fine the term, *he is not a romancer.*' To what sense Mr Ainsworth would confine the term we are totally unable to discover; his preface throws no light on it; but this, at least, seems plain, that it must be a strange definition of the term romancer under which Sir Walter Scott is denied that title; while to us it is not less obvious, that the foreign models to whom Mr Ainsworth here alludes are not the sources from which the exhausted energies of English romance are ever to be recruited. *Non tali auxilio, non*

Digitized by Google

defenseribus istis. It might receive from these a momentary galvanic movement, but no true principle of life. And, let us assure Mr Ainsworth, that his own powers and tastes have been not a little injured by this foreign connexion; and that the sooner he abandons it for the healthier study of Shakspeare and Scott, the better it will be, if not for his immediate popularity, at least for his future fame.

Properly speaking, then, it is questionable whether the term Romance be justly applicable to a production like Rookwood, which, from its very nature, is so essentially fantastic. To character, it makes little pretension: its stronghold on the imagination arises entirely from the interest of incident, and the mingling with all the human incidents of the story a strong under current of the supernatural, in the supposed agency of an awful, avenging, and unavoidable destiny. But viewing it in this light, as what our German neighbours call a *nacht-stuck*, or night piece—a graft of Victor Hugo on Theodore Hoffmann, with here and there some grisly exhibition of *diablerie à-la-Callot*—it is unquestionably a work of remarkable interest, and of very considerable ability. Strange as it may seem, the author has contrived to present the terrors of burial vaults, and the blood-stained mysteries of family crime, side by side with the most familiar scenes of the every day life of the eighteenth century,—without exciting the slightest feeling of the ludicrous; nay more, with a character of earnestness and solemnity with which *a priori* we should have hardly thought that such subjects could have been invested. The truth is, the reader is never allowed to pause for an instant to think at all—he is hurried on with breathless haste, and with vivid curiosity, from the charnel-house to the blood-stained family secrets of the old hall,—to the gipsy's encampment, to the haunts of highwaymen, to the pursuit from London to York, and through a series of the strangest encounters, discoveries, plots and counterplots, murders and disclosures; so that in truth he arrives at the end of the volume before he has time to ask himself the question—Is this a romance, or a melodrama compounded of the Castle Spectre and the Newgate Calendar?

We have a very sincere admiration of the ability displayed by Mr Ainsworth in this supernatural *capriccio;* but not a high opinion, we must confess, of the class of romance 'to which he re-'stricts himself.' The interest of such performances ceases with the first reading. When the mystery is solved, and the first breathless anxiety of the hair-breadth 'scapes, and moving accidents in which they deal is over, we revert to them no more. Our first feeling then certainly was one of regret that Mr Ainsworth had not chosen a subject more susceptible of a natural and

Digitized by Google

not overstrained human interest; accompanied by a wish that, if the success of his first publication should induce him again to appear before the public, he might choose a theme somewhat more suited to ordinary sympathies. More mature consideration induced us, however, to doubt whether in that case his success might be so probable; and whether the qualities of his mind did not, after all, harmonize less with the more compact and symmetrical form which a proper historical romance would require, than with that 'Gothic imagery of darker shade' which forms the moving principle of Rookwood. Butbefore stating, how far our doubts have been justified by the result, let us observe, that besides the general strength of conception which Rookwood evinced, and the deep interest of particular scenes,—such as that of the highwayman's celebrated ride to York,—it contained a good many ballads, chiefly of a ghastly and sepulchral character, though interspersed with some ditties in a livelier vein, both indicating poetical abilities of no mean order. As a specimen of Mr Ainsworth's power as a song writer, we shall extract the following fragment of a Spanish gipsy song, *La Gitanilla*, which he has put into the mouth of one of his heroines, Sibilla, while waiting for her lover Luke Rookwood.

I.

'By the Guadalquivir,
Ere the sun be flown,
By that glorious river
Sits a maid alone;
Like the sunset splendour
Of that current bright
Shone her dark eyes, tender
As its witching light;
Like the ripple flowing,
Tinged with purple sheen,
Darkly, richly, glowing
Is her warm cheek seen.
'Tis the Gitanilla
By the stream doth linger,
In the hope that eve
Will her lover bring her.

II.

'See the sun is sinking,
All grows dim and dies;
See the waves are drinking
Glories of the skies.
Day's last lustre playeth
On that current dark,

Digitized by Google

Yet no spot betrayeth
His long looked for bark.
'Tis the hour of meeting!
Nay! the hour is past;
Swift the time is fleeting,
Fleeteth hope as fast.
Still the Gitanilla
By the stream doth linger,
In the hope that night
Will her lover bring her.

III.

'Swift that stream flows on,
Swift the night is wearing,
Yet she is not gone,
Though with heart despairing.
Dips an oar-plash—Hark!
Gently on the river,
'Tis her lover's bark
On the Guadalquivir.
Hark! a song she hears;
Every note she snatches,
As the singer nears
Her own name she catches.
Now the Gitanilla
Stays not by the water,
For the midnight hour
Hath her lover brought her!'

In Crichton, Mr Ainsworth has aspired to the honour of framing a regular historical romance. He has set about his task evidently with great pains; has read a great deal of contemporary history; has familiarized himself with the manners of the time; is well versed in its scandal and intrigues; and he has woven the result of his reading and meditations into a series of scenes, certainly rapid, graphic, and imposing in their movement, of which the admirable Crichton is the hero, during his early residence at the Court of France. And yet the romance is an unsatisfactory one; for it is bottomed on the same false principle of exaggeration, which, though it might be tolerated in an avowed extravagance like Rookwood,—which, by its very nature, seemed in some measure emancipated from the rules of ordinary composition,—is totally inadmissible in a genuine romance, of which a well-known historical character is the subject. This is the mistake which prevails throughout; we have exaggeration of characters and passions, exaggeration of humours, exaggeration of incidents. The very idea of repose seems never to occur to Mr Ainsworth; he

Digitized by Google

is as restless as Ahasuerus himself. Rapid change is the principle of the whole romance; at one instant Crichton has the king's authority to arrest Gonzaga; the next he is met by some other person bearing the queen's authority to arrest *him;* at one moment all-powerful, the next plunged into a prison, contending with assassins, or fighting with lions or bulls;—in short, the gleam of daggers is so incessant, the danger so constant, and yet the escapes so uniform and so constantly achieved by Crichton's own resources, either of body or mind, that we cease at last to feel agitated about him, considering him as possessing a charmed life.

It seems pretty plain that, to have exhibited Crichton's character with effect, it should have been the object of the writer rather to diminish than increase that halo of the marvellous which hangs about the history of the Scottish cavalier; at any rate, not to have gone beyond the materials furnished by the (somewhat doubtful) chronicles of the times. But here he is represented as running, in the course of three days, through more dangers, and greater feats of daring and strength, than are ascribed to him by all his biographers, authentic or fabulous, Sir Thomas Urquhart not excepted. How often his life is assailed by Spanish bravoes, dukes in masks, poisoned goblets dealt out by queens, iron bars wielded by gigantic wrestlers, &c., is really almost past calculation. Are the gates of the Louvre closed, and guarded by ruffians to assassinate him on his exit—he gains the river wall, climbs a tree, by striking his dagger into it as a support for his foot, drops upon the sentinel in the nick of time, seizes his arquebuss, and gliding down the wall to the water's edge, 'brings both feet together,' and clears a moat of 'nine yards, with scarcely a resting-place for the point of a toe 'to spring from!' Is the life of the king threatened by a wild bull in the lists, Crichton *literally* takes the bull by the horns, holds his head immovably, and, by a dexterous blow of his poinard in the vertebræ of the neck, slays his gigantic opponent. Is a conspiracy on foot, he is sure to overhear it; is an attack made upon the person of the king by a Spanish bravo, it is Crichton's sword which, at the critical moment, passes through the ruffian's body; is a door to be opened which resists the united strength of two or three other persons, Crichton has merely to lift a statue from its pedestal, hurl it against the woodwork, which gives way at once and admits him! We have not, however, here alluded to half the miracles he is made to perform: he is, in fact, the *Deus ex Machina* who appears whenever any thing impossible is to be achieved. In all this we trace, with a painful feeling, the increasing influence of that

Digitized by Google

French school, of which we have seen Mr Ainsworth avowed his admiration in Rookwood, and his belief that, under its influence, a revolution in romance might be expected. It is obvious, indeed, that Victor Hugo has contributed not a few ideas to Crichton. Most of the chapters are prefaced by mottoes from his works (and those, too, among the worst of his publications—*Le Roi s'Amuse*, and *Lucrece Borgia*), denoting the most careful study of his manner, and an evident preference of his wild and startling conceptions over the calmer delineations of our own great masters. It is not possible to read the opening chapters, where the students without the university are impatiently waiting the issue of the contest between Crichton and the doctors,—at the same time jesting and quarrelling among themselves,—without thinking of the similar scenes in Notre Dame, where the multitude are waiting the representation of the mystery, and the students are represented as distinguishing themselves pretty much in the same manner as in the scene just mentioned. The scene where the astrologer Ruggieri, after betraying the Gelosa (a *rifacimento* of the Bohemian of Victor Hugo) into the hands of Gonzaga, discovers that it is his own daughter whom he has aided to dishonour, is a simple repetition of a similar situation in *Le Roi s'Amuse* between the Jester Triboulet and his daughter Blanche. As a specimen of Mr Ainsworth's power of working up a scene in the manner of Hugo, we shall give an extract, which forms no bad pendant to the terrible picture with which Notre Dame concludes, where the Priest Frollo, precipitated from the spire by the monster Quasimodo, after long clinging to a projecting spout, drops from the tower of the cathedral, and is dashed to pieces in the square.

Crichton has rescued the daughter of Ruggieri from the grasp of Gonzaga and the queen-mother, and is endeavouring to escape with her from the Hotel de Soissons in Paris. He rushes up a staircase to avoid his pursuers, and suddenly finds that he is ascending the tall circular pillar built as an observatory by the queen, and which still exists in the neighbourhood of the Halle au Blé. His pursuers are close behind. Crichton, with his fair burden, emerges on the top of the pillar, and closes the trap-door by which they had issued. When Caravaja and Loupgarou, who are in pursuit, succeed in gaining the top and forcing the door, they find the space vacant. The fugitives are gone: how they went we shall now leave Mr Ainsworth to explain.

'As Crichton turned, in doubt and dejection, towards the trap-door (which he had closed behind them), his eye chanced upon a coil of rope

Digitized by Google

attached to one of the links constituting the larger hemisphere of iron bars by which he was surrounded. A means of escape at once presented itself to his imagination. Swift as thought he tried the durability of the cord. It was of strength sufficient to sustain his weight; and of more than sufficient extent to enable him to reach the ground. He uttered an exclamation of joy, but he suddenly checked himself. The plan was relinquished as soon as formed. He could not abandon the Gelosa.

'Genevra divined his intentions. Collecting all her energies, she threw herself at his feet, beseeching him to avail himself of the opportunity that presented itself of safety by flight.

'"And leave you here to fall into the hands of your pursuers—of Gonzaga? Never!" replied Crichton.

'"Heed me not—heed me not—noble and dear Signor," replied the Gelosa. "I have *my* means of escape likewise—go—go—I implore of you. What is my life to yours? By the Virgin!" continued she, with passionate earnestness, "if you do not obey me, I will fling myself headlong from this pillar, and free you from restraint, and myself from persecution."

'Saying which, she advances to the brink of the column, as if resolved upon putting her threat into instant execution.

'"Hold, hold, Genevra!" exclaimed Crichton, "we may both avoid our foes. Give me thy hand, rash girl"—and ere she could advance another footstep, the Scot detained her with a powerful grasp. Genevra sank unresistingly into his arms. Crichton's next proceeding was to make fast the trap-door, the bolt of which presented such feeble resistance to the Herculean shoulders of Loupgarou. He then threw the cord over the edge of the column, and advanced to the brink to see that it had fallen to the ground. As he did so, he was perceived and recognised by Ogilvy, who hailed him with a loud shout; but as that doughty Scot was engaged hand to hand with a couple of assailants, he was not in a condition to render his patron any efficient assistance. Having ascertained that the cord had dropped in the way he thought desirable, Crichton again assured himself of the firmness of the knot, and placing his dagger between his teeth, to be ready for instant service on reaching the ground, and twining his left arm securely round the person of the Gelosa, whose supplications to be abandoned to her fate were unheeded, he grasped the rope tightly with his right hand, and leaning over the entablature of the column, pushed himself deliberately over its ledge.

'For a moment the rope vibrated with the shock; and as she found herself thus swinging to and fro in mid air, Genevra could scarcely repress a scream. Her brain reeled as she gazed dizzily downwards, and perceived the space that intervened between her and the earth. Her head involuntarily sank over her shoulder, and she closed her eyes. Had her safety depended on her own powers of tenacity, she had certainly fallen.

'The rope, meanwhile, continued its oscillations. With one arm only disengaged, and the other encumbered by his fair burthen, it was almost

Digitized by Google

impossible for Crichton to steady it. The architrave and frieze, which crowned its capital, projected nearly two feet beyond the body of the shaft. For some time he could neither reach the sides of the pillar, so as to steady his course by its fluted channels, nor would he venture to trust himself to the guidance of the shifting cord. His peril appeared imminent. The strain upon the muscles was too great to be long endured. But Crichton's energies were inexhaustible, and his gripe continued unrelaxing. At length, after various ineffectual efforts, he succeeded in twining his legs securely round the rope, and was about to descend, when an incident occurred which rendered his situation yet more perilous.

'Filled with astonishment at the daring attempt they witnessed, as Crichton launched himself from the column, the combatants beneath—friend and foe, as if by mutual consent—suspended hostilities. It was a feat of such hairbreadth risk, that all gave him up for lost. But, when he had made good his hold, their admiration knew no bounds. Blount loudly hurraed, and threw his cap into the air. Even the adverse party uttered a murmur of applause. Ogilvy rushed forward to seize and secure the rope—and all had been well, but at the same moment he was grappled by one of his antagonists, and in the struggle which ensued, the cord was so violently shaken, that Crichton had need of all his vigour to maintain his position. The rope twisted round and round; but contriving, in the gyrations which he performed, to insert the point of his foot in the fluting of the pillar, he once more regained his equilibrium.

'"Villain," cried Ogilvy, as he threw his enemy to the earth, and plunged his dirk within his bosom—"thou at least shalt reap the reward of thy treachery—Ah! what is this?" cried he, as from the folds of a scarf, which had dropped from the man's grasp, a packet of letters met his view. He was about to pick them up, when his attention was diverted by a loud cry from Blount.

'"Ha!—have a care!—noble Crichton," shouted the Englishman—"have a care! I say. Saint Dunstan and St Thomas, and all other good saints, protect thee!—Desist—craven hound, what wouldst thou do? The curse of saint Withold upon thee!" The latter part of Blount's ejaculation was addressed to Loupgarou, whose huge person might now be discovered leaning over the architrave of the pillar, and who was preparing to cut the rope asunder with his sword—"O for a sling!" roared Blount, "to smite that accursed Philistine betwixt the temples."

'Directed by these outcries, and, at the same time, perceiving the effect of a blow upon the rope, Crichton looked upwards. He beheld the malignant and exulting aspect of Loupgarou, who, it is needless to say, through the agency of Caravaja, had discovered the mode of flight adopted by the Scot, and instantly resolved upon the only revenge in his power. It was evident, from his gestures and ferocious laughter, that the giant had resolved to exercise his utmost ingenuity in torturing his enemy. Before he attempted to sever the cord, he shook it with all his force—jerking it vehemently, first on the right hand, and then on the left—but finding he could not succeed in dislodging the tenacious Scot, he had recourse to another expedient. Taking firmly hold of the iron

Digitized by Google

bar, by dint of great exertion, he contrived to pull the cord up several feet; uttering a loud yell, he let it suddenly drop. Still Crichton, though greatly shaken, maintained his hold. Loupgarou then proceeded slowly to saw the cord with his sword. Crichton gazed downwards. He was still more than sixty feet from the ground.

'"Ho—ho!" bellowed Loupgarou, "not so fast, fair sir—qui vult perire pereat—ho—ho—you shall reach the ground without further efforts of your own, and somewhat more expeditiously—sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi—ho! ho!"

'"That fate shall be thy own, huge ox," screamed a shrill voice (it was that of Chicot) in his ear. "Ho—ho," laughed the jester, as the giant, whom he pushed forward with all his might, rolled heavily over the entablature—"not so fast—not so fast—my Titan."

"*Quién adelante no mira, atrás se queda,*"

exclaimed Caravaja, springing upon the Jester, with the intent of pushing him upon the giant—"thou shalt reverse the proverb—look first, and leap after." The words, however, were scarcely out of his mouth, when he found himself seized by the Vicomte de Joyeuse, who suddenly appeared on the roof of the column.

'Loupgarou made an effort to grasp at the architrave of the pillar as he was precipitated over it—and then at the rope—but he missed both. His great weight accelerated his fall. He descended head foremost. His scull came in contact with the sharp projecting edge of the plinth, which shattered it at once; and his huge frame lay without sense upon the pavement of the court, just as Crichton and his now senseless burthen alighted in safety upon the ground.

'"By my bauble!" cried Chicot, as he hailed Crichton from the summit of the column, "the great gymnastic feats of Gargantua equal not your achievements, compére."'

Of this same Chicot, by the by, we hear a great deal too much—and great as was the license permitted to court fools, we cannot but think his endless impertinence would never have been tolerated by the personages to whom it is here supposed to be addressed. Mr Ainsworth seems to have laboured this character with considerable assiduity,—particularly as it afforded him the means of introducing much of the odd and out-of-the-way reading, which in the course of his preparation for this romance he seems to have amassed. A good deal of this erudition we could willingly have dispensed with. The allusion to the well-known drinking-cup of Henry III., and the *non-reference* to Brantome, might have been spared; and however carefully Mr Ainsworth may have studied Rabelais, he may depend upon it that a taste for Pantagruelism was not so widely diffused in those days as to make it in the least probable that an English yeoman should have his satire at his finger-ends. The parade of antiquarian expression is frequently most tedious; so much so, that many of the descriptions are scarcely intelligible. What, for

Digitized by Google

instance, are we to make of the following technicalities where the author is describing the appearance of Joyeuse on horseback, and speaking of

'The ease with which he ever and anon compelled him to perform the balotades croupades, and other graces of the high manège, alluded to in the following alliterative verses:—

"Vite virade,
Pompante pannade,
Saut soulevant,
Prompte peterrade."

While the female portion of the assemblage marvelled at the exceeding beauty of feature, disclosed by the open visor of his casque, and the manly symmetry of the limbs, defined by his light and curiously-fashioned breastplate, "brassards, cuissards, jamb, and selleret." The housings of his steed were of white damask, diapered with gold, and bordered with minever. His chamfrin was decorated, like that of Gonzaga, with a superb *houpe de plumes*, and similarly accoutred. From the crest of the knight depended a lambrequin of slashed silk; and his surcoat was woven with his blazon, a lion rampant azure, armed, and langued gules.'

Still more absurd is this passage, which occurs in the description of the combat between Crichton and Gonzaga:—

'Each champion dashed furiously against the other, dealing, as he passed him, a mandritta, or blow from right to left, on his antagonist's casque, and then, wheeling suddenly round, performed a demivolte with curvets, and returning with the same fury as before, reiterated his stroke. Upon the third encounter, executing a shorter demivolte, Crichton turned sharply round and faced his assailant. Continuing their curvets and voltes, each champion then discharged a succession of imbrocatas and reversas upon his enemy's morion and breastplate. No attempt on either side, on the onset, appeared to be made to ward off those blows, but on the third volte, Crichton directed a heavy stramazone (or cutting blow) against Gonzaga's crest. The Prince raised his estoc to beat away the blow, but the weapon flew from his grasp, and so terrible was the stroke, that Crichton's own blade shivered to the hilt.'

When Mr Ainsworth penned this, he must surely have been fresh from the perusal of the encounter between Gymnast and Tripet. 'Then Tripet,' says Rabelais, in his description of that tremendous adventure, 'passed his right leg over the saddle, 'and placed himself *en croupe*. But said he, 'twere better for me 'to get into the saddle. Then putting the thumbs of both hands 'upon the crupper before him, and thereupon leaning himself as 'upon the only supporters of his body, he incontinently turned 'head over heels in the air, and straight found himself betwixt the 'bow of the saddle in a tolerable seat; then springing into the air 'with a somerset, he turned him about like a windmill, and made 'above a hundred fresh turns and *demi-promenades*.' Really, when

Digitized by Google

we read in Crichton of all these mandrittas, demivoltes, with or without curvets, estocs, imbrocatas, riversas, and heavy stramazones—and, after all, no harm done, there seems a wonderful resemblance between the two passages of arms; and we are tempted to echo the reflection of Corporal Trim when the above passage from the exploits of Tripet is read to him.—'Good 'God!' cried Trim, losing all patience, 'one home thrust of a bay-'onet is worth it all.' 'I am of a contrary opinion, quoth my fa-'ther,'—and so, apparently, is Mr Ainsworth.'

We have stated fairly our impression as to the manifold faults of Crichton; all of which, however, have their origin in that tendency to exaggerate, to which we alluded in the outset. Mr Ainsworth will not trust to nature; he must dazzle and confound; or hold the mind in suspense by scenes of peril and terror. This, however, is no uncommon fault in a young writer; and we are not without hopes that Mr Ainsworth will, at no distant period, come to entertain sounder views as to the true principles on which a romance should be constructed. He already has many of the best qualities of a romance writer; he requires rather the due balance and regulation of what he possesses than the addition of any thing new. Had we not, with all its imperfections, thought highly of Crichton, we should have passed it over with the single observation that it was interesting and dramatic; but entertaining the opinion that it is the work of a man of genius, we have thought it right fairly and candidly to indicate what appears to us to be their origin, in the hope that in his future productions he may give more scope to his judgment, and less to the caprices of imagination.

ART. X.—*The Life of Oliver Goldsmith, M.B. From a variety of original sources.* By JAMES PRIOR, F.S.A. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1837.

IRISH genius, either from necessity or ambition, has been hitherto almost always absentee. It has suffered from this in many ways—in usefulness, in happiness, and in fame. The time is come, we hope, when the resources and attractions of Ireland are so far augmented, that (even without a literary poor law) its future Goldsmiths will have at least the option of staying and cultivating their taste at home. Harder faculties stand this kind of removal best. The philosophical manufactures of Hume

Digitized by Google

and Adam Smith might possibly have prospered any where. Not so the plants imagination nurses. What would have become of Burns and Walter Scott, if they had left for ever the glens, traditions, and affections of their youth at twenty-one? The inspiring pilgrimages of genius must take place under other circumstances and in after years. When the Troubadours and minstrels moved as the bee moves from bank to bank, it was as travellers, not exiles. The foreign residence of Byron was self-expatriation only during his own good pleasure. He continued to live (wherever he might be, and notwithstanding all apparent recalcitrations and disclaimers) on the elements and passions of his English being. The London public travelled with him, as the court of Elizabeth haunted the retreat of Spenser; and he dwelt within the shadow of his country's presence upon the banks of the Po, as Spenser had before him, 'by the green alders of the Mulla's shore.'

The Irish are sometimes reproached for indifference to the memory of their distinguished men. Considering all things, we think unreasonably. If the name of Spenser has vanished from among the ruins of Kilcolman, how only was he known there? Not as the poet of the Faerie Queen, but as the foreign *undertaker*, entering in at the sword's point upon his portion of the spoils of the territory of the Desmonds. It will be seen that they are proud enough of Goldsmith at Lishoy. If Ireland has no national Pantheon, especially consecrated to the citizens who have done her honour, Ireland is in this respect not more backward than most other countries. Besides, as yet it would scarcely have been prudent to have begun one on a very extensive scale. When the phenomenon of eminent devotion for her sake has been supposed at any time to have occurred, a single instance, like that of Swift, is a convincing proof that Irish gratitude is so far from being particular about seeking into motives, that it may be very probably carried a little further than the evidence strictly warrants. Mr Prior is himself an Irishman. As such we appreciate and respect the feelings which have made him the biographer of Burke and Goldsmith. If, on the other hand, we question the wisdom of his proceeding on this last occasion, it is not as Scotchmen that we do so. At least, we are not at all conscious of being influenced by any portion of the provincial misunderstanding, in which Mr Prior discovers the most plausible explanation of the laughable account that Boswell has left of Goldsmith. The respective characters of the two nations are not shown to the best advantage in the persons of either Goldsmith or Boswell—the Irish poet, and the Scotch lawyer. It would seem, even when more favourably represented, that they are not particularly sympathetic.

Digitized by Google

It is accordingly in a tone which Matthews the actor would have reproved for its ill-nature, that Swift mentions his having observed more frequently among the Scots than any other nation, a passion for truisms and details. They are very careful (he says) not to omit the minutest circumstance of time and place; and, when they have told a long story made up of facts of no consequence, they think that they have acquitted themselves very handsomely for the entertainment of their company. If this be our national characteristic, we are decidedly of opinion, after a very patient and careful perusal of Mr Prior's book, that he ought, without more ado, to be admitted to all the privileges of an honorary Scotchman from this time forward. It will be to the credit of our countrymen to look upon him in the light of an adopted kinsman, rather than in that of a successful rival.

Much depends in literature as well as in the fine arts upon the choice of a subject. In making Goldsmith the idol of two thick octavos, Mr Prior has let his zeal get the better of his discretion. When Goldsmith, from nearly similar motives to those by which we believe Mr Prior to be actuated, undertook about fifty years after Parnell's death, to collect the scattered notices of an author who, as a poet, had some points of resemblance with himself, Goldsmith had considerable advantages. He filled up a vacant niche in the poetical biography of the country; what he told he told in twenty pages; and his readers were too agreeably led on to think of looking out for faults under his light and pleasant style. Yet he was aware at the time that he had come too late for any useful purpose. Posterity can be made to take no deep concern in the chronological array of a few dates and facts 'scarcely more interesting than those which make the 'ornament of a country tombstone;' or in the recovery of a few fragments of unmeaning correspondence. The peculiarities, the nice distinctions which separate mind from mind, were gone already with Parnell to his grave. When Johnson was afterwards required to say something about Parnell, he had the good sense to contract the twenty pages of Goldsmith into still smaller compass. Notwithstanding all his generous partiality for every thing written by his old companion, he could not refrain from observing that the life of Parnell was a poor one because the materials were so;—adding, that 'nobody could write the life of another 'but those who had eat and drunk and lived with him.' We need not adopt Johnson's observations in the absolute latitude in which they are expressed, in order to ascertain that the personal life of Goldsmith, undertaken by a stranger in a succeeding generation, must be a hazardous affair. If the life has not been previously written, an editor may be tempted to go a wool-gather-

Digitized by Google

ing, in order to pad his pasteboard figure with irrelevant and doubtful matter. If it has, he will be equally responsible for a useless book, unless he should succeed in making a better use of his materials than his predecessors have made. It is possible for an editor so to manage it as to press a great deal too close on both the horns of this dilemma.

Goldsmith has prettily observed—and he was so fond of the illustration that he has repeated it on several occasions,—'A poet, 'while living, is seldom an object sufficiently great to attract much 'attention; his real merits are known but to a few, and these are 'generally sparing in their praises. When his fame is increased 'by time, it is then too late to investigate the peculiarities of his 'disposition; the dews of the morning are past, and we vainly 'try to continue the chase by the meridian splendour.' His imagination was probably at the time applying the simile to his own biography. If this were so, he was mistaken. For he lived in a different age—the age of Memoirs and of Letter-writing. He was not watched, followed, and noted down, as systematically as Johnson. Nor has he thrown open to us the innermost chambers of his heart as naturally as Cowper. For, having to write for bread, he was too weary of his pen, when he could rest it for a while from its hackney coachman's work, to canter it up and down the pages of a letter for his amusement. Nevertheless the outline and the spirit of Goldsmith's nature have been preserved for us entire. In the morning of his fame its dew was not left ungathered; and partial hands have been since engaged in the pleasing office of setting forth the beads in an honorary garland. We do not say that valuable information unknown to Bishop Percy might not be recoverable by the industry of Mr Prior; nor that it is impossible to succeed in telling a story over again which has been once told, however hastily, by Sir Walter Scott. The probabilities, however, on both points are considerably the other way.

To take the last point first. Mr Prior must stand or fall by the importance of the news he brings us; and not by the grace with which he can communicate it. In case his volumes had been published first, we should have hailed the abbreviated memoirs as sensible selections of the important and pleasant parts. The one is Goldsmith in a dropsy; the other Goldsmith tapped. Mr Prior has not given himself on this occasion a reasonable chance of success. Whilst the bulk of his matter is such as no charm of manner could carry off, his ordinary manner is of a kind which would take the interest out of any story. The leading events and characteristic anecdotes are buried under a mass of minute particulars. The reader can often, for pages together,

Digitized by Google

hardly get a view of Goldsmith, he is so hustled in the crowd. In verifying the circumstances, which, well authenticated, would be worth the trouble of relating, there is not the slightest appearance of discrimination between one kind of evidence and another. Idle passages from periodical essays, from the Vicar of Wakefield, and from the Deserted Village, are mixed up with fluctuating family traditions, and with the contradictory gossip of Lishoy; and the whole is tendered to us at last as sure and satisfactory testimony of a kind that nobody can doubt.

Mr Prior's mind is any thing but a sieve for sifting grain and chaff which have got once mixed up together. *Plenus rimarum est.* Witness his credulous acceptance of the classical pretensions of Lishoy. He would have made an unflinching partisan for one of Homer's contending cities. Mr Prior has not the credit of inventing this local romance. In 1830 he found it the popular legend of the place. The peasant *cicerones* of Lishoy seem to have got up the imaginary story to perfection. Their earnestness, fearfulness, and minuteness would not discredit the most accomplished guide that ever mystified a visitor over the holy ground of Jerusalem or Rome. So much for tradition! Mr Handcock, as far back as 1790, became a believer in Lishoy. Mr Hogan must have been so when he rebuilt the village inn,—bought teacups and cemented them in the wall to secure them against the iconoclast zeal of pilgrims, and christened his new house by the poetical name of Auburn. It is now some years since the hypothesis was introduced to our locality-loving natives by the Rev. Mr Newell of St John's College, Cambridge. His quarto edition of Goldsmith's Poems was a handsome volume. But neither 'the 'remarks attempting to ascertain, chiefly from local observation, 'the actual scene of the Deserted Village, nor the illustrative 'engravings, from drawings taken upon the spot' (though more numerous than Mr Finden's new vignettes), have attracted much attention. The name of Mr Newell is never mentioned by Mr Prior. This ought to have been done; especially since, in a note upon the passage concerning the *tyrant's hand* in the Deserted Village, he has appropriated, without acknowledgment, the very words of the charge by which Mr Newell had previously denounced an English gentleman, General Robert Napier, as the depopulator of Auburn. Mr Prior, in supporting his patriotic supposition, is aware of all the difficulties in his way. He admits that Goldsmith must have begun by transforming, for the purposes of poetry, a group of mud cabins into a beautiful village. This is a strange beginning for a case of identity to stand upon. The truth is, that no original is required. The notion that any particular spot is necessary for the scene of a descriptive poem is quite gra-

Digitized by Google

tuitous. The sons of poetry take a wider range. Theirs are the cattle upon a thousand hills. But, were it otherwise, this hypothesis creates many difficulties; while, without it, there is no difficulty to remove. There is not a feature in the description of Auburn which the English reader does not feel to be a faithful representation of the rural scenery of England. 'Trade's 'unfeeling train' may have had occasionally to answer for something of the sort here and there in England; but it cannot be pretended that trade ever dismantled a single cabin at Lishoy. Above all, what does Goldsmith say himself in his dedication to Sir Joshua Reynolds? It must be recollected that at the time in question he had not been in Ireland for nearly twenty years. Sir Joshua and many of his best and wisest friends, it seems, reasonably objected that the depopulation and disorder, which it was the object of the poem to deplore, were nowhere to be seen. 'To this,' the poet replies, 'I can scarce make any 'other answer, than that I sincerely believe what I have written; 'that I have taken all possible pains *in my country excursions, for 'these four or five years past, to be certain of what I allege.*' Sir Walter Scott has noticed the poetical exhalation which has so suddenly risen over Lishoy. He was not over sceptical in the gentle precaution with which he hinted, 'much of this supposed 'locality may be fanciful.' He felt at the same time with kindred sympathy, that 'it was a pleasing tribute to the poet in the land 'of his fathers.' In all his original compositions, Goldsmith drew from himself only; from his own feelings and observations, not from learning and infused opinions. It could not but happen, therefore, that to-day's impressions in such a nature would be constantly reviving youthful recollections; or be stirring up, at least, those emotions and images which we so easily fancy to resemble them. It is impossible to follow Mr Prior and not perceive that, upon this point as well as on sundry others, the gossip of the family and the neighbourhood comes to nothing. Sir Walter Scott has quoted a passage from the Memoirs of Lee Lewis, an actor of genius, and one of Goldsmith's frequent associates, a little more to the purpose. We have no doubt but that it brings Lishoy and Auburn as near together as they can be brought with any truth. A more distinct image of one of the mud cabins of Lishoy would have put to flight his study of sweet Auburn. 'The writer of these memoirs,' says Lee Lewis, 'called upon the 'Doctor the second morning after he had begun The Deserted 'Village, and to him he communicated the plan of his poem. '"Some of my friends," continued he, "differ with me on this 'plan, and think this depopulation of villages does not exist—

Digitized by Google

'but I am myself satisfied of the fact. I remember it in my own 'country, and have seen it in this."'

To pass to the other point of Mr Prior's justification—the value of the new matter, and the use to which he has applied the whole. The author of an agreeable book may safely leave it to introduce and protect itself. Like a pretty woman, it is always welcome. Unfortunately our author does not stand in this position. He will be expected to give a reason for every page. Mr Prior rests his case upon the nature of the facts he is enabled to contribute; and undertakes not merely to present the public with a more complete and correct biography of Goldsmith, but more especially to vindicate the character of a great man maliciously misrepresented. Now what is the result? Only a very small proportion of the facts, now for the first time brought forward, possess any general interest whatever; and, we are sorry to say, that we have finished the book with an opinion on the whole much less favourable to Goldsmith than we had when we began it. The controversial attitude assumed in it has compelled us to consider the habits and character of Goldsmith more consecutively and completely than we had ever occasion to do before. We wish heartily that he had been left where he was,—half covered by the wing of time and by the gentle thoughts that time brings with it. And this both for his sake and for our own. Readers of the Traveller and the Vicar of Wakefield will be sending in demands for compensation against Mr Prior. People seldom see a play of Shakespeare acted but they repent it. The ideal ought not to be carelessly embodied even on the stage. To see the author himself is generally still worse. It brings the reality so much nearer, and is too often the lifting up of Mokannah's veil. Man is fearfully made;—in many cases composed of such strange ingredients, and capable of playing so many parts. If we are obliged to choose, in judging of an author's real character, between his ordinary conduct and familiar conversation, on the one hand, and his writings on the other, Goldsmith will direct us right. He has told us that people write to please others, but talk (and, he might have added, act) to please themselves. On this distinction, frugality became, in print, his favourite virtue; and finery and gaming were the follies he had a particular satisfaction in reproving.

Mr Prior, as we have just stated, has come forward to clear the character of Goldsmith. Before seeing how he does it, we may be allowed to ask what is the presumed necessity? and against whom is it that he appears? On putting together, to the best of our ability, the evidence which is scattered over our author's pages, we have come to the conclusion, that Goldsmith has been treated in the main

Digitized by Google

with great indulgence by his contemporaries. The serious charges, or things which might easily have been made such, were never seriously preferred. He was laughed at, to be sure, abundantly. In this sense, Johnson, speaking of the partiality of his friends, observed most truly, that it was shown in never giving him a hearing. He was the butt of the Literary Club; as Swift, he says, had been of Scriblerus's before him. We much question his right to comfort himself under the precedent of Swift, whose *vive la bagatelle* belonged to a very different constitution. That, however, is a point which we have not now the means of settling. Indeed, at this distance of time, our principal proof of the degree of ludicrous provocation given by Goldsmith to Johnson and his other *friends* (as Mr Prior prints it), is, in great measure, the license that they took. It is an inference which can only be refuted by throwing the imputation of brutal and extravagant injustice upon the remainder of the party. For this we see not a tittle of evidence beyond a single letter, written by Malone to Bishop Percy, in 1807. Giving the utmost weight to it, it goes a very little way. It establishes the personal opinion of Bishop Percy and Malone, but nothing more. The letter was written thirty years after Goldsmith's death, and six years after the publication of the Memoir in question; to which Bishop Percy had originally contributed the principal materials. The additions, on this occasion, to which Bishop Percy and Malone objected, were made by Rose, Cowper's friend, whom the publishers called in to their assistance, on quarrelling with the Bishop. Malone observes, 'I can myself, from personal knowledge, bear witness to the truth 'of your character of him (Goldsmith), for I never observed any 'of those grimaces or fooleries that the interpolater talks of; nor 'could I ever assent to Lord Oxford's pointed sentence, that he '"was an inspired idiot," which was said and circulated merely 'for the sake of the point, without any regard to just representa-'tion. I always made battle against Boswell's representation of 'him also in the Life of Johnson; and often expressed to him 'my opinion that he had rated Goldsmith much too low.' Interpolation is a hard word under the circumstances. It shows the temper in which the quarrel with the booksellers had left the correspondents. The Biographical Notice had been sent over from Ireland less complete than the booksellers were entitled to expect. The passages introduced by Rose, appear, however, to have been nothing more than a single allusion to Goldsmith's occasional buffoonery; and a few very favourably selected extracts from Boswell's Journal. They leave the Memoir of 1801 almost as unqualified a panegyric as it can have passed out of Bishop Percy's hands. In denying the ridiculous

Digitized by Google

appearance which Goldsmith was constantly making in society, Malone and Bishop Percy are opposed to such an unbroken phalanx of concurrent and independent witnesses, that the prodigy of the assertion only damages their evidence on other points. With respect to Boswell's character of Goldsmith, what is all that Malone here says of the former? Whether Boswell underrated Goldsmith generally is one question; whether he has falsely stated a single fact or conversation in which Goldsmith was concerned, is another. Considering how silly Boswell was, that he should have presumed to think lightly of any man with a hundredth part of the just celebrity of Goldsmith, was an impertinence which Stevens did right to ridicule, and Malone to blame. But among all the enemies Boswell made, and notwithstanding the various witnesses by whom his narrative on so many occasions was surrounded, his veracity has continued unimpeached. We have every reason, therefore, to believe that we have before us the scenes as they really passed. No man in his senses could think of using Boswell in any other capacity than that of a witness. Admitting that he may have underrated Goldsmith, that would be an error of judgment only. And, it is easily accounted for by the opposite natures of the two persons, without having recourse to the supposition that Boswell was led to it by any malevolent feeling.* He had no cause to have disliked a person to whom he must have been many a time and oft obliged for drawing the laughter from himself. When Goldsmith was by, he could not be sure of being the most ridiculous person in company. But, there is positive evidence of Boswell's feelings. On two of the capital charges against Goldsmith—his foolish and envious talk—Boswell has gone out of his way to take the field, as counsel in

---

* Sir Walter Scott suspects Boswell of malevolence towards Goldsmith. It is a proof how carelessly he had looked into the evidence. As another instance of this, may be mentioned the observation which, in his notice of the eminent novelists, he has made upon 'Retaliation.' He says, 'the poem of Retaliation had the effect of placing its author on a 'more equal footing with his society than he had ever before assumed.' Mr Prior could have told him, that the only equality then left for Goldsmith was the equality of the grave. He was already dead. He died in the first week of April, 1774; and 'Retaliation' (the provocation for which had been only recent, and which, in its present state, is evidently a fragment) was not made public till a short time after. It is evident, from the terms in which the copy was transmitted to the publishers, that it had not been privately circulated before. Histories written by men of genius require to be strictly watched. Poets are strangely tempted to let Imagination do Memory's work.

Digitized by Google

his behalf. He liked (he says) to hear honest Goldsmith talk away carelessly, and thought that he had no more envy than other people, only he talked of it freely. He dwells with pleasure on the energy with which Johnson, as he was buttoning on his coat, repeated the description of the English character in the Traveller; and, on Johnson's comparing Goldsmith to a diamond, and general officers to pebbles, he breaks out into a wish that his friend could but have heard him. Is this the line that malevolence pursues? In relating, at other times, what passed to Goldsmith's disadvantage, it was Boswell's trade to do so. He would have done the same in his own case. And so indeed he has. For his book is a systematic exposure of himself, and only an incidental one of Goldsmith.

It is unwise to attempt to represent the contemporaries of Goldsmith as being almost all in league against him. Why not let it be supposed that the swarm of epigrams, to which we are obliged for 'Retaliation,' was the extent to which their amicable hostility was carried? The world will never believe that any body was thought lightly of, by the circle in which he lived, without deserving it. Mr Prior disposes with a sneer of the veracity of Cumberland. Yet surely Cumberland (the only person except Reynolds described in 'Retaliation' in language of unqualified praise) could have neither inducement nor disposition to detract in any way from the reputation of his panegyrist. The men of letters and the men of fashion are in the same story. Topham Beauclerc would never have written in the tone he did to Lord Charlemont, the gossip about his countryman's envy and absurdities, if the points had been novelties to the correspondents, or questionable in the world. Mr Prior's editorial fervour is a great deal too headlong and intense. Like a rash advocate, he presses the points that hang his client. Horace Walpole did not find it an easy matter to write down the hump from the shoulders of crook-backed Richard. And Mr Prior will find it a still more difficult one to satisfy the present generation that the 'inspired idiot' of Horace Walpole was in conversation, character, and conduct a superior person. If the elevation of the character of Goldsmith can be only obtained by lowering that of all the persons whose supposed friendship has been hitherto conceived to be his greatest honour, Mr Prior would perhaps after all have no great reason to triumph in his success. What this success is we proceed to show.

Mr Prior will excuse us for making one or two suggestions, in case he should be called upon for a new edition of his book. In that event, he will do well to check the authority, whatever it may

Digitized by Google

be, upon which he has attributed the appearance of his brother Charles in London, in 1757, to the fact that Goldsmith had inadvertently mentioned, in a letter to Mrs Lawder, his new literary friends. We have Goldsmith's own authority in the letter to Mrs Lawder, printed by Mr Prior a few pages further on, and dated August 1758, that, at that time, no letter had passed between the cousins for many years. The notice of the letter which Goldsmith published on the disputed originality of the 'Hermit' (which, by the way, we are far from thinking, with Mr Prior, to be the finest ballad in our own—much less in any language) ought to have been accompanied by the comment on it from the former Memoir. The comment there given is evidently Bishop Percy's own. There are more instances, we fear, than one when Goldsmith's memory failed him. Mr Prior places Colman's jest about sitting for two hours over a barrel of gunpowder to the rehearsal of 'She Stoops to Conquer.' On what evidence does he doubt Mr Lee Lewis's express correction (which is quoted by Sir Walter Scott), of the mistake of the former biographers on this point? That gentleman says it occurred at the first representation. He was likely to remember; for he not only acted in the play, but Mr Prior observes that he was first brought into notice by it. He declares that he had the fact from the Doctor himself, and that Goldsmith 'never forgave it to Colman to the last hour of his 'life.' The good sense of Scott should have known better than to repeat the story of Goldsmith returning the hundred guineas which he is supposed to have received for the 'Deserted Vil-'lage,' on being told by somebody that it was a great deal too much. Falstaff was just as likely to have returned a shilling of the booty of Gadshill. From Mr Prior's more intimate acquaintance with Goldsmith's difficulties and habits, still greater scepticism might have been expected. The story was treated with due discredit in the Memoir of 1801. The 'Deserted Village' was published (1770) by Griffin: and it is probable that no money passed at the time, as Griffin had already advanced on account a great deal more. This will explain Cadell's not being able to find out the sum which had been given for it; when he made Hannah More the monstrous offer of an equal sum for '*Sir Eldred of the Bower.*' Griffin continued to be largely in advance up to the time of Goldsmith's death. His loans, and those of Mr Bott, made them the principal creditors; and, as such, they immediately took possession of Goldsmith's papers—the one of those in his country lodgings, the other of those in his Temple chambers. 'Retaliation' is supposed to have been found amongst the latter.

The skeleton of the life of a man of letters is usually soon put

Digitized by Google

up. Oliver Goldsmith was the son of an Irish clergyman, who, with a large family and small income, was settled near Edgworthstown;—the best direction we can now give an English reader. He was born at a place called Pallas, as is mentioned in the epitaph at Westminster Abbey. Lapidary scholars may like to know that the date of the month there given is incorrect. It ought to be the tenth of November. The year is more doubtful. The epitaph says 1731. Mr Prior 1728. On the removal of his father to Lishoy, Oliver commenced his apprenticeship to learning with the village dame; from whom he passed when six year old to the village schoolmaster, and so in succession, with no great applause, through the neighbouring schools of Elphin, Athlone, and Edgworthstown. His destination having, in consequence of some sallies of boyish talent, been changed from trade to the church, he was admitted, in 1745, a sizar at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1749 he returned, with an unhonoured degree of B.A., to a home, poor before, but now made poorer by the death of his father. He staid there till the latter end of 1752, with one relation or another. The object for which his family had taxed themselves to educate him had been Holy Orders. It failed; for he was plucked. The law was then proposed. He lost at a gaming house at Dublin, soon after his arrival there, the fifty pounds which his friends had raised for their law student. One learned profession alone remained—medicine. His uncle Contarine, his brother, and his sister Mrs Hodgson, united their resources for this last experiment. In the autumn of 1752, Goldsmith arrived at Edinburgh to attend the medical lectures. Early in 1754, on the same supposition, he adjourned to Leyden; though it seems very doubtful whether he even entered himself as a student there. In the spring of the following year he started 'alone, unfriended, melancholy, 'slow,' upon that continental tour, which the Poem of the Traveller was afterwards to make so famous. He saw the Low Countries, Switzerland, the north of Italy, and France; but was not long about it; for we find him in England, in the utmost destitution, about the beginning of 1756. He appears to have made the best of his way to London, where, after much obscure misery, he soon raised himself into celebrity by anonymous essays, and criticisms in periodical publications. In 1758, Grainger, like himself a reviewer and a poet (and a physician, moreover, which we suspect that Goldsmith never was), brought him into communication with Dr Percy, afterwards Bishop of Dromore. He appears to have made the acquaintance of Johnson about 1761, who soon introduced him to Reynolds, the Club, and general society. With the exception of a visit to Paris, and occasional ex-

Digitized by Google

cursions into the country, he remained in London until his death. This took place, after a short illness, in 1774.

In proceeding to scrutinize the history and character of Goldsmith, it is necessary to bear in mind that he was neither a philosopher nor a hero; but an Irish literary adventurer, fortune-hunting after the muses, and having a bailiff for his Apollo. The life, therefore, on which we have to sit in judgment, is not to be approached as a life out of Laertius or Plutarch. It belongs to Mr D'Israeli's perturbed chapters, which treat of the literary character, and the calamities of authors. There have been exceptions enough to show that in the worst of times the connexion between literature and a garret is not an absolutely necessary connexion; and that great wit may be divided from great folly by more than a thin partition. But during the last century, in the instances where literature was embraced as a profession, these were the exceptions—the happy few. And Goldsmith was not sufficiently favoured, either by temperament or by fortune, to be one of them. He was among the most unaccountable caprices of capricious nature,—sent into this bustling world but half made up. The reasonable half, to be sure, not quite left out,—only it moved at so slow a rate, that in the affairs of life it was seldom up in time to take part in his proceedings. The work in which it ought to have co-operated was found already done. As the debauches over night served only with Steele to make a new chapter for the Christian hero the following morning, so Goldsmith turned the experience of his own misconduct to no better use than to make it the ground-work of elegant essays for the amusement and instruction of other people.

Goldsmith came of an unlucky race. Mr Prior heard from three of its branches, in as many quarters of Ireland, that 'the 'Goldsmiths were always a strange family; they rarely acted 'like other people; their hearts were in the right place; but 'their heads seemed to be doing any thing but what they ought.' This is an ominous account. It tends rather to discredit a conjectural relationship with Oliver Cromwell and General Wolfe. But it harmonizes over well with *the two natures* attributed to Goldsmith from his youth. Even in England, one half of the misery which is brought upon families and on society is brought about by people, whose hearts we are told after all are in the right place. In these cases it is desirable that what is the right place should be somewhat more accurately defined. Goldsmith as a moral agent never rose beyond the state of childhood. His qualities, good and bad, continued to be exclusively constitutional to the end of his life, as much as they are in other people at the

Digitized by Google

beginning. He was a fine moral baby. Every thing in him was impulse: nothing conscience and reflection. In his easiness of temper, in his social good humour, in the agony of his momentary sympathy with distress, he had elements, which, properly grounded and sustained, would have succeeded in making virtue a more amiable thing than it has always the happiness of being. But these qualities are so far of themselves from constituting virtue, that they are not even necessary conditions to it. They are, however, enchantments which float over the surface, and which every one can see. The tear which lies near the eye is often a gracious thing. But it must come far deeper before it can be much relied on. The case was just the same with Goldsmith's defects. For instance, his vanity, jealousy, and envy became the talk of the town; but they all passed from him, we believe, like so much external vapour. There was no corresponding central heat. Incapable of moral deliberation, he could no more be deliberately vicious than deliberately virtuous. Thus, at his maturest years, he could gabble about taking his shoes from the shoemaker, his clothes from the tailor, and his religion from the priest. On which, Johnson observed, 'Sir, he knows nothing, 'he has made up his mind about nothing.' The truth is that the operation of making up his mind at all was a task above its strength. In a constitution like his, consistency and identity are just as impossible as in a running stream. What would be contradictions in a stronger nature were in his case its distinctive characteristics—the things which you were to expect. The description of being a changling with bright gleams of parts, applied to him universally. He had no steady light, intellectual or moral, but was made up of gleams. They played about him by fits from an uncertain sky. It was in literature only (which he was obliged to make his business, as he had to get his bread by it) that they were concentrated to something like a point. His writings, however, never amount to *wisdom.* The word *wise* in the latter part of Johnson's antithesis—'nobody was more foolish when he had not a pen in 'his hand, or more wise when he had one,' must be taken in a humble sense. Goldsmith did not sink his foundations deep enough to be an architect of great structures worthy of such noble names. He was, like his brother Maurice, a cabinet maker only. Johnson's query on another occasion—'is there a man 'who can pen an essay with such ease and elegance?' points nearer to the truth. Goldsmith's approximation to genius lay in his facility and grace. So his tendencies towards virtue lay in his benevolence and susceptibility. But wise and good we cannot call him. Wisdom and goodness require a substance and

Digitized by Google

a combination, which he did not possess. Self-will, the power of purpose and of sacrifice, long and profound affections, moral elevation, the sense of responsibility to God and man,—these are necessary to virtue. And they belong to beings of a higher order.

There is no evidence of the nature of Goldsmith's talents, one way or another, at an early age, to be at all trusted to. Johnson believed him to have been a 'plant that flowered late; and 'that there was nothing remarkable about him when young.' Our knowledge of his character begins much sooner—with his entrance at Dublin University. The first notices correspond with the latest. 'The child' was not merely 'father of the man,' but the man itself. Henry, the elder brother, had acquitted himself there with considerable credit. Oliver followed consequently with a favourable introduction,—the child of many hopes and many fears, from the parsonage at Lishoy. He went up at an age when the heart and understanding ought to be learning to draw together, if they ever are to do so; when reason should have got sufficiently high in the horizon, so as to let us see something of the road before and after; above all, when it might be hoped, in a case like his, that the affections, if nothing else, would be some security for the solemn and tender responsibilities under which he had left his home. Every folly that he committed, and every shilling that he squandered, were to be paid for by tears and by privations there. He must have known it. But what is the plain history of his University career? Instead of gratitude for the family sacrifices by which alone a liberal education was made attainable for him on any terms, he seems to have resented the humbleness of his position.

We hear nothing of the young scholar's love of learning; nothing of the young sizar's dogged and conscientious labours. The recollection is of a figure seen always lounging about the college gates. Passive indolence in him was bad enough; but it was combined, and naturally, with a worse activity in other ways. His expenses soon got to the bottom of his feeble and precarious means. Instead of frugal independence, we find him, therefore, in squalid poverty—supplying his wants by pawning the books which he ought to have been reading, by writing ballads for sale, instead of preparing for his degree, and by borrowing money from his friends. He thus became, on his first entering into life, so familiar with poverty in its worst form (poverty aggravated by personal misconduct, and dependent in willing mendicancy upon others), that he could never afterwards look on it with dread or shame, except a sheriff's officer was at the door. His academic story corresponds. He is turned to the

Digitized by Google

bottom of his class for ignorance and impertinence; he is saved from expulsion on a riot, only by what is called an ingenuous confession; and is at last knocked down by his tutor, for giving a dance to males and females in his pauper chambers. On this he runs away to Cork, with a shilling in his pocket; is recovered, reclothed, and sent back by his brother; and finally takes his leave of college with an obscure, and, in his circumstances, an ignominious degree,—the last of the eight sizars with whom he had been originally admitted. His father,—his sensitive father,—had in the mean time died. A heart which had got only a little out of its proper place, would have been touched by such a loss at such a time, all things considered. On the contrary, this event, necessarily mixed up with so much reproach and warning, seems to have passed without any influence over his incorrigible son. It will be seen, however, that the two natures by which Goldsmith appears to have been ruled by turns, or between which he may rather be said to have been divided, were already fully developed. On one side, a superficial irritability, approaching to the being without a skin,—unable to bear a fly to settle on it,—on the other, an apparent paralysis of the nobler functions which constitute the life within. At the very moment when Goldsmith was doing much towards breaking the hearts of his too tender parents, he could give the clothes from off his bed to a beggar, and creep himself for cover into the ticking. Goldsmith has left behind him not a hint to show he ever felt the least remorse or mortification about his College life. His own experience must, in a certain sense, have dictated the following passage, in one of the few letters which he wrote his brother. On this, and on one or two more occasions, some expression to that effect was almost unavoidable. 'The reasons you have 'given me for breeding up your son a scholar, are judicious 'and convincing. I should, however, be glad to know for what 'particular profession he is designed. If he be assiduous, and 'divested of strong passions (for passions in youth always lead to 'pleasure), he may do very well in your College; for it must 'be owned that the industrious poor have good encouragement 'there, perhaps better than in any other in Europe. But if he has 'ambition, strong passions, and an exquisite sensibility of con-'tempt, do not send him there, unless you have no other trade 'for him except your own.' Did he mean by trade, the profession of a schoolmaster or a clergyman? For his brother was both. It is difficult to see what is the ambition which a College education was to thwart. Goldsmith might have laid there, as has been done by other sizars, the foundation of an honourable independence, in case his conduct had been determined by either

Digitized by Google

affection or ambition. His ambition, at this time, is not recorded to have soared a higher flight than despising the studies of the place, and singing his convivial Irish songs.

We now come back with Goldsmith to Lishoy. How will he present himself, and how will he behave? While he was at Dublin, the excuse of vulgar good-nature—out of sight, out of mind—might be pleaded for him. He is now once more at home, in the presence of the indigence which he had embittered;—the home where he is returning to be a burden, in great measure self-imposed. The whole family are in very indifferent circumstances—especially his mother—reduced, in her recent widowhood, with the younger children, to the verge of destitution. According to her grocer's bill, here printed for our statistical instruction, she is laying in her stock of sugar by the quarter of the pound, her rice and green tea by two pennyworths at a time. Oliver had been originally a favourite child. He had grievously disappointed her maternal affection and ambition by his academical failure and extravagance. In what spirit does he return?—compunction for the pain he had occasioned?—scruples at throwing himself on their scanty means? resolute decision to work out the wrong he had done to them and to himself, and to be the comfort of her declining years? No such thing. He has returned to complete the outrage on her hopes and feelings before her face. Instead of preparing for orders (for which his family had undergone the charge of his education), or setting about qualifying himself to earn his bread in any capacity whatever, he comes back to take up the part of pauper gentleman; and when the tables of squireens are not open to him, to find pleasures and companions at the public-house. As if to increase his mother's vexation, the one which he selected stood exactly opposite her door. The extent to which this practice became a habit, was pushed so far, that we are expressly told he passed there more time than his brother thought prudent or becoming. Under these circumstances, his relatives were naturally urgent to get him into respectable employment. He appears to have taken at least equal pains in the opposite direction; and to have done this so effectually, that every attempt on their part only led to new exposures. On applying for ordination to Dr Synge, bishop of Elphin, he was rejected; either for want of knowledge, or for the irregularity of his habits, or because he thought fit to make his appearance before the Bishop in scarlet breeches. This Mr Prior calls *declining taking orders*. The law was then tried. But his vocation to jurisprudence began and ended in the loss, at a gaming-house in Dublin, almost immediately on his arrival, of the fifty pounds with which his uncle Contarine's invincible generosity had pro-

Digitized by Google

vided him. It must have been a strange family, which at this period of his life, or indeed at any other, would pick out Goldsmith for a tutor. We are not surprised, therefore, at finding an engagement of this kind, made with Mr Flynn, terminate in his accusing them of cheating him out of his salary at cards. He returned home from Mr Flynn's; and, as usual, in the uttermost distress. The buffoonery, which he took the trouble of putting into the form of a long letter to his poor mother, on this occasion, in answer to her solicitous enquiries as to what he had been doing, to come back in this forlorn condition, is so heartless, that instead of doubting about his heart being in the right place, we have almost doubted whether he had a heart at all. His conduct to his mother shows in what a perverse and cross-grained manner extreme general benevolence may coexist with extreme personal unkindness. She lived till 1770; but after leaving Ireland, in 1752, he appears never to have written to her once. There is a sneer at her in excusing his own indolence, in a letter to Bob Bryanton, one of his pot-companions; but not even a filial message to her in any of his letters to his relations; except, on hearing that she is blind, a word of sentimental regret at his inability to assist her. When she dies, he goes into *half*-mourning, and tells Miss Reynolds he has lost a distant relation. And this is the sum of his account with the most sacred of all relationships—a mother's. The occasional assistance in the school, by which he is said at this time to have partly repaid the bounty of his brother Henry, had a still more untoward close. 'A quarrel, 'arising from some trifling cause, proceeded to *undue extremities*, 'and for a time terminated all regard and intercourse between the 'brothers.' This kind of collision, at their time of life, between two brothers, the one a clergyman, and the other his usher, 'here 'in double trust,' is not very creditable to either party. Supposing Oliver to have been as much in the wrong, as was probably the case, the dedication of the Traveller, and the request to Lord Northumberland, when Lord Lieutenant, to give his brother a living, were as little satisfaction as he could in reason make. After this, we can scarcely believe that his brother Henry was the original of the pastor in the Deserted Village. That 'reverend 'champion,' as he is called there, we are sure, would never have struck a brother on any provocation.

Goldsmith is now on the eve of leaving Ireland and his family for ever. We have reached a point from which the reader can look back. Even Goldsmith himself did so. The space which we have just been tracing covers three years of the most important period in life. No man can have led a life of this kind with either satisfaction or impunity. From Goldsmith's

Digitized by Google

subsequent letters, it is clear that he had felt both its pain and its ignominy. We fear that he principally felt its pain to himself, instead of its pain to others; and was more sensible under it of the degradation in his worldly position than of the perversion of his moral being. When he had left Ireland fifteen months, he writes from Edinburgh to his uncle Contarine:—'And now, dear 'sir, let me acknowledge the humility of the station in which 'you found me: let me tell how I was despised by most and 'hateful to myself. Poverty, hopeless poverty, was my lot, and 'melancholy was beginning to make me her own. When you—' Two or three years later, when he was beginning to feel settled in London, he laid open, in a letter to his brother-in-law, Mr Hodson, somewhat more at length, as they recurred to his recollection, the circumstances, both favourable and unfavourable, of his former residence in Ireland. The Continent and England had enlarged his views of rational society. At the same time, the trouble which Mr Hodson had been taking to solicit subscriptions in his behalf, helped to recal his family and Lishoy with more than usual warmth to his recollection: 'Upon learn-'ing I write, no doubt you imagine I starve; and the name of 'an author naturally reminds you of a garret. In this particular 'I do not think proper to undeceive my friends. But whether 'I eat or starve, live in a first floor or four pair of stairs high, I 'still remember them with ardour; nay, my very country comes 'in for a share of my affection. Unaccountable fondness for 'country, this *maladie du païs*, as the French call it! Unac-'countable that he should still have an affection for a place who 'never, when in it, received above common civility; who never 'brought any thing out of it except his brogue and his blunders. 'Surely my affection is equally ridiculous with the Scotchman's, 'who refused to be cured of the itch, because it made him "unco 'thoughtful of his wife and bonny Inverary." But now to be 'serious,—let me ask myself what gives me a wish to see Ire-'land again? The country is a fine one, perhaps? no. There 'are good company in Ireland? no. The conversation there is 'generally made up of ——; the vivacity supported by some hum-'ble cousin, who has just folly enough to earn his dinner. Then, 'perhaps, there's more wit and learning among the Irish? Oh, 'Lord, no! There has been more money spent in the encou-'ragement of the Padareen mare there one season, than given 'in rewards to learned men since the times of Usher. All their 'productions in learning amount to perhaps a translation, or a 'few tracts in divinity; and all their productions in wit to just 'nothing at all. Why the plague, then, so fond of Ireland? 'Then, all at once, because you, my dear friend, and a few more

Digitized by Google

'who are exceptions to the general picture, have a residence 'there. This it is that gives me all the pangs I feel in separa- 'tion. I confess I carry this spirit sometimes to the souring the 'pleasures I at present possess. If I go to the opera where Sig- 'nora Columba pours out all the mazes of melody, I sit and sigh 'for Lishoy fireside, and Johnny Armstrong's "Last Good 'Night," from Peggy Golden. If I climb Hampstead Hill, 'than where nature never exhibited a more magnificent prospect, 'I confess it fine; but then I had rather be placed on the little 'mount before Lishoy gate, and there take into me—the most 'pleasing horizon in nature.'

The reader may believe as much or as little of this as he pleases. One thing, however, the conduct and correspondence of his relatives establish beyond all question,—that is, the unabated interest they felt for him. Now, this there must have been a great deal in him of what was very agreeable to create; for we have seen that there was doubtless in him a great deal which was very disagreeable and very well calculated to destroy it. It is characteristic of Goldsmith's transient and hurried way of living on the surface, that he says nothing in this letter of the part which he himself had played in person in the scene he ridicules—the eleemosynary hanger-on of illiterate squireens. The consciousness of having been so lately one of them, *despised by others, and hateful to himself*—and how much, and how truly he deserved to be so—had already vanished from his mind.

Goldsmith left Ireland for Edinburgh. The bounty of his friends, especially of his uncle, Contarine, enabled him to remove there to pursue his medical studies. Here he abused their confidence as before. The money which they had raised to support him in his studies, went in expenses of a very different description. Not only were his pockets drained, but his health was injured by dissipation. His reputation was the reputation of a boon companion, not of a young physician. Yet even at this time, when he mentions his being, for a short period, a frequent guest at the Duke of Hamilton's, he had sense enough to perceive that he was admitted there more in the character of a jester than a companion. This being the case, what are we to think of his own assurance, or of the simplicity of his good uncle, when he ventures to write from Edinburgh, in little more than a year, that he has *run through the circle of sciences!* He has 'seen all their 'country had to exhibit in the medical way;' and now, forsooth, must go to Leyden 'to see the great Albinus, though only to 'have it said that we have studied in so famous a university.' Before he could get away, two of his fellow-students had to pay some debts for him; for which it is said he had gone surety.

Digitized by Google

We suspect that he was at a loss at no period of his life for debts of his own. A long story which he tells of a fortnight's confinement at Newcastle, in consequence of having sailed in the company of some Scotch recruits for the French service, looks very like an invention with some object or another. Probably that of preparing his relations against a future failure for his degree. According to this account, it was to Edinburgh, however, and not the Continent, that he was looking for his degree. At Leyden he hardly kept up the external appearance of a medical student. His maintenance there was principally obtained by teaching English, by gambling, and by his ordinary resource of running into debt. He would by this time have begun to doubt his own identity, if he had been able to leave Leyden without having to borrow a sum of money for the purpose. With an indifference which a life of expedients had already made familiar to him, he immediately laid out no inconsiderable part of it on a florist present to his uncle Contarine. This accomplished, he had brought his finances to their due level, and he set off on the tour of Europe, with a shirt, a guinea, and a flute. Unless we are willing to take the narrative, in the Traveller, and the Vicar of Wakefield, for genuine versions of his travels, there is little known of them besides, but that he saw floating beehouses on the rivers of France and Piedmont, flushed woodcocks on the Jura in July, looked with wonder at the sheep of Switzerland trained to follow the shepherds' pipe, and by some accident or other, while at Paris, got into the company of Voltaire. Some time after his arrival in England, when advancing to a member of his family, what for him was a novel plea, that he must be just before he was grateful, he acknowledges to having left behind him upon his tour the usual traces of his presence. 'At present 'there is hardly a kingdom in Europe in which I am not a 'debtor.' In this sense alone do we imagine it to have been at all true, that he dragged at each remove 'a lengthening chain.' And this was a chain, which unfortunately he had learned, by long custom, to drag without perceiving it.

Goldsmith had been knocked about in the world betimes. He was only twenty-eight years of age, when, in 1756, he arrived in England from the Continent, and made his appearance in London, the stage on which he was to toil the remainder of his days. Of these the first three or four years were passed in unavoidable obscurity and distress his ambition rising no higher than to live. The last twelve or fourteen were passed with a literary reputation second only to that of Johnson; still, however, under the same constant pressure of severe pecuniary difficulties. The one was the reward of his graceful talents, the other the punishment of his

Digitized by Google

incorrigible imprudence. During the first of these periods he officiated in the several characters of assistant to a chemist on Fish Street Hill, of a humble physician in Bankside, Southwark, of corrector to the press (it appears probable to Richardson), of usher to a Dissenting academy at Peckham; and, lastly, of drudge of all work to the booksellers. He was advanced to this latter dignity by Griffiths, the proprietor of the Monthly Review, with whom he became acquainted at the table of the schoolmaster at Peckham. From these several occupations he contrived to eke out a subsistence, and that was all. This is the period to which he must have referred, in a story he once told, beginning with—'When I was living with the beggars in Axe 'lane.' It was now that he learned what a life by chance was made of, when 'every day might be considered a happy escape 'from famine.' Here he got his melancholy knowledge of people who die really of hunger, but in common language of a broken heart:—'Some of these I have known myself when 'very little able to relieve them.' Goldsmith had made, while abroad, an application to his relations for further pecuniary assistance. It had failed. The consequence was that all communication ceased. He felt, as he afterwards told them, that his 'letters might be looked upon as the petitions of a beggar and not 'the offerings of a friend.' Within little more than a year of his being in London, he heard from his brother Charles that Mr Hodson had been at great pains in soliciting a subscription to assist him, not only among his friends and relatives, but among their acquaintance in general. Upon this, he could remain no longer silent. 'Though my pride,' he says, 'might feel some repugnance at 'being thus relieved, yet my gratitude can suffer no diminution. 'How much am I obliged to you, to them, for such generosity, 'or (why should not your virtues have their proper name?) for 'such charity to me at that juncture. Sure I am born to ill fortune, to be so much a debtor and unable to repay. But to say 'no more of this; too many professions of gratitude are often 'considered as indirect petitions for future favours. Let me only 'add, that my not receiving that supply was the cause of my present establishment at London. You may easily imagine what 'difficulties I had to encounter, left as I was without friends, 'recommendations, money, or impudence; and that in a country 'where being born an Irishman was sufficient to keep me unemployed. Many in such circumstances would have had recourse 'to the friar's cord, or the suicide's halter. But with all my follies I had principle to resist the one, and resolution to combat 'the other. I suppose you desire to know my present situation. 'As there is nothing in it at which I should blush, or which

Digitized by Google

'mankind could censure, I see no reason for making it a secret. 'In short, by a very little practice as a physician, and a very lit-'tle reputation as a poet, I make a shift to live.' As yet Goldsmith had published no poetry. Is Mr Prior correct in saying, that *poet*, seventy years ago, was a generic name for *author*? Writing a few months later to the most intimate, and, it would appear, most congenial of his friends, a certain Mr Bryanton, and indulging in a sort of humorous extravagance, prophetic of his future fame, he suddenly breaks off, 'Let me, then, stop 'my fancy to take a view of my future self; and, as the boys say, 'light down to see myself on horseback. Well, now I am down, 'where the d—l *is I?* Oh, gods! gods! here in a garret wri-'ting for bread, and expecting to be dunned for a milk score!' His vanity, however, came timely to his aid, even in this extremity, to keep up his consequence with his family. He had to draw a nice line, to protest that he was unable to render them any assistance, and at the same time, when he was soliciting his Irish connexions to circulate proposals for his work on *The present State of Taste and Literature in Europe*, he could hardly bring himself to own to Mr Hodson the full extent of his literary beggary; and he comforted himself by the great precedents which he cited to justify his adoption of literature as a gentleman's profession. 'Scarron used jestingly to call himself the Mar-'quis of Quenalt, which was the name of the bookseller who 'employed him; and why may not I assert my privilege 'and quality on the same pretensions? Yet, upon delibera-'tion, whatever airs I give myself on this side of the water, 'my dignity, I fancy, would be evaporated before I reached the 'other. I know you have in Ireland a very indifferent idea of a 'man who writes for bread, though Swift and Steele did so in the 'earliest part of their lives. You imagine, I suppose, that every 'author by profession lives in a garret, wears shabby clothes, and 'converses with the meanest company. Yet I do not believe 'there is one single writer who has abilities to translate a French 'novel that does not keep better company, wear finer clothes, and 'live more genteelly, than many who pride themselves for nothing 'else in Ireland.' Goldsmith's literary prospects were at this moment most precarious and alarming. But he was borne up by a buoyant and elastic confidence; and was sanguine enough to beg Miss Lawder, the daughter of his most generous protector, his uncle Contarine, to look forward to the period, when 'her 'poor old simple friend may again give a loose to the luxuriance 'of his nature; when he may hope to join his flute to her harpsi-'chord, and forget that he ever starved in those streets where But-'ler and Otway starved before him.'

Digitized by Google

High animal spirits, the freedom of a careless nature, a readiness to give and receive cheap pleasures without being over and above particular about the terms,—that gushing tenderness which springs out freshly the moment that it is touched, though it may probably pass away quite as suddenly,—are popular qualities. They secure not merely a welcome for themselves, but an indulgence which looks very like a welcome, for such infirmities as are able to take advantage of this popularity, and make out something of a common cause. They hold out to prodigal sons, while yet afar off, the flattering assurance that there is a calf always fattening for them at home. In this way, Goldsmith's family and friends never failed him. Shortly after the dark and critical commencement of his London life, some of his Edinburgh companions arrived there—the same who had relieved him when at Edinburgh from his debts. As soon as he made them out, they exerted themselves to their uttermost to lift him from the debasement in which they found him sunk. They did not stand on trifles in their efforts to serve him. Dr Sleigh helped to set him up as a physician. Mr Milner afterwards recommended him as usher in his father's school. For the first of these extremely serious trusts, he can have had no possible qualification except compassion for the poor; and very little for the second, except a love of children. These experiments were too absurd for fortune to be able to turn them to account in her wildest freaks. Literature, when it appropriated Goldsmith to itself, robbed no other service. There was one thing which Goldsmith could do well, and only one—he could write. He had got to the great metropolis, nobody knows how, and had entered inauspiciously enough on the enormous task-work he was destined to endure. He began to review for Griffiths and his literary wife. But he had not been in London a couple of years, before he describes it as a place where he is every day gaining friends and esteem, and where he might enjoy all the conveniences of life. He began to feel already so much at home there, among men of letters, that he ventured even now to boast to Mrs Lawder that, if her husband would write a book, he would get him 'two hundred subscribers, and those of the best wits in Europe.' If Goldsmith's pen did not turn his folly into wisdom, it turned it into something as fascinating; and which, with only a little management on his part, when he laid it down, might have answered perhaps as well. It was a marvellous instrument, to do for him, so unaided and counteracted as it was, all it did. That Goldsmith did not, from this period, enjoy all the conveniences of life, and among them independence, his own respect and the respect of others, was his own fault. His mode of indemnifying himself

Digitized by Google

for systematic profusion was writing panegyrics on frugality. In this spirit he addresses his brother Henry :—'Frugality, and even 'avarice, in the lower orders of mankind, are true ambition. These 'afford the only ladder for the poor to rise to preferment. Teach, 'then, my dear sir, to your son thrift and economy. Let his poor 'wandering uncle's example be placed before his eyes. I had 'learned from books to be disinterested and generous, before I was 'taught from experience the necessity of being prudent. I had 'contracted the habits and notions of a philosopher, while I was 'exposing myself to the approaches of insidious cunning; and 'often by being, even with my narrow finances, charitable to ex-'cess, I forgot the rules of justice, and placed myself in the very 'situation of the wretch who thanked me for my bounty. When 'I am in the remotest part of the world, tell him this, and per-'haps he may improve from my example.' There is considerable self-delusion in the above passage. It states only half the case; and that, the half most favourable to himself. It is quite true, that his charity was beyond his means; but it is equally true, that in too much of his expenses, neither philosophy nor charity had any manner of concern. When his neighbours sent in their little girls into his humble lodging, to borrow of him a 'chamber-pot of coals;' or when he carried his clothes to the pawnbrokers to raise money on them to give away, this was charity—not wise perhaps, always, but still a feeling for which we are ready to throw our arms around his neck, as an object worthy of our love. On the other hand, what are we to say when he is found subscribing probably the only seven guineas and a half he had in the world to a silly history of England, by a Frenchman, in order that his name might appear in a subscription list with the rich and the noble? or when the carelessness with which he threw away his money provokes Miss Milner, the daughter of the schoolmaster at Peckham, to ask to take care of it for him, the same as she did for the young gentlemen? This is ostentation and imbecility.

In proportion as Goldsmith becomes known, it is as difficult to withhold from him your good will, as it is difficult to grant him the reverential confidence of pure esteem. An empty bag can stand upright only in vigorous hands. Goldsmith's were not strong enough. His connexion with Griffiths, his first literary patron, came to a violent end, under painful circumstances, which show what were the sordid and disreputable compliances which the exigencies of dire necessity had forced upon him. He had borrowed from Griffiths a suit of clothes,—drest in which (he said) he was to obtain some situation in the army. As soon as they had served the object, they were to be returned. Griffiths discovered that he had pawned them. The nature of the letter which Griffiths had

Digitized by Google

addressed to Goldsmith on the discovery, appears by the following reply:—'I know of no misery but a gaol, to which my own 'imprudencies and your letter seem to point. I have seen it ine- 'vitable these three or four weeks, and, by heavens! request it 'as a favour—as a favour that may prevent somewhat more 'fatal. I have been some years struggling with a wretched 'being—with all that contempt that indigence brings with it— 'with all those strong passions which make contempt insupport- 'able. What, then, has a gaol that is formidable? I shall at 'least have the society of wretches, and such is, to me, true so- 'ciety. I tell you again and again, I am now neither able nor 'willing to pay you a farthing, but I will be punctual to any ap- 'pointment you or the tailor shall make; thus far, at least, I do 'not act the sharper, since unable to pay my debts one way, I 'would willingly give some security another. No, sir, had I 'been a sharper, had I been possessed of less good nature and 'native generosity, I might surely now have been in better 'circumstances. I am guilty, I own, of meannesses, which po- 'verty unavoidably brings with it; my reflections are filled with 'repentance for my imprudence, but not with any remorse for 'being a villain; that may be a character you unjustly charge 'me with. Your books, I can assure you, are neither pawned 'nor sold, but in the custody of a friend from whom my necessi- 'ties obliged me to borrow some money; whatever becomes of 'my person, you shall have them in a month. It is very possible 'both the reports you have heard, and your own suggestions, 'may have brought you false information with respect to my 'character; it is very possible that the man whom you now 'regard with detestation, may inwardly burn with grateful resent- 'ment. It is very possible that, upon a second perusal of the 'letter I sent you, you may see the workings of a mind strongly 'agitated with gratitude and jealousy. If such circumstances 'should appear, at least spare invective till my book with Mr 'Dodsley shall be published, and then perhaps you may see the 'bright side of a mind, when my professions shall not appear the 'dictates of necessity, but of choice. You seem to think Dr 'Milner knew me not. Perhaps so; but he was a man I shall 'ever honour; but I have friendships only with the dead! I ask 'pardon for taking up so much time; nor shall I add to it by any 'other professions than that I am,' &c.—Mr Prior suggests that these may have been the very clothes which he pawned to relieve some poor creature, whose necessities looked to be greater than his own. It would be quite in character. But when grown-up persons take to stealing leather to make poor men's shoes, they

Digitized by Google

run the risk of forcing sober people the option of preparing a yard for their reception, either at Bridewell or St Luke's.

Clothes were among the things against which Goldsmith should have been warned by some good-natured Fairy at his birth. They were destined through life to make him ridiculous, or worse. He was one of the frights whom we sometimes see, in both sexes, haunted by a strange passion to attract attention to an ungainly person by misplaced finery. His appearance before the Bishop, in scarlet breeches, when a candidate for orders, marvellously corresponds with his strutting up and down the room, at the Literary Club, bragging of his dress. 'Well, let me tell 'you, when my tailor brought home my bloom-coloured coat, he 'said, sir, I have a favour to beg of you, when any body asks 'you who made your clothes, be pleased to mention John Filby, 'at the Harrow, in Water-Lane.—Johnson: Why, sir, that 'was because he knew the strange colour would attract crowds 'to gaze at it, and thus they might hear of him, and see how 'well he could make a coat of so absurd a colour.' According to this conversation, the future antiquary will be scarcely justified in believing, with Mr Prior, that Mr Oliver Goldsmith's account with honest William Filby, tailor, may be taken to be a true sample of the 'fleeting and most changeable peculiarities of our 'garb.' Few of our ancestors, we hope, were as absurd in their dress as Goldsmith. The way in which he reproves the love of finery in Beau Nash (to whose fantastic royalty some nonsense of the sort might properly enough belong), is a remarkable instance how little he was entitled to refer Mr Griffiths for his true character to his writings. He had none of the faculty of applying his observations, either in generals or particulars, to himself for any practical purpose. Mr Prior has printed, from the tailors books, Goldsmith's bills for the last seven years of his life—(Vol. ii. 231). The reader will find scattered over different pages, the statement of Goldsmith's contemporary dealings with the booksellers—the work which he did for them, and the remuneration he received. It is really a melancholy thing to set the two accounts opposite each other. We see there genius overwrought, not under its own glorious excitements, but in the humblest drudgery of the trade. And for what? Not for the great objects of self-respect, founded on personal independence;—not to repay his debts, either of gratitude or justice;—not even to get money to give away; but in order that the unfortunate author might publicly expose the weakness of his judgment and the homeliness of his person, and satisfy the world that Joseph Warton and Horace Walpole were in the right in talking of that solemn coxcomb,

Digitized by Google

'silly Doctor Goldsmith.' His friends receive with laughter his awkward finery. The Bunbury family make it the subject of coarse ungentlemanly liberties. The boys hoot at it in the streets. He reproaches himself with buying it, to look in it like a fool. But all this is of no avail. The acknowledgment of an error, and the reformation of it, are two things which have not the slightest connexion in the life of Goldsmith. He goes on just as before. The man that found him with an expensive masquerade dress tied up in a bundle, and kicking it about the room for exercise, in order that he might get at least that good out of it, would be pretty certain of finding him again at the masquerade to-morrow.

The scrape in which Goldsmith got involved with Griffiths arose out of a single fraudulent transaction. But that transaction was itself a part of general pretensions to which we apprehend no other name can be justly given than that of fraud. Goldsmith presented himself before the public as a practising physician. It is plain that he had never been at the pains of even affecting seriously to prepare himself for so responsible an engagement. Many an honest man may be brought to the scurvy accident of having to live by his wits. To take up for this purpose the avowed profession of a quack is not consistent with humanity, honesty, and propriety, as usually understood. But Goldsmith's humanity was always above ordinances. The real qualification of a physician is a fact inaccessible to the public. The law has sought, therefore, to protect society, up to a certain point, by the imperfect security of a medical degree. Under these circumstances, whoever assumes the title without due authority is guilty of endeavouring, for the sake of money, to get the lives of others into his power on false pretences. Now Goldsmith never produced any evidence of his degree. Had he any to produce? In the biography of 1801, after mentioning his six months' residence at Padua, it is observed, that if he ever took any medical degree, it was *probably* in that ancient school of medicine. The industry of Mr Prior has not brought to light the slightest trace of Goldsmith's residence even as an admitted student, much less of his having taken a degree at Leyden, Louvain, or Padua. His right to the title of Doctor appears to have been of the same order with that of Glover, a less distinguished dependent on literature, who, having received a medical education, graduated in its honorary appellation by the courtesy of society. It was not till the spring of 1769 (only five years before his death) that he said he visited Oxford with Dr Johnson, and that he was admitted there *ad eundem gradum*, which he said was M.B. In the only fragment left by Johnson concerning this

Digitized by Google

visit, Goldsmith's name does not happen to occur: and a chasm in the Register of Convocation, from March 14th to March 18th in that year, but leaves for Goldsmith's veracity the space of four missing days, on which alone his admission can have taken place. Johnson's Oxford degrees were both by diploma. That of M.A. in 1765. That of LL.D. twenty years later, the year after Goldsmith's death. Johnson never himself used his Doctor's dignity. Goldsmith, during the whole of his London residence, appears to have been called by others, and to have written himself, Mr and Dr at his pleasure. As early as 1763 he is described as M.B. in an agreement with Dodsley for a work which he never executed. In the title-page of the copy of the Hermit, privately printed for the Countess of Northumberland in 1764, he is Mr; in the title-page of the Traveller, printed in December of the same year, he is again M.B.; while on the title-page of the collected Essays, published in the succeeding June, he returned back to Mr Goldsmith. This last revolution is remarkable, as recurring in the very month when, by the advice, it is said, of Sir Joshua Reynolds and Mrs Montagu, he took up once more the outward insignia of a physician. The diversities of attire by which he courted the fancies of his feeless patients at Bankside had been suited to the obscurity of those dismal days. They consisted at that period of suits of rusty full-trimmed black —or of a suit of green and gold, but old and tarnished, with a shirt and neckcloth appearing to have been worn at least a fortnight—or of a coat of second hand velvet, with a patch on the left breast, over which he used carefully to rest his hat during his visit. If on other occasions 'he wrote like an angel and talked 'like poor Poll,' his present metamorphosis afforded him a happy opportunity of dressing himself out also like a paroquet. The little Doctor was soon seen in all the ludicrous disadvantages of a professional wig, cane, purple silk small clothes, and a scarlet roquelaire buttoning to the chin. Mr Prior informs us, that three other suits are charged to him in six months. What a pity that so much happiness could not be unalloyed. These facts are thought to guarantee considerable improvement in the neatness of his person since the time when Johnson had so kindly laid aside his beggarman's apparel for the day, and had spruced himself up on his first visit, that Goldsmith might no longer justify himself for his slovenliness, as Johnson had heard he did, by the sanction of his example. Unfortunately there are such combinations as finery and dirt. The name of one only of Goldsmith's patients has come down to us. She was a lady of his acquaintance. The doctor and the apothecary fell out on the mode of treatment. The lady wisely determined in favour of the apothecary. Upon

Digitized by Google

this Goldsmith declared he would leave off prescribing for friends. 'Do so, dear Doctor,' said Topham Beauclerc. 'When you 'undertake to kill, let it only be your enemies.' The resumption at this time of his original profession was singularly audacious. The object of his borrowing those unlucky clothes six years before of Griffiths had been, that he might make a decent appearance (externally at least) before the College of Surgeons. To procure in the same way, the appropriate knowledge, surpassed, however, even Goldsmith's practised ingenuity, as a compiler, in the borrowing of other men's ideas. Mr Prior has succeeded in disinterring a fatal entry made at a Court of Examiners on the 21st December, 1758. 'Mate to an hospital, Oliver Goldsmith 'found not qualified.' Goldsmith had before this failure been writing to his brother that he was about to be appointed as physician and surgeon on the Coromandel coast. In February, 1759, that is two months after it, he expressly declares that he had met with no disappointment with respect to his East India voyage. This throws a doubt over his previous story; for the rejection just mentioned must have put any such appointment entirely out of the question. Loose talker as Goldsmith was on most occasions, he was discreet on this. The whole affair was kept a profound secret from all his friends. This being so, he had both the nerve and conscience to dash again openly into the profession—and in London too! with all the confidence of a student who had passed the interval in mastering his art. It is no excuse that he used himself as ill as he used others. For it is unfortunately true that he hastened his own death by taking James's Powders, contrary to the advice of his apothecary. We have quoted the passage from one of Goldsmith's early letters, where he says that the fact of his being an Irishman was in London an obstacle to his success. Mr Prior mentions the case also of another countryman,* a Doctor M'Veagh M'Donnell. This gentleman practised on the Continent, and is said to have profitably availed himself of the dying advice which a friend had given him,

* Goldsmith made this acquaintance in the Temple Gardens. Probably under the rookery which he has celebrated in his 'Animated Nature,' and which the barbarian Benchers have since cut down. Goldsmith's mortal remains are intrusted to the Temple burying-grounds. We hope that they will at least keep clear of sacrilege on the spot where he is buried. Charles Lamb might have understood, one should think, how Benchers have come to lose the reverence with which, according to his pleasant paper, they were once regarded in his youth, in the times when they unanimously refused to pass in their treasurer's accounts, 'twenty shillings to the gardener for poison for the sparrows.'

Digitized by Google

to pass himself off there as a Scotchman. We trust that the examples of Irish doctors holding as lightly by degrees and qualifications as Goldsmith did, or dropping their country with as little ceremony as his medical friend, are not very numerous. Otherwise, national prejudices have existed more unreasonable than the vague suspicion of Irish doctors which Mr Prior thus informs us once prevailed at London and at Paris.

Goldsmith is the most facile and natural of authors. The *ars celare artem* was a maxim with which he had no concern. He won his way so completely by his 'native wood-note wild,' and nothing else, that he put training of all kinds, and for all purposes exceedingly low. 'Latin, French, arithmetic, and the 'principles of the civil law' make up, in his opinion, all the education necessary to qualify for any undertaking. In his own case, he acted up to his theory and beyond it. For, knowing the principle of nothing, he never knew where the reason of a thing stopped; still less where an opposite reason came in to turn the scale. The Bishop and the Examiners at the College of Surgeons, to be sure, had not quite agreed with him. On he went, however, just the same. He might have really believed the account which he sent his uncle of having, while at Edinburgh, *run through the circle of the sciences* in one idle year. Instead of answering, like the simpleton in the story, when asked whether he could play upon the flute, that he did not know, but he would try, Goldsmith would not merely have sat down to play, but would have challenged Nicholson to play with him for a thousand pounds. His unbounded assurance in his own gifts, and his supreme indifference to all human qualifications, amounted to a reliance upon Providence little short of the inspiration of which Horace Walpole spoke. Soon after coming to London, he had a scheme for going to decipher the inscriptions on the *written mountains*, though he knew nothing of Arabic, or any language in which they could possibly be written. Some time afterwards, he memorialised Lord Bute about travelling to the East, to bring back Eastern arts to Europe, although, as Johnson said, he would probably have brought back a wheelbarrow as a wonderful improvement. He was, at one time, a candidate for the office of secretary to the Society of Arts; at another, for the Gresham lectureship on civil law. He despised Maupertius as a philosphical geographer in comparison with himself. He got up at the moment to make a speech, to prove that, if he chose it, he could be a greater orator than Burke. In literature, it would have puzzled the booksellers to have found a subject on which, if they would but come forward with the money, Goldsmith was not prepared to treat it. Yet he was one of the most igno-

Digitized by Google

rant men of his time. Johnson says of his conversation:—'It 'is amazing how little Goldsmith knows; he seldom comes 'where he is not more ignorant than any one else; yet he is 'always taking out his empty purse.' It was the same with his voluminous compilations. 'He had been at no pains to fill his 'mind with knowledge. He transplanted it from one place to 'another, and it did not settle in his own mind. So he could 'not tell what was in his own books.' He was writing his Grecian History one morning when Gibbon called on him at the Temple; he asked the name of the Indian king who gave Alexander so much trouble. Gibbon, in joke, said 'Monte-'zuma.' Goldsmith gravely wrote it down. Johnson remarked upon his Natural History, 'that, if he could distinguish a cow 'from a horse, *that* he believed was the extent of his know-'ledge; but, that he would make a very fine book of it.' Where, then, thought Goldsmith, is the use of knowledge? It is declared by the same authority, that he deserved a place in Westminster Abbey, and every year he lived would have deserved it better. A stronger head than Goldsmith's was required to withstand the intoxication of such marvellous success. He had never learned (except in painting, and that out of compliment only to Reynolds) what *may* be done by nature, and what *can* only be done by art. His vanity prevented him, besides, from seeing how small a space the business of a man of letters occupies, in comparison with the multiplied demands on character and talent arising in the affairs of life. Goldsmith never got so far as to discriminate between thought and conduct, and those powers of literary composition, which, as we see every day, are a faculty or a knack, peculiar and apart. They may be possessed in company with other powers, or may be possessed alone. The distinction was, perhaps, never so marked as in the particular instance of Goldsmith. It was proclaimed in signs and wonders; by innumerable victories at first sight in literature; and by innumerable defeats, quite as quick and quite as certain, in every thing besides. But even in literature, Goldsmith might easily get beyond his depth; and that, too, in shallow water. We will mention an amusing instance of his critical presumption. It shows that critics of Irish breeding should, for a time at least, be cautious in determining on the propriety of English rhymes. *Fault* and *aught*, in the Deserted Village, can hardly be called *Irish rhymes;* as the authority of Pope has sanctioned a liberty with the ear to that extent. But an English poet has rather hard measure dealt him in the following passage. It occurs in a review by Goldsmith of 'Horace modernized.' Mr Prior has reprinted the review,

Digitized by Google

without affording his confiding countrymen the means of knowing whether it is the poet or the critic who is in the wrong. These are some of the verses criticised :—

> 'My book, you have an eye to Temple Bar,
> That you may trim in Owen's shop appear;'
> 'You hate the close restraints of lock and key,
> Which to a modest book would grateful be.'

Upon this the criticism proceeds as follows :—'A piddling 'reader, it is certain, might object to almost all the rhymes of 'the above quotation; but the less rhyme the more like blank 'verse, and all know that Milton wrote without such a restraint: 'but if any reader is for having the above quotation to be 'rhyme, he has nothing more to do than to read it poetically. 'Let *key*, for instance, be called *kee*, and then it rhymes with '*be*.' Knowing the manner in which he supported his theory, that poets would read verses better than other men, by beginning the ballad 'At Upton on the Hill' with the main emphasis upon *on*, we can now conceive with what effect he would have read the Deserted Village.

Johnson appears nowhere in more thoroughly amiable colours, than in his whole intercourse with Goldsmith. When Goldsmith said, speaking of some one, 'he is miserable, and that is 'enough for Johnson,' he gave the *key* to Johnson's original interest in his behalf. The way in which the veteran *literateur* took him up from the first, made him almost a child of his own. It is plain that the resemblance in their fortunes was sufficient to revive in Johnson's mind a touching recollection of the similar struggle through which he had had to pass; and that from the moment of discovering Goldsmith's literary merits, the good old man had an heartfelt pleasure in helping, by his countenance, introduction, and approbation, to smooth for his youthful friend, an easier access to the vantage-ground which he himself had reached with so much difficulty. Goldsmith had good cause to say that Johnson had nothing of the bear except the skin. In his service he put off even that. He went about the managing and the aiding him in the kindest and most delicate manner. In his behalf, he lowered the topsail of his sterner and more elevated nature down to the very water's edge; and condescended to the gentle artifices of feminine affection, in the endeavour to pilot his weak and wavering *protégé* through the infirmities by which he saw that he was beset. Thus we find him, at first, elaborating his sloven's toilette, for the sake of a lesson of cleanliness and decency, to his imitative new acquaint-

Digitized by Google

ance. Afterwards, when the temptations of an unsuitable ostentation were setting in, in the opposite direction, and hurrying Goldsmith on to more fatal dangers, we hear him conveying his advice in the taking form of a compliment, *ne te quæsiveris extra.* At the last of the dinners Goldsmith gave before his death, he, together with the other guests, acting doubtless under his counsel, let the second course go away untouched, as a silent reproach at an excess which they knew to be beyond Goldsmith's means. Johnson endeavoured, all he could, to tie his foolish tongue, or cover up the absurdities it exposed. Witness the scene at the Literary Club, the night of the failure of the Good-natured Man. Goldsmith blurted it all out afterwards at the chaplain's table at St James's Palace,—telling with what fictitious magnanimity he had carried off his mortification—how he had sung his favourite song about an *old woman tossed in a blanket seventeen times as high as the moon,* and how he burst out crying, to Johnson, after the others were gone away. On this, his friendly monitor only intimates his grave regret at so much unnecessary exposure before strangers: 'I thought, Doctor, this was a se-'cret between you and me, and I am sure I would not have said 'any thing about it for the world.' Johnson acquired in time almost a personal interest in standing up for Goldsmith. The pains which Goldsmith had taken at one period to win Johnson's good opinion,—the energy which Johnson had shown in bringing Goldsmith into notice,—the habits of intimacy in which they were known to live,—were so many circumstances which closely connected them in the public mind. If Johnson was nicknamed *Holofernes,* Goldsmith was sure to follow as *Goodman Dull.* Whatever Johnson admits to the disadvantage of Goldsmith, must mean much. He is, on almost all occasions, so prone to run into the extreme of saying all for Goldsmith which could possibly be said, that there can be little risk of injustice in supposing, where the contrary takes place, that a proportionate provocation had been given. In 1763, within two or three years of their first acquaintance (and when Goldsmith had as yet published nothing with his name), Johnson already appears as an admirer and a witness;—affirming that he was 'one of 'the first men they had as an author; a very worthy man, too; 'that he had been loose in his principles, but was coming right.' Goldsmith might afterwards and ever after well be proud of Johnson's friendship. The confidence with which he had learned to rest upon it, had been abundantly earned on the part of Johnson. It was Johnson whom he consulted on the revision of the 'Traveller.' It was Johnson who was seen laughing away in the front row of a side-box, by way of example to the

Digitized by Google

pit, at the first representation of 'She Stoops to Conquer.' It was Johnson whom he sent for when arrested by his landlord, and to whom he intrusted the negotiation for the sale of his MS. of the 'Vicar of Wakefield,' which procured his release. Johnson was not sanguine about its success. This was no time, however, to be particular. His recommendation, and his interest with Newberry, brought back L.60 for it. It was Johnson whose name Goldsmith inscribed upon his play, that, dedicating it to him he might publicly glory in their friendship, and that some beams from the character of Johnson might be reflected on himself. To talk of Goldsmith's being the better man of the two, is to confound the very elements of morals. Johnson had the same sensibility to physical distress as Goldsmith; while every thing else in him is so infinitely superior, that not even the means of a comparison exist. How much, then, of what we know nothing, must have been present and pressing on Johnson's mind, when he was thrown so far off his guard in 1773, as to meet Mrs Piozzi's suggestion, that Goldsmith would be his best biographer, with the following reply? 'The dog would write it 'best, to be sure; but his particular malice towards me, and ge-'neral disregard for truth, would make the book useless to all, 'and injurious to my character.' Goldsmith died the following year,—an interval in which, at forty-five, the character has not time to change.

We have said that it was not in Goldsmith's nature to be deliberately vicious. Accordingly, in his want of veracity we do not suspect him of having been false on principle. But his character was too fluent and yielding to take the impression of a thing so solid and permanent as truth. The hide-and-seek existence,—the many disingenuous shifts to which Goldsmith was so often driven by his necessities, are not a propitious school for that straightforward virtue, without which all others are built on sand. Veracity had in Goldsmith a still more formidable adversary to contend with even than a life of debt—towering and insatiable vanity. Consequently, the slipperiness of Goldsmith's word is too evident on a multitude of occasions. Roubillac the sculptor tried Goldsmith's musical science, and personal credibility, by so impudent a jest, that it was hardly entitled to succeed. He begged the poet to repeat a favourite air upon the flute, that he might write it down. He scored a few five-line staves, on which he scribbled notes at random. Goldsmith looked over the paper with seemingly great attention, said it was very correct, and that if he had not seen him do it, he never could have believed his friend capable of writing music after him. This sort of mind must have often found a severe reprover in the masculine honour of Johnson. Nevertheless, they travel-

Digitized by Google

led together like the iron and earthen pot. Notwithstanding his brittleness, Goldsmith was so great a favourite with the old moralist, from the recollection both of the repeated kindnesses which he had shown him, and of the frequent occasions on which he had rolled his giant bulk in pastime on the turf, as it were, of Goldsmith's softer nature, that he had relented, there can be little doubt, from those harsh expressions before his friend's death. On that sudden event, he called upon the survivors to remember that he was a very great man, and to think no more of his failings. It is plain that Cato could have better spared a better man. Still, four years afterwards, in 1778, truth so far got the better of the partiality which he had preached, that, on Boswell's apologizing for Goldsmith's envy, on the ground that he only talked of it more than other people, Johnson replied:—'You are enforcing the charge. He had 'so much envy that he could not conceal it. He was so full of 'it that he overflowed. He talked of it, to be sure, often enough. 'Now, sir, what a man avows he is not ashamed to think, though 'many a man thinks what he is ashamed to avow.' Goldsmith certainly did not dilute the energy with which this wretched passion enslaved him, by the feebleness of his expressions. He stopped a panegyric on Johnson, his benefactor, with the words 'You 'harrow up my very soul.' When Graham, an Eton master, distinguished Johnson and Goldsmith from each other as *Doctor Major* and *Doctor Minor*, Goldsmith broke out, 'he is a fellow 'to make one commit suicide.' Alluding, it is said, to Johnson and his other friends, he called himself a lion baited by curs. After this, we may more easily understand the openness with which Goldsmith paraded in the sun the more pardonable levity of his slightly constructed nature—a preposterous vanity spread over all subjects, like an interminable peacock's tail. Goldsmith is said to have referred every thing in human nature to this superficial source. It spoiled his conversation. Johnson said that he never changed mind with you—he cared nothing for your mind—he was always talking for fame; and then he had not the temper for it, he was so mortified when he failed. He was so vain of his appearance, that he gave up the society of Miss Williams, because somebody told him that, in toasting the ugliest man and woman, their names had been coupled. We have seen his childishness about his new coats. To give himself consequence, it is said he boasted that he had a brother Dean of Durham—a boast which, under the circumstances (if he really made it), looks almost like insanity. He was sore at the inattentions of the great; and complained that Lord Camden had met him at Lord Clare's, and had taken no more notice of him than if he had been an ordinary person.

Digitized by Google

In private, he often talked merely to make sure that he was not overlooked. In his public character of author he was never content with the share of celebrity assigned him. After he had risen at home to the highest rank in letters, he complained that whenever he wrote any thing the public made a point to know nothing at all about the matter. On his visit to Paris, with the Miss Hornecks, he soon got weary of it, from not being made the object there of as much national curiosity as he expected. There was no conceivable subject, however great or however paltry, regarding which he would not put in a claim for the ability of doing it better than any body else. This morbid peculiarity was become a proverb among his acquaintance. When Johnson was rubbing his hands and praising the postboy's driving, he said, 'were Gold-'smith here he would say he could drive better.' The story that Burke palmed upon him, of his supposed exclamation in Leicester-fields, as he passed, whilst the crowd was looking at some foreign ladies at the window of the hotel, shows that imagination could here invent nothing so improbable but that it might possibly be true. Burke pretended, that on passing by at the same time, he had overheard him say that the people would have been better employed in looking at himself. Poor Goldy (who often begged Johnson not to call him by that undignified, though affectionate diminutive) had no other defence to make, than to admit that he did recollect that something of the sort had passed through his mind, but he did not think that he had uttered it. The stories told and believed of Goldsmith on every side are such as could not have gained currency, if attributed to any body else. The reader will readily believe that, on his first entering a room, he was received by strangers with the expectation belonging to his great literary fame; but that, before he had been there long, his absurdities were so much greater, that the company were seen riding on his back.

The temper Johnson has alluded to was an offence of much longer standing than that irritability of Goldsmith's latter years, which arose out of his pecuniary distresses. The undue extremities to which he proceeded with his brother Henry, while yet in Ireland—his early coolness with his sister—the estrangement from his mother, which began soon and lasted long, even to his death—look like temper; or something which, if we change it, we cannot change for a milder name. He came to an open rupture, for a time, with Bishop Percy (the oldest and warmest of all his distinguished friends), in consequence of a difference concerning Chatterton. He was one of a convivial fight at Greenwich about Sterne; he knocked down Tonson's man for bringing a verbal answer in the negative, from his master, about

Digitized by Google

a new edition of Pope; and he committed a violent assault on Evans the bookseller, because he had been the apparently unwary publisher of some personal reflections upon him, not much more objectionable, if at all, than former writings, some of which are now reprinted, of Goldsmith's own. The Welshman made him compromise the affair by paying L.50 to a Welsh charity;—an act of charity he would by no means like. We cannot tell over what recollections Johnson chuckled when he distinguished the cases in which Goldsmith had *beat* from those where he had been *beaten*. All this looks very quarrelsome. We should suspect, in case an 'association in defence of Irish wit' had been incorporated, Goldsmith might have been too frequently disposed to proceed by the use of weapons less creditable to him than his enchanting pen.

If Goldsmith's blunder about Lord Shelburne and Malagrida is truly called an epitome of his life, looking at him in another aspect, any single story of his reckless mismanagement of his affairs may be said to be the same. Johnson announced the death of 'poor dear Goldsmith' to Boswell in the following terms:—'He died of a fever, I am afraid more violent from uneasiness 'of mind. His debts began to be heavy, and all his resources 'were exhausted. Sir Joshua is of opinion that he owed not 'less than L.2000. Was ever poet so trusted before?' 'He 'had raised money' (he adds), 'and squandered it by every artifice 'of acquisition and folly of expense.' The gambling propensities of his youth clove to him to the last. Mr Cradock, a Leicester gentleman, who saw a great deal of him latterly, is on this point, surely, a witness beyond exception,—seeing, after all we know of Goldsmith's other faults, the spirit in which the testimony is given. 'The greatest real fault of Dr Goldsmith was, that if he had L.30 'in his pocket, he would go into certain companies in the country, 'and, in hopes of doubling the sum, would generally return to 'town without any part of it.' It is not reasonable in Mr Prior to complain of the vagueness of current rumours, and that no particular fact is mentioned. The above statement is precise enough. He states himself, that between Goldsmith and Mr Cradock 'there existed much mutual esteem.' Gaming enters also into the list of failings introduced into Garrick's Momus-epigram. We see no grounds for believing that Garrick regarded Goldsmith with any hostile feeling. There is strong evidence the other way; though Goldsmith affected to speak condescendingly and contemptuously of the 'player-man.' Garrick, only the year before Goldsmith's death, was lending him money, which he could never expect to see again; and Goldsmith wrote back, as he was well inclined to do on such occasions, an ample amnesty for

Digitized by Google

all former grievances,—'May God preserve my honest little man, 'for he has my heart.'

Goldsmith was a strange compound of tenderness, and bitterness, and neglect. In this letter to Garrick, he begs the latter to help him in worrying Newberry, to whom and to whose family he owed so much; simply because Newberry, so long his guarantee and cashkeeper,—advancing him money by twenty pounds, or by two shillings at a time,—was worn out at last, and would become security no more. Goldsmith's charities were distributed in a way to do often more harm than good, and to bring charity itself into contempt. The money which he borrowed of you for his own relief he would give away to a beggar before your face. The small portion of his difficulties, however, which originated in charity, demands our sympathy, and has it; but we neither have nor ought to have any sympathy with the insolvency of a life, produced by absurd vanity and profuseness,—by tailors' finery, and by entertainments so unsuitable to his condition, that his vulgar guests expostulated, and his friends refused to eat. And all the time, that this riotous living was going on, he hardly knows how many brothers he has alive! He declines doing for them what they ask (though he tells them that he thinks he could get it for them), under the pretext of waiting till he can do something for them a great deal better. Mean while, in what circumstances was his family left, and what must have been their feelings? They must be hearing at Ballymahon, of his frequent parties,—of the pleasant fooleries which the guests describe there,—of the minuet, the cards, the songs, the wig reversed, the hind part forward,—and that his chambers were become a house of call for all itinerant literary Irish. Yet never do we meet with the trace of a single thought bestowed upon his shattered family at home (as he himself describes them), save from time to time a commonplace letter meaning nothing. He talks of a hundred letters written to Ireland. But what did he say to Dr Grainger, and what was the only exception Dr Grainger was able to supply? The few voluntary letters, which are preserved, are letters written when he was canvassing for a subscription for his book in 1757. The same infirmity of purpose which made him faithless in his duty to his relations, made him equally wanting in all due consideration for himself. If they had to complain, in their advancing years, that the heir of their early hopes, now that all those hopes were more than realized, could never find means to command a shilling for the relief of those who had made such magnificent efforts in behalf of his spendthrift youth, he had opened personally against himself a still more grievous and desperate account—the account of genius sacrificed and opportunities

Digitized by Google

thrown away. Into that account he had never the courage or the conscience to look. But he contented himself with writing home an elegant sentence, and afterwards polishing it into verse, about honours to one in his situation being like ruffles to a man who wants a shirt.

We have reserved most of what we have to say on the intellectual powers and literary services of Goldsmith for some future occasion. We shall have an opportunity of resuming the subject, if we can find time and space for a notice of the new edition of his miscellaneous writings, which has just appeared, in connexion with the present account of his life. Whether the Pieces not to be found in former editions, and 'now first collected,' are of any considerable value, we cannot yet say; but, in as far as externals are concerned, the undertaking reflects great credit upon the spirit and taste of the Publisher.

Our present duty has not been an agreeable one. Mr Prior, we fear, cannot have added, by his biography, to his own reputation, or that of Goldsmith. It was an impolitic act of friendship to take Goldsmith out of the magic circle in which he stood; and, instead of being content with the general impression afloat in his behalf, to insist upon a specific judgment, point by point, on the merits of his life. It pains us much to have had any thing harsh to say of Goldsmith. Our childhood was indebted to him for so much happiness, that it looks to be an ungracious and ungenerous return. How desolate, too, the condition in which he wrote, and lived, and died—in the perpetual presence of impending and crushing want! It were, moreover, a grievous wrong to the human charity due to the weaknesses of our common lot, not to remember the sort of nature to which he was born, and the troubles among which he was brought up. Besides—taking him with all his errors—who can for a moment overlook those bright redeeming impulses—which shot like falling stars across his bewildered being—when at the summons of wretchedness (whose tones he could too well interpret, though hid in a song) he rushed from drawingrooms, and from his bed, into the street, to its relief? While men are men, 'poor dear Gold-'smith,' to use Johnson's words, must be thought of with tenderness and compassion. So much so, that undue severity can never in his case be the specific risk against which mankind—especially the young—are likely to want putting upon their guard. The fear is, not that his merits will be under, but overrated;—not that the allowances made for him will be too scanty, but too great. He meant 'Retaliation' for a good-humoured, but high-spiced satire on himself as well as others. When he enumerates among the dishes—'magnanimous Goldsmith, a gooseberry fool'—we

Digitized by Google

wonder whether his vanity allowed him to perceive how strongly his own caricature of his literary and moral character was impregnated with truth. Goldsmith's literary merit is principally in his style. In that he is eminently fortunate. The taste of his readers is always satisfied; but, craving intellects,—minds that want food as well as flavour,—too often rise from his table, with the appearance only, of having dined. In the same way the moral merit of Goldsmith lay in the ease, and spirit, and sympathy of his nature. He had a strain of those free and generous qualities which make the whole world kin; and which the world accordingly repays by the generous imprudence of palliating every fault. It requires no small effort—an effort which the idolatrous challenge of Mr Prior would perhaps alone have enabled us to make—to analyze the evidence respecting Goldsmith as it exists, and form an impartial opinion upon the whole. We are sorry that it has been so. But society cannot afford, even in fictitious sketches, much less in the realities of life, that too favourable associations should be raised on behalf of characters and conduct of this unstable class. It is impossible not to see, that as a relation, a friend, or a member of society, he was wanting in the plain and solid materials which alone can make a man, for long together, happy in himself, or useful to others. A certain number of Goldsmiths in the world would be enough to turn it upside down. Social good humour and extreme sensibility are among the most delightful graces by which our nature can be adorned. But unless they are supported and directed by principle and common sense, the utmost that they can effect, is to throw a painful splendour over those disorders which they probably will cause, and in which they must inevitably end. They resemble those lovely plants which have no real strength and substance of their own—no leading shoot pointing upwards;—which, without they find a stouter stem to climb and lean upon, are seen running wild in all directions, and trailing their flowers in dishonour on the ground. Principle and common sense make no great figure in the world by themselves—no more does the canvass in a picture. But they are as indispensable to life as canvass to the picture, however glorious may be the colours which are afterwards to be laid on.

Digitized by Google

ART. XI.—*Speech of* THOMAS WYSE, Esq. M.P., *in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, May* 19, 1835, *on moving for leave to bring in a Bill for the establishment of a Board of National Education, and the advancement of Elementary Education in Ireland.* 8vo. Dublin: 1835.

IT would not be easy to point out any member of the legislature whose course has been more honourable to himself, or more useful to his country, than Mr Wyse. With decided opinions upon all the ordinary party questions, he has given his support to the most liberal course of policy without falling into any excess of violence; and he has devoted himself, from his first entrance into Parliament, to promoting that great object so essential to this country, so absolutely necessary to Ireland—a System of National Education upon sound and enlightened principles. He began his labours in the memorable year 1831; and although the struggles of that and the following year for Reform prevented the due attention from being paid to his urgent appeals, he yet had the satisfaction of finding a material part of his suggestions adopted and acted upon by the Government, in the establishment of the system which has excited so much animosity amongst the bigoted and ill-informed, and so much hope of general improvement amongst all the rest of the community. The publication before us contains the admirable speech which he made on introducing his more extensive plan, in the session of 1835; alongst with several other speeches made by him during the preceding years upon motions connected with Education. It contains also a copy of his Bill, which was referred to a select committee; and our readers are acquainted with the important body of evidence there adduced, under his superintendence. Not the least valuable portion of that evidence was the examination of our countryman, Mr Simpson; a man whose unwearied exertions in spreading knowledge among the working classes place him in a high rank among the philanthropists of the time.*

Although Mr Wyse's plan of Elementary Education is con-

* Mr Simpson's Lectures have had great success. Considering the obstacles which fastidious persons of his own class in society always oppose to such useful labours, the merit is very great of him who disregards such impediments and steadily does his duty. Sir R. Wilmot Horton, before he went out as Governor of Ceylon, had just earned the samepraise by the like admirable conduct.

Digitized by Google

fined to Ireland, and in many of its details would be inapplicable to a country differently circumstanced, its principles are nevertheless of universal application. These may be summed up in a few words, but we shall first state the plan itself. He proposes that a Board be formed, under the Chief Secretary as its President, and whom he would make the Minister of Public Instruction,—the Board to be as it were his Council, and to consist of the Protestant and Catholic Archbishops, a Presbyterian Clergyman, and five lay members. This is nearly the composition of the present Board. The functions which he vests in this body, are the general superintendence of all Schools subject to their jurisdiction; that is, of all those founded by their aid; the preparing of masters by Normal or Training Schools; the laying down, from time to time, general regulations for Schools and Teachers; the appointing teachers to Schools; but chiefly the planting of Schools where these are wanting. This is to be done by the Board making a proposal to the rate-payers of any parish, that the expense of the land, building, and master's house will be defrayed, provided the parish binds itself to furnish the salary, repairs, and other current expenses. This the parish is enforced to do by assessment, subject to the ordinary process of the Irish Grand Jury presentments. The amount of school fees is to be fixed by the rate-payers, and a committee is to be chosen by them, of at least four of their number, with the Protestant and Catholic clergyman, the senior magistrates, and medical officer. This committee is to manage the affairs of the School, and superintend the conducting of it in all respects, except the instruction, with which they are only to interefere when directed of the Board.

This is a summary of the plan. Respecting several parts of it, even as regards Ireland, it is impossible not to perceive, that great difference of opinion may be entertained by those who generally are of the same political sentiments with Mr Wyse. But the fundamental principles appear to be sound. These manifestly are, the providing a general superintendence of Rducation in some connexion with the Government, but not by any means under its entire control; and the extension of that superintendence over the country, but with a full share of power given to the inhabitants of districts. There can be no doubt at all that the aid of Government is necessary to accomplish the purpose in view; there can be as little doubt that neither in England nor in Ireland can it be endured that the uncontrolled superintendence of education,—the undivided power of directing public instruction,—should be vested in the Government. The check of popular influence is absolutely necessary to prevent abuse, and, indeed, to guard against encroachments of a dangerous kind. The co-ope-

Digitized by Google

ration of local authorities will be found equally necessary, in order to make the plan pursued in each instance suit the peculiar circumstances of the place. These principles are to be kept steadily in view, and must form the rule of any practical, and indeed of any desirable improvements in the elementary education of the country.

Mr Wyse's views, however, are not confined to elementary education, for he justly regards that as only one, though certainly the most important branch, and his present bill is confined to it. But both in his speech now before us, and still more in the extensive and learned work which he has since published upon education generally, he has applied himself to the other branches. These are the education of the Middle Classes—*University* (or as he calls it, *superior*) education—*Supplementary* education, or the education given by adult schools and Mechanics' Institutions to those who had not the benefits of early culture—and *Subsidiary* education, or the means provided for continuing and improving the knowledge acquired,—as literary institutions, museums, libraries. All these branches may easily be connected with the general functions of the Board, except, perhaps, the second, or University education; at least there are great difficulties in the way of such a superintendence being exercised over Universities, as Mr Wyse conceives may be, without any difficulty at all, maintained over Académies for the middle classes, Mechanics' Institutions for the working classes, and Scientific or literary Institutions for all. For our own part we entertain more than doubts how far any of these branches can be systematically connected with the state; and that, not merely on the ground of the expense which must, of necessity, arise from constant assistance furnished to all the institutions in the country—an expense to which no limits could be prescribed—but because there seems no reason for withdrawing those institutions from the management of the parties interested in them, or for exercising any superintendence over them, any more than over the private studies or other pursuits of the community—to say nothing of the dangers resulting from the habitual interference of the Government with the affairs of such portions of the people as are able to provide for their own improvement in knowledge. This risk is not to be overlooked even in what regards merely elementary education: great care must here be taken to prevent undue influence—to guard against the tendency which all public works have towards abuse—to check the constant inroads of encroachment with its silent and persevering foot—to keep out those long and insinuating hands which all established authorities, be they civil or ecclesiastical, are wont to stretch in every direction. By judicious combination

Digitized by Google

of public with private management this may be effected in a great degree. Notwithstanding all precautions, considerable harm will be risked, and no little abuse will be occasioned; but the great and paramount object of securing a universal diffusion of the means of knowledge among the people is sufficient to justify the risk, and its inestimable advantages counteract the evil. There cannot be the same excuse for establishing a systematic interference with the whole intellectual pursuits of the adult part of the community. If the Government removes all obstructions to the diffusion of knowledge, discountenances all monopolies, gives up all taxes pressing upon learning, and affords countenance and encouragement to such undertakings as are, by their magnitude, placed beyond the reach of private enterprise, it perhaps does as much in this direction as can be either reasonably expected from it, or safely intrusted to it.

While we are upon this important topic, we may mention the chief defect in the constitution of Mr Wyse's Board, because it is connected with the risk to which we have been adverting. The Chief Secretary is to be the Minister of Public Instruction. To this there is the objection, both that his official duties must render it impossible for him to give any adequate attention to this department, and that, unless a majority of the Board are independent of the Crown, the whole department will become a mere Ministerial board, and liable to the charges both of jobbing and undue influence. Now he proposes to have five lay-members named, and, we presume, during pleasure, by the Government; together with a Protestant and a Catholic Archbishop, and a Presbyterian Clergyman. As it is unlikely that the three clerical members should agree, and as, if they do, they are outvoted two to one by the others, the voice of the Government must be preponderant in every case. It seems to us absolutely requisite, that all the members except those in office whose co-operation with the Board is useful, and whose control over its expenditure is necessary, should be appointed, like the Judges, during good behaviour—that is, only removable by a joint address of the two Houses of Parliament. Some members of the Government ought to be on the Board; but the majority of the whole should be independent of the Crown, both to preserve uniformity of proceeding, and to guard against abuse or undue influence. All the members who are not in any other office; that is, all the working members, upon whom will devolve the business of the department, should be of this description. The addition of others connected with the Church, seems to be necessary in the peculiar circumstances of Ireland; on this we profess not to have any opinion, when we observe that Mr

Digitized by Google

Wyse conceives it quite a matter of course; the constitution of the Government Board, in 1832, also shows that such an intermixture was deemed essential to the success of the plan in that part of the empire: in England, it is equally certain that no such addition should be made to the body; and that the members of the Government should rather belong to it for the sake of helping than directing the operations of the Board, and in order to provide a salutary control over its financial proceedings. Some one of these members will probably become a kind of Minister of Public Instruction; but without the power of perverting this engine to any party purpose, or of adapting its movements to individual caprice. The bill which was introduced into the House of Lords, in 1835, and is now again before that assembly, was framed upon this principle. The Board which it constitutes has a majority of its members independent of the Crown; namely, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and three members appointed on the footing of the Judges: these four members are empowered to perform all administrative acts, without the assent of any of the other three, unless where either the expenditure of money, or the appointment of offices is concerned; in both of which cases there ought plainly to be a ministerial responsibility interposed; and the three irremovable members are charged with all the judicial functions belonging to the Board. There can be no doubt, that in practice, those three members will constitute the department; and that they will not be interfered with, unless upon great occasions, where the interposition of the whole body is desirable. But in order to prevent any possibility of danger, at least as far as undue influence is concerned, the fundamental principle is adopted, of requiring a concurrence of the local authorities, to all acts whereby either the plan of education, or the raising of money by rates, may be affected.

The first great object, in the view of all those who are anxious for the promotion of education, will thus be attained,—the formation of a department of public instruction. In order to understand clearly the details of the plan, and the principles upon which these details are grounded, it is necessary to consider summarily the present state of education in England; for this will at once show what ought to be supplied, and what ought to be preserved.

That a vast mass of education exists in England,—if by education be meant teaching of all kinds, from the best to something barely deserving the name, in schools of every description,—cannot be denied. Nor can it be doubted that the number of those schools, and of the children taught in them, has greatly increased during the last thirty years. Indeed, of their increase during the last twenty years we have the most un-

Digitized by Google

questionable evidence; there remaining now no dispute upon this head, unless it be respecting the rate of the increase.

By the Parliamentary returns of 1818, it appeared that there were then in England and Wales, of day-schools, endowed and unendowed, about 18,500, educating 644,000 children. Of these, about 4100 were endowed schools, educating 166,000 children; the rest were unendowed, and supported by voluntary contribution, and the payments of those taught. In fifteen years, a very great increase had taken place of the latter class. The endowed schools remained, of course, nearly as before; only that the numbers taught had fallen off sensibly, being reduced from 166,000 to less than 154,000. The number of unendowed schools had risen from about 14,300 to 34,800; the number of children from 478,000 to 1,122,000, being considerably more than double in fifteen years—being indeed a rate of increase of trebling in about twenty years—so that in 1833, when the last account was taken upon Lord Kerry's* motion, there were, of day schools, endowed and unendowed, about 39,000, educating, in one way or another, 1,276,000 children. This includes about 3000 infant schools for 89,000 children.

It is quite certain that these returns are far from being accurate in the larger towns; but it is equally certain that they may be relied upon with confidence as to the two most material points, to elucidate which they are cited—*First*, as they were obtained by a similar process in 1818 and in 1833, there is no reason to suppose that they are more inaccurate for the one period than for the other; consequently they exhibit, correctly enough, the rate at which education is increasing in amount. *Secondly*, the error is most likely to be by omission, as it arises in by far the greater number of instances, from neglect. Where this is not the source of the error, religious distinctions probably occasion it;—the returns coming from persons belonging to the Establishment, who may not include all the dissenting seminaries in their returns. When we find, indeed, that they only give 925 schools, educating 51,822 children, as all the day-schools supported by dissenters in England and Wales, we cannot doubt that a great many dissenting schools have either been omitted

---

* It is impossible to name this lamented young nobleman, without deploring the loss which his premature decease has brought to the best interests of humanity. He had begun to take a part in those pursuits which prove the most attractive to men of enlightened views and real benevolence; and his abilities and his zeal must have speedily placed him in a position fully as enviable as the station to which he was born, and of which he would have been the ornament and support.

Digitized by Google

altogether, or returned as belonging to the church. To these considerations may be added, the result of the enquiry made by the statistical society of Manchester; by which it appears, that in that township, about 2000 children* had been returned who were not taught, and above 10,000 omitted who were. We are entitled, therefore, to conclude, that both in 1818 and 1833, the returns exhibit an amount of education considerably under the truth; and that at the present time, there are probably above 40,000 day-schools, educating above 1,400,000 children; besides the Sunday schools, amounting to nearly 17,000, and educating nearly 1,600,000 children.

Now we are first to ask, if the education be sufficient in amount for the population of the country, supposing the kind of it to be good. Taking the number of the people at 14,000,000, it appears from the returns of 1821, respecting ages, that between the ages of 7 and 14, there must be 2,650,000 children; and between 5 and 14, 3,400,000. Some authorities maintain, that in order to furnish the complete means of education, there should be schools for the whole number of children between 2 and 14; that is about 4,600,000. Others hold this to be more than is necessary, by about two years,—from 12 to 14; but regard the infant schools as indispensable,—perhaps the most important of any. None suppose that even if the infant schools are confined to cities and towns of a certain size, and are thus only provided for about half the number between two and six years of age, or about 600,000, and if twelve shall be the greatest age, any thing less than schools for 3,000,000 can suffice, the population being always supposed 14 millions. Indeed, if infant schools were laid wholly out of view, and provision were only made for children between six and twelve, schools for 2,500,000 would be wanted; and we have seen that there are not above 1,400,000 taught at all the daily schools of every kind; leaving a deficiency of about three-sevenths. But 2,500,000 is greatly below the mark; and assumes the most important branch of infant education to be omitted. It may, therefore, be safely laid down as evident, and without any exaggerated view, that the deficiency instead of three-sevenths is full one-half; and that additional schools of different kinds are now wanting, for as great a number as the existing schools can at present accommodate.

The deficiency exists chiefly in the larger towns, as regards

---

* Of these, 375 were returned twice over, and 1590 were falsely returned by one individual giving in three schools that never existed. The wilful error is an accident not likely to happen in other places.

Digitized by Google

the place, and in the infant Schools as regards the kind of education. The state of the larger towns in this respect may be seen by comparing such counties as Middlesex and Lancashire with the rest of the country. In those two counties there are schools for only about a fifteenth of the people—that is, there are not above 200,000 children taught. In the rest of England and Wales, there are about 1,100,000 taught; or about a tenth of the population. So it was in the returns of 1818; while the general average of the country, including those two counties, was one-fifteenth; for Middlesex that average was only one-twentieth, and for Lancashire a twenty-fourth. Thus the means of education are by far the most deficient in those places where it is by far the most wanted. The deficit of at least three-sevenths, but more correctly one-half, in those means, is not distributed equally over the country; it is by much the greatest in the districts where the population is the most dense, and where the necessity of moral culture is the most urgent. Even in each of those districts, the deficit is unequally distributed. In the country parts of Middlesex it is less felt than in the capital; and in the remoter parts of Lancashire it is less felt than in the great manufacturing towns. We may add, that this deficit exists most in the places where a well conducted administration of the means of instruction would find it the most easy to supply it; there being incomparably greater facilities for establishing schools in large towns than in villages and country places.

As regards the kind of education, in like manner the deficiency is greatest where the necessity is most urgent. The infant schools are almost every where most inconsiderable in number. They amount in the whole to less than 3000; and are attended by no more than 89,000 children. Now there are at the least 1,200,000 of the age to which this culture is adapted; and if we only reckon the large towns as peculiarly fitted for such establishments, and as most requiring them, Middlesex and Lancashire alone would require infant training for five times as many as are at present taught in the whole country. The benefits which may, without any romantic exaggeration, be fairly expected from multiplying these institutions annually in the larger towns, are inestimable—far exceeding those derived from any other branch of education. The moral, as well as the intellectual character, is in great part formed when the child reaches seven or eight years of age. His temper and disposition may then be fixed for good or for evil. No one denies that much may be done, even after that period of life, to reclaim; but how much more easy and sure is prevention, in this case, than cure? It is the result of the almost universal

Digitized by Google

experience of men engaged in administering the criminal law, that the effects of punishment in deterring from the commission of offences, by the example of punishment, are very far from being so considerable as the bulk of mankind have been accustomed to suppose. This overrating of the virtue of such inflictions proceeds from assuming, that, when men are planning the commission of crimes, they are in a calm and calculating frame of mind; whereas they are acting under the influence of great necessity, or great excitement. The truth is, that habit here, as in all things, is chiefly to be considered; and by far the most important use of punishment is, that its existence becoming known, the idea of it becomes associated with guilt, and forms and strengthens in the mind the habit of regarding the latter with aversion. But a far more sure and effectual way of creating virtuous habits of thinking is to be found in the system of infant training. Habits of prudence, industry, and self-control thus become the first rather than the second nature; so that a continuance in virtuous courses is easy,—requiring no kind of effort; and the departure from them is also difficult and unnatural. Give a child, it has been correctly said, the habit, from its earliest infancy, of sacredly regarding truth, of scrupulously respecting the property of others, of abstaining from acts of improvidence, of regarding all with kindness—and he will as little think of lying, or stealing, or running in debt, or behaving cruelly, as of rushing into an element in which he cannot breathe. But among whom are the bulk of criminals to be found in the present state of society? Not among the rich, nor among the middle classes, nor yet among the artisans,—the more skilful of the working classes; but among common labourers,—those who are constantly pressed with the difficulty of obtaining subsistence, and for whom every allowance is fairly to be made, in the hard necessity of their lot. It is towards this class that the lawgiver is bound to direct his utmost attention, with a view to the grand object of lessening the number of offences; and if, among this class, the trial be made of infant education, no one can doubt of the result. A sufficient number of infant schools must be established in every considerable town, to train the children of this class. The necessity is imperious; and the Government of the country violates its most sacred duty, if to this necessity it refuses to yield. No one who has well considered the subject,—especially with the benefits of the experience which has already been had, though upon a most inadequate scale, both in France and in this country, of the prodigious success which invariably attends infant training,—doubts what the result must be. The source of crimes would be cut off; that class, among whom almost all criminals are bred,

Digitized by Google

would be reclaimed; and that would be truly accomplished which the most sanguinary criminal code has defeated, but which the most wisely contrived system of mere punishment never can attain.*

But it is not only from the great deficiency of infant schools that the education now existing in England is imperfect. The schools which exist every where, and to the number of so many thousands, give a most meagre instruction to the vast body of children which they affect to teach. They neither profess to teach what they ought, nor do teach what they profess. Reading, writing, and a very little ciphering is the whole amount of instruction which the great bulk of those seminaries pretend to teach; and with most of them even that is but a pretence. Almost all the children who frequent them can read a little; but the greater number cannot read so easily as to make it sure they will, when they leave school, continue to read with ease; and if they do not, there needs no argument to prove that, unless in some cases of necessity, they will never read at all. A good deal of this is owing to the parents not allowing them to remain at school after they can earn some trifle by their labour;—perhaps a good deal more to their not enforcing a constant attendance. But the principal fault lies with the teachers. If they were sufficiently skilled in their useful and difficult art,—above all, if they could teach the elements of useful knowledge, as well as merely give the means of acquiring it,—parents, as well as children, would regard the school with very different eyes; more regular attendance, for a longer period, would be given, and much more would be gained, even by the attendance at present allowed. In the kind of instruction, and in the quality of the teachers, England is far below all those countries in Europe, to say nothing of America, where proper attention is paid to the education of the people. In France, Switzerland, Germany, there are schools every where formed for the training of teachers;

* It is not at all intended by these remarks to dispute the necessity of penal infliction; but there can be no doubt that punishments will be effectual to their object, in the exact proportion in which infant education has proved successful; that is to say, those whom nothing else can deter from crimes will be deterred by the force of penal example, if they have been trained to habits of reflection and forethought. It may safely be asserted, that punishments would produce little or no effect upon those whom early habit had not in some degree accustomed to reflection—upon those whom we generally term *reckless*. Yet how many of the children of the poor are brought up with little, if any such habits!

Digitized by Google

and the poorest of the people are taught in the common schools, besides reading, writing, and arithmetic—geography, natural history, practical geometry, linear drawing, and music. The two latter are of especial use; not only because drawing gives habits of correct observation, and is of positive advantage in many occupations; but because both drawing and music afford a source of harmless gratification, and turn the mind aside from the grosser enjoyments of sense. Until the schools which abound in England, and profess to teach near a million and a half of children, shall be able to convey instruction in these branches of learning, as well as in civil history, and the more simple and important principles of political and moral science, we may talk of education, and, by a courteous and complimentary form of speech, give that name to what occupies schools pretty generally scattered over the country; but the thing, or any semblance of the thing, is indeed far enough from us.

From what has now been stated, there follow certain conclusions of fact altogether irrefragable. In the *first* place, we find existing in England and Wales about forty thousand day-schools, professing to teach near a million and a half of children, and which assuredly could, if well managed, teach considerably more; these are principally supplied by voluntary contributions, and by the payments of the scholars; about one-tenth being endowed, and the other nine-tenths having no endowment whatever. *Secondly*, The wants of the community require a considerable increase in the number of schools; there being a necessity for affording the means of instructing about twice as many children, in order that the whole people may be educated. *Thirdly*, The chief defect in amount is of infant schools, which require to be increased not less than sixfold, in order that the larger towns alone may enjoy their benefits; and upon the supposition that they need not be extended, at least in the first instance, to villages and country places. *Fourthly*, The other schooling is exceedingly deficient, both in the qualifications of the masters for what they profess to teach, and in the scantiness of the instruction professed to be given. To these conclusions from the foregoing statements, we may add a fact which is intimately connected with them—that the fund existing in various parts of the country for the purposes of charity amounts to nearly a million a-year under its present management; that its amount might probably be considerably increased by improved administration; that of this income, between a third or fourth is destined to education by the strict tenor of the gifts,—though the understanding under which it is given, and the changes that have taken place in the circumstances of the country, render it far less available to useful pur-

Digitized by Google

poses than it ought to be; and much of the fund given for general purposes of charity is uselessly directed, and not a little of it hurtfully.

From these propositions of fact, certain inferences follow, as we apprehend, very easily and plainly. In the *first* place, it is clear that a Board or department of education becomes necessary for supplying the defects which exist in the present system, and for correcting its errors. This necessity is proved by the great amount of the schooling, such as it is, already provided by individual exertion—for no one can think of superseding this by a measure which shall at once substitute the requisite number of new schools in the room of the old ones; and great care will be required in so bestowing public grants of money, and levying other funds, as not to destroy the existing institutions, which it should be the great object to improve and to multiply. No general plan could be worked all over the country in such a way as to accommodate itself to local circumstances; nor could any other means than the discretion of a Board be devised for administering the funds allotted to the service differently in different places, according to the circumstances of each, so as not to interfere with the schools already planted, except by improving them.

Next, it plainly follows, from the same facts, what the chief functions of the Board ought to be, and what the principles that should guide them in the exercise of those functions. In some places, chiefly in the cities and large towns, more new schools will be required than the exertions of individuals can set agoing; although those exertions, with the payments from the children, may suffice to maintain them when once begun. In other places, of an opposite description, though very few schools may be wanted, there may be an equal defect of resources to establish them. In both the one kind of place and the other, the grants of public money given yearly since 1833 may be most beneficially employed to help individuals who are desirous of planting schools, and are prevented by the original expense; an outfit may be given, and the rule should be, generally speaking, to give a certain proportion only of the first cost, upon the neighbourhood undertaking to furnish the rest. This principle has hitherto been adopted with great success; many scores,—indeed some hundreds, of schools have been established by means of this aid; and the affording it has occasioned an increased exertion on the part of individuals, instead of causing any relaxation of their praiseworthy efforts. But the rule should not be inflexible; for there are situations in which little or no exertion can be expected from the neighbourhood, and in which it will be

Digitized by Google

the duty of the Board to afford assistance from the funds placed at their disposal. With respect to infant schools for the greater towns, it will plainly be necessary that a considerable increase of the former grants should be made; and one of the first duties of the Board will be to provide a large supply of those invaluable seminaries. It is calculated that a sufficient number for the whole of London might be established in the course of five years, for the sum of L.30,000 each year. The current expenses would then have to be provided of about 150 schools; and if it were found impossible to meet this yearly charge by the payments of the children, or by private beneficence, recourse must be had to the powers with which it is necessary to arm the Board and the local authorities jointly, and of which we must now speak.

It is manifestly most expedient to do nothing which shall interfere with individual exertion; both because of the enormous expense which would be thrown upon the state, were all the charge to be thus defrayed; because of the dislike which this would tend to bring upon education; and because of the great advantage derived from those individuals who support schools, attending minutely to their management, and encouraging the labouring classes to take advantage of them. Nevertheless, it is necessary that a power should be lodged in the local authorities to make the burden lighter upon the benevolent, by rating the whole community, wherever there is a majority of its members favourable to the establishment of schools. In a place where the prevailing opinion is the other way, this course may be objectionable. But no harm can be done by levying a rate where most of the inhabitants are willing to pay it; and where compelling the minority to contribute can never tend to bring odium upon education. It is proposed, therefore, that the common council, in all corporate towns, as chosen by the inhabitants, and representing their opinions and feelings, should have the power of establishing such schools as may be wanted, with the approbation of the Board, and of levying a rate upon the community subject to their jurisdiction, for supporting such schools—the Board first to be satisfied that the rate is wanted, and is properly apportioned. The regulations for conducting the schools thus established are also to be subject to the approval of the Board; but no power is given to the Board of prescribing any rules contrary to the opinion of the council. Thus both the Board and the council must agree before the school can be established; and undue influence from the Government or the Board is excluded, as well as the operation of narrow-minded views among parties on the spot. A similar concurrent power must be given to the sessions in places where no municipal corporations exist. Had

Digitized by Google

the county councils been established, as was proposed by the bill of Mr Hume, lately thrown out in the House of Commons, the easy means would have been afforded of extending this system over the whole country; for these councils, representing all the rate-payers, would have performed the same functions in places beyond the vicinity of corporations, which the bill assigns to the town-councils of those bodies. Until some such county councils are formed, it may be advisable to vest those powers in the justices at sessions; although this arrangement is certainly liable to the objection, that these magistrates do not represent the people whom they will thus be authorized to tax. They will, however, act in this respect under the control of the Board and of the Government.

No one can doubt that when this plan shall be in full operation, and in proportion as the advantages of education become generally acknowledged, the tendency will be to increase the number of schools supported by rates; and gradually, but with the free consent of the rate-payers, to convert those which are now supported by voluntary contribution into schools maintained by rates. But these will still be under the management of persons upon the spot,—either of private individuals, or of the councils, or of both jointly—the Board exercising a general superintendence—of which we are next to speak; after adding this remark, that the transition will thus be made from a voluntary to an established system of education, without any burden being cast upon the community, without losing the aid of individual zeal, and the benefits of local knowledge, and without the introduction of any oppression or abuse from the Government.

It is proposed that over all schools either aided by the public grants, or planted by the local authorities, and over all endowed schools, the Board shall exercise a superintending power. For this purpose they are to appoint school-inspectors, who may examine and report from time to time; and upon their reports the Board may give advice and suggestions, and enforce them when it is necessary, either by withholding public assistance, or by stopping the rates, with the concurrence of the local authorities. No power should, on any account, be given of shutting up a school, if its patrons, or any other persons willing to become its supporters, choose to continue it, upon the Board differing with those having its management. Withdrawing public aid is the utmost power that should be possessed by the Board. Over endowed schools, however, it is necessary to give a somewhat larger authority; and in these the power is given to remove the masters for unfitness.

The next function of the Board, and one of the most important, is the improvement of teaching. For this purpose, there will be established under superintendence, schools for training

Digitized by Google

teachers—what are called on the Continent *Normal Schools*. For the establishment and regulation of those the greatest care is required; and the expense, for some years at least, must fall upon the State. A year's instruction at least, with the help of a good model school, will be necessary to qualify teachers. If these have not already made some progress in their studies, two years may be required for this purpose. There seems no reason to apprehend that any want of competitors for the places of pupils at these normal seminaries will be experienced. In the Borough-road school in London there are always more applications for places than can be granted; and the advantages will be considerably greater of those who attend the public establishment. It is calculated that for L.20,000 a-year, 500 teachers may be maintained and completely qualified to perform their duties. As soon as this system has been established, it is to be expected that at least as many more will flock to take advantage of it, without any additional cost to the public. Now if the Board can thus furnish a large supply of accomplished teachers, it is manifest that all schools established by individual exertion, all in which instruction is now supported by subscription, or by payments from the children, will, if left to themselves, and without any interference whatever from the Board, be disposed to take teachers from the normal seminary. The improved tuition at these schools will infallibly increase the number of children attending them, and the funds to be obtained for their support; and thus, without any further operation on the part of the Board than the establishment and careful superintendence of the normal seminaries in London, and in two or three other places, a prodigious improvement will be effected in the education of the people within the space of a very few years.

The last function of the Board to which we shall advert, is connected with the funds already existing in the large endowments scattered so profusely over the country. The Charity Commission having now or nearly completed its labours, is about to cease. A permanent superintendence of charities is therefore wanted, to prevent the relapse into abuse by constant enquiry and occasional interposition. The cumbrous proceedings of Courts of Equity render it necessary that in the more ordinary cases, a simple, a more expeditious, and a less costly recourse should be provided. This is afforded by vesting in the Board certain judicial as well as all inquisitorial functions. But the more judicious application of the charitable funds is also of great importance. As the law now stands, no deviation can be made from the plan laid down by the donor two or three centuries ago, unless it is impossible to execute it; yet it often happens that little, if any good is done by the disposition which he has directed, and not sel-

Digitized by Google

dom that serious evil arises from it. An example of the first defect in charitable institutions is afforded by those grammar-schools which are richly endowed in places where the inhabitants have no occasion for instruction in Greek, Latin, or Hebrew, but would be greatly benefited by other branches of knowledge. An example of the latter defect is furnished in many parts of the country by the doles of money, often to a considerable amount, given to poor persons indiscriminately. Nor are cases wanting of whole districts filled with idleness, and poverty, and dissipation, by the great increase of the charity estates given at a remote period to the poor of narrow communities. The powers of the Board are not such as to remedy these evils effectually. The will of the donor is not to be disregarded, except in a comparatively small class of cases; and where there can be no manner of doubt that he would himself have directed the deviation, had he been able to foresee the altered circumstances of the times. Thus charities, given without any specification of objects, may be applied to education; and funds given for one kind of tuition may be applied to another more beneficially. But in all cases the opinions and wishes of the trustees are consulted as far as possible. Where these are desirous of making the improvement, and are prevented by the letter of the foundation, a power is given to them of making the change with the Board's consent. Where they have the power, or obtained it, and refuse to exercise it, the Board is authorized to enforce the change, but subject to an appeal to the Privy Council; and no change can be made in any charitable disposition which is not more than thirty years old. Indeed, this branch of the Board's authority is strictly confined to cases where the gift is manifestly absurd, or positively pernicious.

It thus appears, that by the operation of the measure in question, a very few years will suffice for giving to the whole country a system of elementary education deserving the name; by planting schools wherever they are wanted; by improving the management and securing the permanence of those now existing; and by the general introduction of infant training, at present confined to an extremely small part of the community; and by providing a supply of teachers thoroughly qualified for their important office. This will be accomplished without any pressure upon the resources of the State, or of particular districts; without any sudden destruction of the present imperfect system before the materials can be formed for a better; without any thing being done or attempted that can render education unpopular; and without losing the benefit which it now derives, and not in a financial view alone, from the benevolent zeal of individuals. Nor will there be any door opened for abuse in the management of the funds to be provided; or for the exercise of undue influence in mat-

Digitized by Google

ters which cannot well bear the peremptory control of Government. On the contrary, the consent of those interested will, generally speaking, be required for whatever step of importance is taken; the reformed administration of charitable funds should go hand in hand with the improvement of education; and should the whole measure be adopted, this is provided for. But the two features of the plan are not necessarily connected; and the omission of any change in the present constitution of charities, and confining the functions of the Board to mere enquiry and correction of abuses in their management, would only have the effect of lessening the funds which might otherwise be available for better education of the people, and consequently of increasing the expense of an improved system of instruction.

That expense, in either case, cannot be very considerable; and as the heaviest part of it will be distributed over several years, it certainly will not be at all felt by the country. We have no means of ascertaining, with any thing like accuracy, the amount at present expended on education; but some approximation to it may be made. There being, in round numbers, about 35,000 day schools of all descriptions, the expense of each can hardly, upon an average, fall short of sixty pounds a-year. Indeed, if the rent of the buildings be taken into account, that sum will not by any means suffice. But supposing it adequate—we have here above two millions yearly already applied to education, in part by subscription, the rest by payment from the children, and the latter portion considerably exceeding the former; for it is a most important result of the returns, that a much larger proportion of the whole children taught at day-schools are pay scholars than free scholars. Of 478,000, the number attending unendowed day-schools in 1818, 310,000 paid for their tuition, and only 168,000 were free scholars. In 1833, there appear to have been 730,000 pay-scholars, and 390,000 free—the proportion being nearly the same at the two periods. This is a consideration of great importance; because it shows that the schools now existing may with certainty be continued and improved, and that it only requires a judicious treatment to effect the salutary changes required. If funds were suddenly provided by the State without the greatest caution, the voluntary subscriptions would be wholly withdrawn, and by far the greater portion of the payments from the children would cease. But by judicious management both may easily be continued, and the present education revenue of above two millions, altogether independent of endowments, secured.

Another approximation to that revenue is afforded by the number of the children. These amount, in all, by the last returns, to about 1,100,000, exclusive of about 153,000 educated at endowed schools. The expense of the latter is about L.250,000

Digitized by Google

a-year, but this is probably under the mark; for it was, in 1818, returned at L.300,000. Taking it at the smallest sum, we have the expense of each child, L.1, 13s. 4d.; at the larger sum, L.1, 18s. 6d. But as the endowed schools have no rent to pay, but only repairs, the real expense must be considerably greater —probably, not less than L.2, or L.2, 5s., at those schools. If the cost of the unendowed day-schools, is only L.1, 10s., we have an income of above a million and a half. But the result, from considering the number of the schools, is perhaps more to be relied on.

The number of children attending each school is here material to be considered. In 1818, the average of those attending unendowed day schools, was 34—of those attending endowed day-schools 40—and of those attending Sunday schools nearly 90. In 1833, the unendowed day had 32; the endowed day, 37—the infant day-schools, 30, and the Sunday schools, 94. From hence it appears, that much fewer attend each ordinary day-school than might have been supposed, even after all the pains taken to extend the new system of Lancaster and Bell. The returns of 1833 do not enable us to state how many of the schools then existing were upon the new system; but the returns of 1818 give that proportion. Of the 14,000 day schools then established, 820 were on the new system, and were attended by 105,000 children, being an average of 128 to each school. The proportion of these new schools, to the schools on the old system, does not seem to have increased, but rather to have diminished since 1818, as the general average of all day-schools has fallen from thirty-four to thirty-two. Now these particulars are important to the question of the expense likely to attend the proposed improvements in national education, for they lead us to the conclusion—*first*, that in order to provide the additional means of instruction manifestly required, there will be no necessity for incurring an expense equal to that of the existing schools; and, *secondly*, that much of the present expense may be saved by judicious reforms. In certain situations, no doubt, it must always be impossible to have schools attended by large numbers of children, as in villages, or in other places where all sects cannot agree upon a plan of instruction. If there are not a large number of inhabitants, or if those, though more numerous, are so decided in religious opinions, that one portion insist upon the church catechism and liturgy being taught, and the rest are Dissenters from the Establishment—then the schools must be multiplied, and the expense of them increased. But in all populous places it is clear, that whatever be the divisions of opinion, there must be children enough to support schools of one hundred, or even one hundred and fifty. But suppose the average of the

Digitized by Google

whole schools only varied to between 60 and 70, or about doubled, the whole expense of educating the children now instructed would be reduced to one-half; and the number of those children might be doubled without increasing the present expenditure. Undoubtedly this calculation proceeds upon the supposition that the emoluments of teachers are not to be higher than they are at present. But with the increased qualifications of teachers their emoluments must be augmented. Therefore, notwithstanding the improved management of both old and new schools under the proposed reform, a considerable increase of expenditure will be required. The heaviest charge, however,—that which alone will be felt,—is the providing new school rooms; and a judicious combination of aid from the state, with individual and local exertion, will greatly lighten this burden.

It remains to observe, that there can be no greater error than theirs (if such there be) who suppose that this plan will not operate a universal reform in the education of the country. It will be as universal as effectual. Without the pretensions of a new national system, it will have all the advantages of one; for it will give education wherever it is now wanting, and it will, in a very few years, render that education deserving of a name, which it now usurps without any title.

But, unhappily, the quarter from which the principal objections are to be apprehended is in the opposite direction. Many will resent the change on the score of expense. We have shown that this cannot be so heavy as might at first be apprehended. The grant of L.100,000 a-year from the State, for a few years, would probably suffice for all the expense which local exertion and local rates could not defray. And who that reflects upon the times when we expended much more than that sum every day on the extra charges of war, and above the ordinary expenses of the nation, can suffer such a consideration to weigh as dust in the balance against the attainment of by far the most important benefit which a nation can desire, or its rulers bestow?

Upon the religious differences that prevail in the community another difficulty may be raised. It may be said that, if the new schools are placed under ecclesiastical superintendence, the Dissenters will object; and if they are exempt from such interference, the Church will be unfriendly. We have great confidence in the good sense of both these parties; and their real wish to see the people universally and really educated. Nor does it appear at all difficult to reconcile all the differences which exist between them upon the question. In the great majority of places there are sufficient numbers of children to support schools of both kinds—that is, schools where the church cate-

Digitized by Google

chism and liturgy are introduced, and schools where the religious instruction of the Church, or of any particular sect, is forbidden,—the Bible alone being taught, and the children left to receive from the pastors of their families the kind of tuition in spiritual matters which belongs to their particular form of belief. The plan in question is so framed as to prevent any creed or observance being imposed, which the bulk of the community disapproves, in any given district. It may happen that the minority, being overborne, are obliged to support a school, from the rules of which they dissent. But this is a remote possibility; for if the minority is at all considerable, there will, in all likelihood, be a second school established by the same local authorities, on such principles as may be adapted to the views of that minority; and the Board will in every case be able to prevent any school at all from being established, unless the wishes of the minority, as well as those of the majority, shall be consulted. It may thus happen that occasionally the conflict of sects shall prevent any thing from being done; but this is far better than undue compulsion, or oppression; and it will only lead, in the mean while, and in the first instance, to increased individual exertion; and end, before long, in a general agreement to compromise by adopting a middle course.

In conclusion, we shall be asked if our ideas of a complete system of education are confined to the elementary branch, improved, as we have above described, and enlarged by the important additions of what the whole people ought to be taught, and may easily be taught, before the age when nearly their whole time must be devoted to daily labour? We make answer, that as far as the interference of the state is concerned, we apprehend little, if any thing, can be done in the other and higher branches; but it is very clear that these may most safely be left to the people themselves, when the elementary instruction shall be improved and generally established. At least, it cannot be doubted that, by attempting more in the first instance, more attainable objects might be frustrated.

In the desires of such benevolent men as Mr Wyse and Mr Simpson, every one must sympathize,—even those who may conceive them somewhat tinged with enthusiasm, or too sanguine in their expectations. But it would be a grievous error to suppose that they are even over-sanguine, except as regards the question of time. Sooner or later those wishes for the improvement of mankind will be accomplished; and they will be best accomplished,—that is, most surely and most safely,—if the operations of the state are confined within their proper limits, and the higher branches of education spring, by the culture of the people, from its elements, fostered if not planted by the public care.

Digitized by Google

NOTE *to the Article in Number CXXIX., entitled 'Recent 'Publications on the War in Spain.'*

The notice, in the above article, of Mr Honan's book on *The Court and Camp of Don Carlos*, concludes as follows:— 'Mr Honan had not been more than two days at Madrid when 'he was ordered to leave Spain, after some communication, he 'says, had passed between the British Ambassador and the Spanish 'Government. He expressed his readiness to go if an order from 'the Police came to him; but he was suffered to remain unmolest- 'ed for a month; and in order to satisfy his friends that their 'fears for his personal safety among the excited Christinos were 'unfounded, he had purposely frequented all kinds of places 'of public resort, and gone unmasked to masquerades, where 'there were hundreds who knew his political leanings, and his 'recent visits to the Carlist quarters. It seemed, he says, as if 'the government had seen the folly of their objecting to his resi- 'dence. But one morning at six o'clock he was awakened by an 'officer from the Police, who produced an order and a passport for 'Lisbon. He was not suffered to communicate with any one, 'even his banker, except the British Minister, whose house was 'next door; and was carried away as soon as he had dressed 'himself and breakfasted, and paid his bills. He was strictly 'guarded on the journey; the officers who accompanied him being 'well armed, and one of them always sleeping in the same room 'with him. After ten days thus passed, in the depth of winter, he 'was liberated upon their arrival at the Portuguese frontier. We 'take for granted that there must have been some pretext stated, 'at least, to the British ambassador, for this very extraordinary 'proceeding. Surely no man can think of contending that Mr 'Honan's opinions being favourable to the Carlists, while he was 'acting in every respect an open part, and only doing what he 'professed to do, and being what he avowed himself, offered the 'shadow of a justification for such an outrage? It is true there 'is only the statement of one party before us; but it must be re- 'membered that nearly the same narrative was made public at the 'time, and has received no contradiction. At any rate it is now 'before the world, with the name of the writer,—the sufferer; 'and there can be no doubt that some explanation will be given— 'it is to be hoped a satisfactory one.'

An explanation of the proceeding here so pointedly mentioned has been very lately laid before the public. It is contained in

Digitized by Google

an able Tract, which we have been accidentally prevented from noticing at some length, entitled *The Policy of England towards Spain*, and which is generally understood to have proceeded from authority. We here learn that Mr Honan, after having resided at Don Carlos' headquarters, and written letters in support of the Carlist cause, which appeared regularly in the *Morning Herald*, signed with his name, attempted to return to Madrid, but was stopped at Barcelona, in consequence of orders received from the Government; and that he afterwards, in spite of these orders, succeeded in reaching Madrid by a different route. Upon his arrival there, he waited upon the British ambassador, Mr Villiers, and informed him that he had returned to Madrid against his own will, and in spite of his having represented to the proprietors of the above Newspaper, the personal danger he should incur; as well as the political impropriety he should commit by visiting the capital of Spain, at a moment of great popular excitement, and when his opinions and his correspondence were publicly known. The Prime Minister also waited upon Mr Villiers, and informed him, upon the report of the Civil Governor, that the appearance of Mr Honan had caused great dissatisfaction—that he was generally believed to be an emissary from the Pretender—and that in the event of any tumult his life might be in danger. To prevent disastrous consequences, he therefore proposed to send Mr Honan away by Cadiz, or by the frontier of Portugal. Mr Villiers stipulated that Mr Honan should be allowed to take his own time for departure, and choose his own road. Mr Honan refused, however, to do either; and he was consequently conveyed by an officer of Police to the frontier.

The author of the Tract above-mentioned, goes on to show, that when disturbances were apprehended from the presence, in the capital, of a person who had come directly from the headquarters of the Pretender, from which he had written letters, proving him a warm partisan, the Spanish Government was justified in requiring him to leave Madrid. It is but an act of justice to Villiers to say, that he appears to us, in having procured for Mr Honan the choice of time for departure, and the road he would take, to have done all that the British Minister could have reasonably been called upon, or expected, to do.

No. CXXXII. will be published in July.

Digitized by Google

LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

From January to April 1837.

ANTIQUITIES AND ARCHITECTURE.

Transactions of the Institute of British Architects. 4to. Plates.

Potter's Grecian Antiquities, with Notes, &c. By J. Boyd, LL.D. 12mo. 9s.

An Essay on the Archæology of Popular Phrases. By J. B. Ker. Vol. II. 12mo. 6s.

Richardson's Specimens of Elizabethian Architecture. Royal 4to. 1*l.* 16s. half-bound.

Pugin's Detail of Ancient Timber Houses. 4to. 21s.

J. Wood's Plans for Labourers' Cottages. Folio. 18s.

Winkle's French Cathedrals. 4to. 30s.; India Proofs, 2*l.* 16s.

ARTS AND MANUFACTURES.

Shaw's Examples of Ornamental Metal Work. 4to. 2*l.* 2s.

BIOGRAPHY.

Annual Biography and Obituary for 1837. 8vo. 15s.

Memorial of F. R. H. Scoresby. By his Father. 12mo. 4s.

The Life and Correspondence of the late Rev. H. Belfrage, D.D. By the Rev. J. M'Kerrow and the Rev. J. M'Farlane. 8vo. 8s.

Memoirs of the Rev. Rowland Hill. By W. Jones. With a Preface by the Rev. J. Sherman. 12mo. 8s.

Memoirs of the Life of Sir W. Scott, Bart. By J. G. Lockhart. Vol. I. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Johnsoniana; Supplement to Boswell, with 45 Plates. 8vo. 24s.

Lives of Eminent Foreign Statesmen. Vol. IV. By J. P. R. James, (forming Vol. LXXXIX. of Dr Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia). Foolscap. 6s.

Memoirs of the Life and Works of Sir John Sinclair. By his Son. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 21s.

Life of Thomas Jefferson (3d President of the United States). By George Tucker. 2 vols. 8vo. 28s.

Memoir of Mrs A. Bulmer. By Anne R. Collinson. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

Scenes from the Life of Edward Lascelles. 2 vols. 12s.

BOTANY.

The Linnean Artificial System of Botany. By T. Castle. 4to. 5s.

Digitized by Google

EDUCATION AND SCHOOL BOOKS.

Geometrical Treatise on the Conic Sections. By Professor Wallace. 8vo. 6s.

Pocket Guide to Modern Geography. 32mo. 2s. 6d.

Delille's Introductory Lessons in the French Language. 18mo. 1s. 6d.

Bellchamber's British Youth's Historical Companion. Royal 32mo. 1s. 6d.

Bellenger's French Conversation. By Coghland. 18mo. 4s.

Kenrick's Key to Greek Exercises. Part I. 8vo. 4s. 6d. Boards.

Education Reform; or, the Necessity of a National System of Education. By T. Wyse, Esq., M.P. Vol. I. 8vo. 15s.

A Manual of German Prose. By L. Von Muhlenfels. Foolscap. 5s.

———————— Poetry. By do. Foolscap. 5s.

Dr Bloomfield's School and College Greek Testament, with English Notes. 12mo. 12s.

Hind's Elements of Plane and Spherical Trigonometry. Third edition. 12mo. 7s. 6d.

Isidore Brasseur on the Genders of French Nouns. 12mo. 2s.

Antrobus on the Social Bearings and Importance of Education. 8vo. 10s.

Questions on Ancient and English History. By Mrs E. Carrington. 1s.

Reinhardt's Terence, with Notes. By Dr Hickie. 12mo. 9s. 6d.

De Morgan's Elements of Trigonometry. Post 8vo. 9s.

The Principles of English Grammar. By David Booth. 12mo. 6s.

The Complete Correspondent; consisting of Original Letters. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

Self-Formation. By a Fellow of a College. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 16s.

Elements of Practical Knowledge, with Illustrations. 3s.

Arithmetic made Easy. By A. Turnbull. 12mo. 5s.

Practical System of Rhetoric. By J. P. Newman. Post 8vo. 5s. 6d.

FINE ARTS.

Levels of Edinburgh and its Environs, with Architectural Views of the Elevations and Buildings. By William Moffat, land-surveyor, Knightsbridge, London. On Double Elephant paper. 1*l.* 1s.

Robert's Sketches in Spain. Imperial folio. 4*l.* 4s. half-bound.

The Gallery of Portraits. 7 vols. Imperial 8vo. 7*l.* 17s. 6d. hf.-bd.

———————————— Proofs on India paper, without text. 2 vols. Folio. 12*l.* 12s. half-bound.

West Indian Scenery. By R. Bridgens. Imperial 4to. 1*l.* 10s.

John Barnet on the Education of the Eye with reference to Painting. 4to, 25s. Royal 4to, 35s.

Carbeaux's Pearls of the East, or Gems from Lalla Rookh. Imperial 4to. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.; coloured, 2*l.* 12s. 6d.

GARDENING AND AGRICULTURE.

Reports and Documents on the Culture, &c. of Cotton, Wool, Raw Silk, &c. in India. 8vo. 12s.

Cooling's Domestic Gardener's Assistant. 12mo. 1s.

Digitized by Google

HISTORY.

Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries. By H. Hallam. Vol. I. 8vo. 15s.

Despatches of the Marquis Wellesley. Vol. III. 8vo. 25s.

History of Ireland to the Union. By Elizabeth Blacket. 12mo. 4s.

The Family History of England. By Gleig. Vol. III. 12mo. 6s. 6d.

Historical Memoirs of his own Times. By Sir N. W. Wraxall. New edition. 4 vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 2s.

Naval History of England. By R. Southey, LL.D. Vol. IV. forming Vol. LXXXVII. of Dr Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia. Foolsc. 6s.

Captain Brenton's Naval History. 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Von Raumer's Contributions to Modern History. Vol. II. 'Frederick II. and his Times.' Post 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Highlanders of Scotland, their Origin, History, &c. By W. F. Skene. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 18s.

M. Guizot's History of Civilisation in Europe from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. 8vo. 12s.

LAW AND JURISPRUDENCE.

D. Jardine on the Use of Torture in the Criminal Law of England. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Marriage and Registration Act. By W. Eagle. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

The Tithes' Commutation Act. By J. R. Bosanquet. 12mo. 6s. 6d.

Introduction to the Practice of Conveyancing. By T. Martin. Vol. I. Part I. Royal 8vo. 12s.

J. D. Chambers's Dictionary of the Law of Elections, &c. 8vo. 25s.

Woolrych's Inclosure Act, with Notes. 12mo. 3s.

Practical Treatise on the Law of Charities. By W. R. A. Boyle. Royal 8vo. 24s.

B. Montague and S. Ayrton's Law and Practice of Bankruptcy. 2 vols. 12mo. 1*l.* 10s.

J. W. Smith's Selection of Leading Cases in law. Royal 8vo. 22s.

The Country Solicitor's Practice in Chancery. By J. Gray. 12mo. 10s.

The Practice at the Court of Common Pleas at Lancaster. By W. Wareing. 12mo. 15s.

MEDICINE, ANATOMY, AND SURGERY.

Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal. No. CXXXI. 6s.

Plumbe on the Diseases of the Skin. Fourth edition. 8vo. 21s.

Philips's Translation of the Pharmacopœa Londinensis. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Digest of the Homœopathic Principles. By E. Williams. 18mo. 2s.

A Clinical Treatise on the Epidemic Fevers of the West Indies. By W. J. Evans. 8vo. 9s.

Lectures illustrative of certain Local Nervous Affections. By Sir B. C. Brodie, Bart. 8vo. 4s.

Curiosities of Medical Experience. By Dr Milligan. 2 vols. 8vo. 28s.

The Nervous System of the Human Body. By Sir C. Bell. Third edition. 8vo. 24s.

Compendium of Lithotripsy. By H. Belinaye. 8vo. 8s.

The New Pharmacopœia. Translated by Dr D. Spillan. 18mo. 6s.

Digitized by Google

A Treatise on Painful and Nervous Diseases. By A. Turnbull, M.D. Third edition. 8vo. 6s.

The Medical Properties of the Bladud Spa Waters. By C. T. Edwards. 8vo. 3s.

The Works of John Hunter. By J. F. Palmer. 4 vols. 8vo. 4to Vol. of Plates. 3*l.* 10s.

The Surgical Works of John Hunter. By J. F. Palmer. 3 vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 12s. 6d.

Practical Treatise on Diseases of the Lungs. By G. H. Weatherhead, M.D. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Dr J. H. Sealy's Medical Essays, No. I. Phthisis Pulmonalis. 12mo. 3s.

Transactions of the Medico Chirurgical Society of London. Vol. XX. 8vo. 15s.

Aretæus, or the Causes and Signs of Disease, from the Greek. By T. F. Reynolds. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

A Companion to the Ship's Medicine Chest. 18mo. 2s. 6d.

G. F. Morgan's First Principles of Surgery. Part I. 8vo. 5s.

The Philosophy of Living. By H. Mayo, F.R.S. Post 8vo. 8s. 6d.

A. Calles on the Venereal. 8vo. 9s.

Shaw's Medical Remembrancer. 32mo. 2s. 6d.

METAPHYSICS AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

Dr J. Abercrombie on the Culture and Discipline of the Mind. 18mo. 1s.

MECHANICS AND ENGINEERING.

The Principles and Practice of Levelling. By F. W. Simme. 8vo. 6s.

Analysis of Railways. By F. Whishaw. 8vo. 13s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS.

Encyclopædia Britannica. Seventh Edition. Vol. XIV. Part II. 18s.

Ditto, Ditto. Parts LXXXIII. LXXXIV. and LXXXV. 6s.

Ditto, Ditto. Parts LXXVIII. to LXII. 3s.

The Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal. Conducted by Professor Jameson. No. XLIV. 7s. 6d.

Home, its Joys and its Sorrows. 18mo. 3s. 6d.

A Dialogue in the Devonshire Dialect, with a Glossary. By H. F. Palmer. Post 8vo. 5s.

Tints of Talent. 12mo. 5s.

Beauties of the Country in prose and verse. By Thomas Miller, with 2 illustrations. Post 8vo. 12s.

The Young Lady's Friend. By a Lady. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

Supplement to Bent's London Catalogue of Books. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Burke's New Peerage and Baronetage for 1837. 1 vol. 8vo. 1*l.* 18s.

Bowyer's Table of Simple Interest, 1 to 8 per cent. 5s. bound.

Goldsmith's Miscellaneous Works. By James Prior. 4 vols. 8vo. 2. 8s.

Miscellaneous Essays. By H. T. Colebrooke. 2 vols. 8vo. 20s.

Weeds of Witchery. By T. H. Bayly, Esq. 4to. 7s. 6d.

The Chase, the Turf, and the Road, by Nimrod, with illustrations. 8vo. 16s.

Digitized by Google

Essays, Literary, and Political. By W. E. Channing. 12mo. 6s.
Peerage for the People. By W. Carpenter. 12mo. 10s. 6d.

NATURAL HISTORY.

The Ornithological Guide. By C. T. Wood. 12mo. 5s.
Essay on the Indigenous Fossorial Hymenoptera. By W. E. Shuckard. 8vo, with plates. 14s.
Instinct and Reason Philosophically Investigated. By Thomas Jarrold. 8vo. 9s.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

Sir D. Brewster's Treatise on Magnetism, from the Encyclopædia Britannica. Post 8vo. 6s.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

Modern Society; the conclusion of Modern Accomplishments. By Miss C. Sinclair. Post 8vo. 7s.
Zulneida. By the Author of the White Cottage. 3 vols. Post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.
La Hougue Bie de Hambie, a Tradition of Jersey. By J. Bulkeley. 2 vols. 12mo. 14s.
Glenlonely. In 3 vols. Post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.
Flittings of Fancy. By R. Sullivan, Esq. 2 vols. post 8vo. 21s.
Manuella; The Executioner's Daughter, a story of Madrid. 3 vols. post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.
Falkner, a Novel. By the Author of Frankenstein. 3 vols. post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.
Rosette and Miriam. By the Author of Emma de Lissau. 12mo. 6s.
Paynell; or the Disappointed Man. By Miles Stapleton. 2 vols. post 8vo. 21s.
The Gambler's Dream. 3 vols. Post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.
Abel Allnut, a Novel. By the Author of Hajji Baba, &c. 3 vols. Post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.
Hawks of Hawk Hollow. By Dr Bird. 3 vols. Post 8vo. 1*l.* 7s.
The Caraguin, a Tale of the Antilles. Post 8vo. 5s.
The Divorced. By Lady Charlotte Bury. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 18s.
Crichton. By the Author of Rookwood, &c. 3 vols. Post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.
Picciola; or Captivity Captive. By M. De Saintine. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 16s.
Attila, a Romance. By the Author of The Gipsy. 3 vols. Post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.
The State Prisoner, a Tale of the French Regency. By Mary L. Boyle. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 21s.
Jack Brag. By the Author of "Sayings and Doings." 3 vols. Post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.
Illustrations of Human Life. By the Author of "Tremaine," &c. 3 vols. Post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.
The Married Unmarried. 3 vols. Post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.
Memoirs of a Peeress, or the Days of Fox, edited by Lady C. Bury. 3 vols. Post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Digitized by Google

The Clockmaker, or Sayings and Doings of Sam Slick. 12mo. 10s. 6d.

Concealment, a Novel. 3 vols. Post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Piso, and the Præfect, or the Ancients off their Stilts. 3 vols. Post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

The Duchess de la Valliere, a Play. By E. L. Bulwer. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

Pensive Musings, or the Pleasures of Melancholy, a Poem. By W. J. A. Abington. 12mo. 6s.

An Autumn Dream, Thoughts in Verse. By J. Sheppard. 12mo. 7s.

Songs of the Sanctuary. By P. E. Butler, M.A. 32mo. 3s. 6d.

Thamuta, the Spirit of Death, and other Poems. 12mo. 4s.

Impressions of Italy. By the Lady E. S. Wortley. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Family Poetry, chiefly devotional. 32mo. 3s. cloth, or 3s. 6d. in silk.

Flowers of Ebor. Poems by T. Croasley. 12mo. 6s.

Francis Abbott, the Recluse of Niagara. By J. Bird. 8vo. 7s. 6d. cloth.

C. P. Wyatt's Poems, original and translated. Foolscap. 6s.

Cosmo de Medici, an Historical Tragedy. By R. H. Horne. 8vo. 4s.

Xeniola and other Poems. By John Anster, D.D. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Poems. By J. Moultrie. Foolscap 8vo. 6s.

Translation of Anglo Saxon Poems, with Glossary and Notes. By J. M. Kemble. Foolscap 8vo. 15s.

The Bridal of Naworth, a Poem. 12mo. 6s.

Marcus Manlius, a Tragedy. By D. E. Columbine. 8vo. 5s.

The Star Seer, a Poem. By William Dearden. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Wordsworth's Poetical Works. 6 vols. Foolscap 8vo. 30s.

POLITICS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

The Second Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners. 8vo. 6s.

Evils of the Factory System. By C. Wing, Esq. Royal 8vo. 21s.

The Letters of E. Macdonnell to the Editor of the Times. 12mo. 6s.

Observations on the System of Metallic Currency. By W. H. Morrison. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

G. W. Cooke's History of Party. Vol. II. 8vo. 18s.

J. R. MacCulloch's Dictionary of Commerce and Commercial Navigation. New Edition, corrected to December, 1836. 1 large vol. 8vo. 2*l.* 10s.

Sketches of the Commercial Resources, and Monetary System of British India. 8vo. 4s.

Torrens' Letter to Lord John Russell on Poor Laws for Ireland. 8vo. 4s.

Napoleon in Council, from the French of Baron Pelet. By Captain Basil Hall, R. N. Post 8vo. 9s.

The Felonry of New South Wales. By James Mudie. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Evidence on the Aborigines. Post 8vo. 6s.

Thoughts in Times Past tested by subsequent events. By the Duke of Newcastle. Post 8vo. 5s.

Digitized by Google

England under Seven Administrations. By A. Foublanque, Esq. 3 vols. Post 8vo. with portraits. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Transportation and Colonization. By J. D. Lang, D.D. 12mo. 6s.

RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS.

Philosophy and Religion. By W. B. Galloway, A. M. 8vo. 16s.

Services suited to Public Ordinances. By W. B. Collyer, D.D. Foolscap 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Sermons. By the late Rev. Hugh Stowell. 12mo. 5s.

Sermons. By the late Rev. W. Sharpe of Pattiswick, Essex. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Rev. Dr Russell's Connexion of Sacred and Profane History. Vol. III. 8vo. 14s.

Sermons preached at Rotterdam. By the Rev. C. R. Muston. 8vo. 12s.

An Essay on the Welsh Saints, or the Primitive Christians in Wales. By the Rev. R. Rees, M.A. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Sermons to a Country Congregation. By A. W. Hare. 2 vols. 12mo. 16s.

The Voluntary System. By the Rev. S. R. Maitland. 12mo. 6s. 6d.

Lectures on the History of Moses. By the Rev. J. L. Ross. 12mo. 6s.

Confirmation of Maria Monk's Disclosures. By the Rev. J. J. Slocane, of New York. 18mo. 4s.

An Essay on Natural Religion and Revelation. By the Rev. J. Gilderdale. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d.

The Path of Peace. By John S. C. Abbott. 24mo. 1s.

Discourses on the Beatitudes. By the Rev. R. Anderson. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

Rev. T. Adam's Exposition of the Four Gospels. By the Rev. A. Westoby. 2 vols. 8vo. 21s.

Rev. H. Venn's Essay on Zacharias. 32mo. 1s.

Rev. T. W. Jenkyns on the Extent of the Atonement. Second Edition. Post 8vo. 7s.

The Christian Correspondent; Letters by eminent persons of both sexes, with a preliminary Essay. By J. Montgomery. 3 vols. Foolscap. 18s.

The Sanctuary and the Oratory. By the Rev. Thos. Milner. 12mo. 7s.

The Early Christians, their Manners, &c. By the Rev. W. Pridden. 12mo. 4s.

Rabbi Kimchi's Commentary upon the Prophecies of Zachariah. Translated by the Rev. A. M'Caul. 8vo. 7s.

Rev. W. Greenhill's Exposition of Ezekiel. Edited by the Rev. J. Sherman. Royal 8vo. 25s.

The Works of the Rev. D. M'Nicoll, with Life. By the Rev. J. Dixon. 8vo. 12s.

The Hope of Glory. By the Rev. J. Brown. 18mo. 2s.

Sixteen Lectures upon the History of Elijah. By the Rev. R. Simpson. 12mo. 6s.

Digitized by Google

Spiritual Crumbs, by Gerhard Tersteegen, from the German. By S. Jackson. 12mo. 5s.

The Scripture Account of the Sabbath. By E. Stopford, LL. D. 8vo. 7s.

Quarles' Judgment and Mercy. 12mo. 2s.

Meditations in Sickness and Old Age. By Baptist W. Noel. 18mo. 2s. 6d.

The Union Liturgy. 12mo. 4s.

Neal's History of the Puritans. New Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 16s.

Rev. Dr H. Duncan's Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons. Spring. Foolscap 8vo. 6s.

The Comings of Christ; Five Advent Sermons. By the Rev. J. B. Marsden. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

The Monk of Cimies. By Mrs Sherwood. 12mo. 7s. 6d.

Sermons on the Commandments. By E. R. Larken, M. A. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

E. W. Grinfield on the Image and Likeness of God in Man. 8vo. 7s.

Bishop Heber's Parish Sermons. 3 vols. 8vo. 24s.

J. H. Newman's Lectures on Romanism and Protestantism. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

H. T. Thornton's Commentary on the Pentateuch. 8vo. 8s.

Mrs Langford's Discourse in favour of Christianity, from Reason. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

An Essay on the Nature of Man. By John Dayman. 8vo. 6s.

Andrew Fuller on the Book of Genesis. New Edition. 12mo. 5s.

Britannia; or the Moral Claims of Seamen Stated and Enforced. By the Rev. J. Harris. Post 8vo. 4s. 6d.

A Token of Friendship; or Parental Gift to Youthful Piety. 18mo. 2s.

Questions on St Luke, with the Lectures. By the Rev. T. V. Short. Foolscap 8vo. 3s. 6d.

England; The Sound of the Trumpet. 8vo. 15s.

Anti-Mammon; or an Exposure of Mammon. Post 8vo. 6s. 6d.

Rev. H. Latham's Harmonia Paulina. 8vo. 12s.

History of Protestant Nonconformity in Great Britain. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

Pastoral Appeals on Conversion. By the Rev. C. Stovel. 18mo. 2s. 6d.

Rev. H. Melville's Sermons at Cambridge. 1837. 8vo. 5s.

Sermons, by the late Rev. T. Scott, with a Memoir. By the Rev. S. King. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Sacred History of the World, in Letters from a Father to his Son. By Sharon Turner, Esq. Vol. III. 8vo. 14s.

The Candidate for the Ministry; a Course of Lectures. By the Rev. J. H. Pinder, M. A. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

Proofs and Illustrations of the Attributes of God. By Dr J. Macculloch. 3 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 16s.

Britain's Glory. By T. Timpson. 18mo. 3s.

The Condensed Commentary on the Bible. By the Rev. J. Cobbin. Imperial 8vo. 35s.

Digitized by Google

Rev. W. Edelman's Sermons on the History of Joseph. 12mo. 5s.

M. S. Hayne's Prayers for Morning and Evening Worship. 12mo. 3s.

Sermons, Doctrinal and Practical. By the late Rev. R. Moxon, with his Life. 12mo. 5s.

Original and Select Hymns, a Companion to "Sacred Poetry." 32mo. 3s. half-bound.

Israel's Wanderings in the Wilderness. By the Rev. G. D. Krummacher of Ulberfeld. 12mo. 6s.

Rev. H. Blunt's Sermons, preached at Trinity Church, Upper Chelsea. 12mo. 6s.

STATISTICS.

Transactions of the Statistical Society of London. Vol. I. Part I. 4to. 7s. 6d.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

My Travels. Foolscap 8vo. 6s. 6d.

The Americans in the Moral, Social, and Political Character. By Francis J. Grund. 2 vols. 8vo. 24s.

Spain and Barbary; Letters to a Younger Sister. Foolscap. 6s.

Rambles in Egypt and Candia. By Captain C. R. Scott. 2 vols. 8vo. 28s.

Recollections of Europe. By J. F. Cooper. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 21s.

Indian Reminiscences. By the late G. A. Addison. 8vo. 14s.

The Tour of M. de la Boullaye le Gouz. Edited by T. C. Croker. Post 8vo. 5s.

Letters from the South. By Thomas Campbell. 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Letters to the Right Hon. Lord Brougham. By Sir A. B. Faulkner. Post 8vo. 9s. 6d.

Guide to Invalids to the Continental Watering Places. By Dr Home. 18mo. 3s. 6d.

Semilasso in Africa; Adventures in Algiers, &c. By Prince Puckler Muskau. 3 vols. Post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

A Summer in the Pyrenees. By the Hon. J. E. Murray. 2 vols. 8vo. 24s. cloth.

R. Pashley's Travels in Crete, with Illustrations. 2 vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 2s.

The West Indies. By Sir A. Halliday. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Austria, and the Austrians. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 21s.

Account of an Expedition to the Interior of New Holland. Edited by Lady M. Fox. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Highland Rambles and Long Legends to Shorten the Way. By Sir T. Dick Lauder, Bart. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 21s.

Eiris in the Irish Highlands, &c. By P. Knight. 12mo. 5s.

Modern India, with Illustrations of Hindustan. By H. H. Spry, M.D. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 21s.

Notes of a Short Tour through the Midland Counties of Ireland, in 1836. By B. W. Noel. 7s.

A Six Days' Tour through the Isle of Man. 12mo. 3s.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG PERSONS.

The Stories of Aunt Alice. By Louisa F. Dibdin. 18mo. 2s.

Digitized by Google

Sandford and Merton, Abridged and Modernized. By Miss R. M. Zornlin. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

Peter Parley's Tales about Europe. By the Rev. T. Wilson. 18mo. 2s. 6d.

The Relaxation. By the Editors of Profitable Employment. 18mo. 4s. 6d. bound.

The Child's Sacred Year. 32mo. 1s. 6d.; or 2s. 6d. in silk.

Tales in Prose. By Mary Howitt. 3s. 6d. boards; 5s. bound.

Walker's Games and Sports. 12mo. 9s. bound.

Foreign Tales. 18mo. 1s. 6d.

Miss Edgeworth's Harry and Lucy concluded. 3d Edition. 3 vols. 12mo. 12s. half-bound.

The Use of Talents. By Mrs Cameron. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

The Spring. By Robert Mudie. 5s.

Stories of Edward and his Little Friends. 5s. half-bound.

Christian Trials. By the Author of "The Bread of Deceit." 18mo. 2s. 6d.

The Parlour Book; or Conversations on Science and the Arts. By W. Martin. 16mo. 4s. 6d.

A Little Book for Little Readers. 32mo. 1s. 6d.

Printed by Ballantyne and Co., Paul's Work Edinburgh.

Digitized by Google

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW.

JULY, 1837.

No. CXXXII.

ART. I.—*The Works of Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England. A new Edition.* By BASIL MONTAGU, Esq. Sixteen Vols. 8vo. London: 1825-1834.*

WE return our hearty thanks to Mr Montagu, as well for his very valuable edition of Lord Bacon's Works, as for the instructive Life of the immortal author, contained in the last volume. We have much to say on the subject of this Life, and will often find ourselves obliged to dissent from the opinions of the biographer. But about his merit as a collector of the materials out of which opinions are formed, there can be no dispute; and we readily acknowledge that we are in a great measure indebted to his minute and accurate researches for the means of refuting what we cannot but consider his errors.

The labour which has been bestowed on this volume has been a labour of love. The writer is evidently enamoured of the subject.

---

* Though we are quite aware that the unusual length of this article may be apt, notwithstanding the highly recommendatory nature of its subject, to startle some of our readers, we cannot bring ourselves to think it possible that there is any intelligent scholar, who, on perusal, could wish it shorter. Without shortening we could, no doubt, have divided it. The intellectual repast might well furnish two plentiful courses. But this would have been contrary to our general practice; and more likely, we think, to disappoint than to gratify those we are most anxious to please. We therefore present it entire and at once, confident that we shall receive the thanks of the best class of readers for doing so.

Digitized by Google

It fills his heart. It constantly overflows from his lips and his pen. Those who are acquainted with the Courts in which Mr Montagu practises with so much ability and success, well know how often he enlivens the discussion of a point of law by citing some weighty aphorism, or some brilliant illustration, from the *De Augmentis* or the *Novum Organum*. The Life before us doubtless owes much of its value to the honest and generous enthusiasm of the writer. This feeling has stimulated his activity; has sustained his perseverance; has called forth all his ingenuity and eloquence: but, on the other hand, we must frankly say that it has, to a great extent, perverted his judgment.

We are by no means without sympathy for Mr Montagu even in what we consider as his weakness. There is scarcely any delusion which has a better claim to be indulgently treated than that under the influence of which a man ascribes every moral excellence to those who have left imperishable monuments of their genius. The causes of this error lie deep in the inmost recesses of human nature. We are all inclined to judge of others as we find them. Our estimate of a character always depends much on the manner in which that character affects our own interests and passions. We find it difficult to think well of those by whom we are thwarted or depressed; and we are ready to admit every excuse for the vices of those who are useful or agreeable to us. This is, we believe, one of those illusions to which the whole human race is subject, and which experience and reflection can only partially remove. It is, in the phraseology of Bacon, one of the *idola tribus*. Hence it is, that the moral character of a man eminent in letters, or in the fine arts, is treated,—often by contemporaries,—almost always by posterity,—with extraordinary tenderness. The world derives pleasure and advantage from the performances of such a man. The number of those who suffer by his personal vices is small, even in his own time, when compared with the number of those to whom his talents are a source of gratification. In a few years all those whom he has injured disappear. But his works remain, and are a source of delight to millions. The genius of Sallust is still with us. But the Numidians whom he plundered, and the unfortunate husbands who caught him in their houses at unseasonable hours, are forgotten. We suffer ourselves to be delighted by the keenness of Clarendon's observation, and by the sober majesty of his style, till we forget the oppressor and the bigot in the historian. Falstaff and Tom Jones have survived the gamekeepers whom Shakspeare cudgelled, and the landladies whom Fielding bilked. A great writer is the friend and benefactor of his readers; and they cannot but judge of him under the deluding influence of friendship and gratitude. We all know how unwilling we are to admit the

Digitized by Google

truth of any disgraceful story about a person whose society we like, and from whom we have received favours,—how long we struggle against evidence,—how fondly, when the facts cannot be disputed, we cling to the hope that there may be some explanation or some extenuating circumstance with which we are unacquainted. Just such is the feeling which a man of liberal education naturally entertains towards the great minds of former ages. The debt which he owes to them is incalculable. They have guided him to truth. They have filled his mind with noble and graceful images. They have stood by him in all vicissitudes —comforters in sorrow, nurses in sickness, companions in solitude. These friendships are exposed to no danger from the occurrences by which other attachments are weakened or dissolved. Time glides by; fortune is inconstant; tempers are soured; bonds which seemed indissoluble are daily sundered by interest, by emulation, or by caprice. But no such cause can affect the silent converse which we hold with the highest of human intellects. That placid intercourse is disturbed by no jealousies or resentments. These are the old friends who are never seen with new faces, who are the same in wealth and in poverty, in glory and in obscurity. With the dead there is no rivalry. In the dead there is no change. Plato is never sullen. Cervantes is never petulant. Demosthenes never comes unseasonably. Dante never stays too long. No difference of political opinion can alienate Cicero. No heresy can excite the horror of Bossuet.

Nothing, then, can be more natural than that a person of sensibility and imagination should entertain a respectful and affectionate feeling towards those great men with whose minds he holds daily communion. Yet nothing can be more certain than that such men have not always deserved, in their own persons, to be regarded with respect or affection. Some writers, whose works will continue to instruct and delight mankind to the remotest ages, have been placed in such situations, that their actions and motives are as well known to us as the actions and motives of one human being can be known to another; and unhappily their conduct has not always been such as an impartial judge can contemplate with approbation. But the fanaticism of the devout worshipper of genius is proof against all evidence and all argument. The character of his idol is matter of faith; and the province of faith is not to be invaded by reason. He maintains his superstition with a credulity as boundless, and a zeal as unscrupulous, as can be found in the most ardent partisans of religious or political factions. The most overwhelming proofs are rejected; the plainest rules of morality are explained away; extensive and important portions of history are completely distorted—the enthusiast misrepresents facts with all the effrontery of an advocate,

Digitized by Google

and confounds right and wrong with all the dexterity of a Jesuit —and all this only in order that some man who has been in his grave for ages may have a fairer character than he deserves.

Middleton's 'Life of Cicero' is a striking instance of the influence of this sort of partiality. Never was there a character which it was easier to read than that of Cicero. Never was there a mind keener or more critical than that of Middleton. Had the Doctor brought to the examination of his favourite statesman's conduct but a very small part of the acuteness and severity which he displayed when he was engaged in investigating the high pretensions of Epiphanius and Justin Martyr, he could not have failed to produce a most valuable history of a most interesting portion of time. But this most ingenious and learned man, though

> 'So wary held and wise
> That, as 'twas said, he scarce received
> For gospel what the church believed,'

had a superstition of his own. The great Iconoclast was himself an idolator. The great *Avvocata del Diavolo*, while he disputed, with no small ability, the claims of Cyprian and Athanasius to a place in the Calendar, was himself composing a lying legend in honour of St Tully! He was holding up as a model of every virtue a man whose talents and acquirements, indeed, can never be too highly extolled, and who was by no means destitute of amiable qualities, but whose whole soul was under the dominion of a girlish vanity, and a craven fear. Actions for which Cicero himself, the most eloquent and skilful of advocates, could contrive no excuse,—actions which in his confidential correspondence he mentioned with remorse and shame,—are represented by his biographer as wise, virtuous, heroic. The whole history of that great revolution which overthrew the Roman aristocracy,—the whole state of parties,—the character of every public man,—is elaborately misrepresented, in order to make out something which may look like a defence of one most eloquent and accomplished Trimmer.

The volume before us reminds us now and then of the 'Life of Cicero.' But there is this marked difference. Dr Middleton evidently had an uneasy consciousness of the weakness of his cause, and therefore resorted to the most disingenuous shifts,—to unpardonable distortions and suppressions of facts. Mr Montagu's faith is sincere and implicit. He practises no trickery. He conceals nothing. He puts the facts before us in the full confidence that they will produce on our minds the effect which they have produced on his own. It is not till he comes to reason from facts to motives that his partiality shows itself; and then he leaves Middleton himself far behind. His work proceeds on the

Digitized by Google

assumption that Bacon was an eminently virtuous man. From the tree Mr Montagu judges of the fruit. He is forced to relate many actions, which, if any man but Bacon had committed them, nobody would have dreamed of defending,—actions which are readily and completely explained by supposing Bacon to have been a man whose principles were not strict, and whose spirit was not high,—actions which can be explained in no other way, without resorting to some grotesque hypothesis for which there is not a tittle of evidence. But any hypothesis is, in Mr Montagu's opinion, more probable than that his hero should ever have done any thing very wrong.

This mode of defending Bacon seems to us by no means *Baconian*. To take a man's character for granted, and then from his character to infer the moral quality of all his actions, is surely a process the very reverse of that which is recommended in the *Novum Organum*. Nothing, we are sure, could have led Mr Montagu to depart so far from his master's precepts, except zeal for his master's honour. We shall follow a different course. We shall attempt, with the valuable assistance which Mr Montagu has afforded us, to frame such an account of Bacon's life as may enable our readers correctly to estimate his character.

It is hardly necessary to say that Francis Bacon was the son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who held the great seal of England during the first twenty years of the reign of Elizabeth. The fame of the father has been thrown into shade by that of the son. But Sir Nicholas was no ordinary man. He belonged to a set of men whom it is easier to describe collectively than separately; whose minds were formed by one system of discipline; who belonged to one rank in society, to one university, to one party, to one sect, to one administration; and who resembled each other so much in talents, in opinions, in habits, in fortunes, that one character, we had almost said one life, may, to a considerable extent, serve for them all.

They were the first generation of statesmen by profession that England produced. Before their time the division of labour had, in this respect, been very imperfect. Those who had directed public affairs had been, with few exceptions, warriors or priests; warriors whose rude courage was neither guided by science nor softened by humanity,—priests whose learning and abilities were habitually devoted to the defence of tyranny and imposture. The Hotspurs, the Nevilles, the Cliffords,—rough, illiterate, and unreflecting,—brought to the council board the fierce and imperious disposition which they had acquired amidst the tumult of predatory war, or in the gloomy repose of the garrisoned and moated castle. On the other side was the calm and subtle prelate,—versed in all that was then considered as learning,—trained in

Digitized by Google

the Schools to manage words, and in the Confessional to manage hearts,—seldom superstitious, but skilful in practising on the superstition of others,—false as it was natural that a man should be whose profession imposed on all who were not saints, the necessity of being hypocrites,—selfish as it was natural that a man should be who could form no domestic ties, and cherish no hope of legitimate posterity,—more attached to his order than to his country, and guiding the politics of England with a constant side glance at Rome. But the increase of wealth, the progress of knowledge, and the reformation of religion produced a great change. The nobles ceased to be military chieftains; the priests ceased to possess a monopoly of learning; and a new and remarkable species of politicians appeared.

These men came from neither of the classes which had, till then, almost exclusively furnished ministers of state. They were all laymen; yet they were all men of learning, and they were all men of peace. They were not members of the aristocracy. They inherited no titles, no large domains, no armies of retainers, no fortified castles. Yet they were not low men, such as those whom princes, jealous of the power of a nobility, have sometimes raised from forges, and cobblers' stalls, to the highest situations. They were all gentlemen by birth. They had all received a liberal education. It is a remarkable fact that they were all members of the same university. The two great national seats of learning had even then acquired the characters which they still retain. In intellectual activity, and in readiness to admit improvements, the superiority was then, as it has ever since been, on the side of the less ancient and splendid institution. Cambridge had the honour of educating those celebrated Protestant Bishops whom Oxford had the honour of burning; and at Cambridge were formed the minds of all those statesmen to whom chiefly is to be attributed the secure establishment of the reformed religion in the north of Europe.

The statesmen of whom we speak passed their youth surrounded by the incessant din of theological controversy. Opinions were still in a state of chaotic anarchy,—intermingling, separating, advancing, receding. Sometimes the stubborn bigotry of the Conservatives seemed likely to prevail. Then the impetuous onset of the Reformers for a moment carried all before it. Then again the resisting mass made a desperate stand, arrested the movement, and forced it slowly back. The vacillation which at that time appeared in English legislation, and which it has been the fashion to attribute to the caprice and to the power of one or two individuals, was truly a national vacillation. It was not only in the mind of Henry that the new theology obtained the ascendant at one time, and that the lessons of the nurse and of the priest regained their influence at another. It was not only in the House of Tudor that the husband was

Digitized by Google

exasperated by the opposition of the wife,—that the son dissented from the opinions of the father,—that the brother persecuted the sister,—that one sister persecuted another. The principles of Conservation and Reform carried on their warfare in every part of society,—in every congregation, in every school of learning, round the hearth of every private family, in the recesses of every reflecting mind.

It was in the midst of this ferment that the minds of the persons whom we are describing were developed. They were born Reformers. They belonged by nature to that order of men who always form the front ranks in the great intellectual progress. They were, therefore, one and all, Protestants. In religious matters, however, though there is no reason to doubt that they were sincere, they were by no means zealous. None of them chose to run the smallest personal risk during the reign of Mary. None of them favoured the unhappy attempt of Northumberland in favour of his daughter-in-law. None of them shared in the desperate councils of Wyatt. They contrived to have business on the Continent; or, if they staid in England, they heard Mass and kept Lent with great decorum. When those dark and perilous years had gone by, and when the crown had descended to a new sovereign, they took the lead in the reformation of the Church. But they proceeded not with the impetuosity of theologians, but with the calm determination of statesmen. They acted, not like men who considered the Romish worship as a system too offensive to God, and too destructive of souls to be tolerated for an hour; but like men who regarded the points in dispute among Christians, as in themselves unimportant; and who were not restrained by any scruple of conscience from professing, as they had before professed, the Catholic faith of Mary, the Protestant faith of Edward, or any of the numerous intermediate combinations which the caprice of Henry, and the temporizing policy of Cranmer, had formed out of the doctrines of both the hostile parties. They took a deliberate view of the state of their own country and of the Continent. They satisfied themselves as to the leaning of the public mind; and they chose their side. They placed themselves at the head of the Protestants of Europe, and staked all their fame and fortunes on the success of their party.

It is needless to relate how dexterously, how resolutely, how gloriously they directed the politics of England during the eventful years which followed,—how they succeeded in uniting their friends and separating their enemies,—how they humbled the pride of Philip,—how they backed the unconquerable spirit of Coligni,—how they rescued Holland from tyranny,—how they founded the maritime greatness of their country,—how they out-

Digitized by Google

witted the artful politicians of Italy, and tamed the ferocious chieftains of Scotland. It is impossible to deny that they committed many acts which would justly bring on a statesman of our time censures of the most serious kind. But, when we consider the state of morality in their age, and the unscrupulous character of the adversaries against whom they had to contend, we are forced to admit, that it is not without reason that their names are still held in veneration by their countrymen.

There were, doubtless, many diversities in their intellectual and moral character. But there was a strong family likeness. The constitution of their minds was remarkably sound. No particular faculty was pre-eminently developed; but manly health and vigour were equally diffused through the whole. They were men of letters. Their minds were by nature and by exercise well-fashioned for speculative pursuits. It was by circumstances rather than by any strong bias of inclination, that they were led to take a prominent part in active life. In active life, however, no men could be more perfectly free from the faults of mere theorists and pedants. No men observed more accurately the signs of the times. No men had a greater practical acquaintance with human nature. Their policy was generally characterised rather by vigilance, by moderation, and by firmness, than by invention, or by the spirit of enterprise.

They spoke and wrote in a manner worthy of their excellent sense. Their eloquence was less copious and less ingenious, but far purer and more manly than that of the succeeding generation. It was the eloquence of men who had lived with the first Translators of the Bible, and with the authors of the Book of Common Prayer. It was luminous, dignified, solid, and very slightly tainted with that affectation which deformed the style of the ablest men of the next age. If, as sometimes chanced, they were under the necessity of taking a part in those theological controversies on which the dearest interests of kingdoms were then staked, they acquitted themselves as if their whole lives had been passed in the Schools and the Convocation.

There was something in the temper of these celebrated men which secured them against the proverbial inconstancy both of the court and of the multitude. No intrigue, no combination of rivals, could deprive them of the confidence of their Sovereign. No parliament attacked their influence. No mob coupled their names with any odious grievance. Their power ended only with their lives. In this respect, their fate presents a most remarkable contrast to that of the enterprising and brilliant politicians of the preceding, and of the succeeding generation. Burleigh was minister during forty years. Sir Nicholas Bacon held the great seal more than twenty years. Sir Thomas Smith was Secretary

Digitized by Google

of State eighteen years;—Sir Francis Walsingham about as long. They all died in office, and in the full enjoyment of public respect and royal favour. Far different had been the fate of Wolsey, Cromwell, Norfolk, Somerset, and Northumberland. Far different also was the fate of Essex, of Raleigh, and of the still more illustrious man whose life we propose to consider.

The explanation of this circumstance is perhaps contained in the motto which Sir Nicholas Bacon inscribed over the entrance of his hall at Gorhambury,—*Mediocria firma.* This maxim was constantly borne in mind by himself and his colleagues. They were more solicitous to lay the foundations of their power deep, than to raise the structure to a conspicuous but insecure height. None of them aspired to be sole Minister. None of them provoked envy by an ostentatious display of wealth and influence. None of them affected to outshine the ancient aristocracy of the kingdom. They were free from that childish love of titles which characterised the successful courtiers of the generation which preceded them, and that which followed them. As to money, none of them could, in that age, justly be considered as rapacious. Some of them would, even in our time, deserve the praise of eminent disinterestedness. Their fidelity to the State was incorruptible. Their private morals were without stain. Their households were sober and well governed.

Among these statesmen Sir Nicholas Bacon was generally considered as ranking next to Burleigh. He was called by Camden, 'Sacris conciliis alterum columen;' and by George Buchanan,

'Diu Britannici
Regni secundum columen.'

The second wife of Sir Nicholas, and the mother of Francis Bacon, was Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke,—a man of distinguished learning who had been tutor to Edward the Sixth. Sir Anthony had paid considerable attention to the education of his daughters, and lived to see them all splendidly and happily married. Their classical acquirements made them conspicuous even among the women of fashion of that age. Katherine, who became Lady Killigrew, wrote Latin Hexameters and Pentameters which would appear with credit in the *Musæ Etonenses.* Mildred, the wife of Lord Burleigh, was described by Roger Ascham as the best Greek scholar among the young women of England, Lady Jane Grey always excepted. Anne, the mother of Francis Bacon, was distinguished both as a linguist and as a theologian. She corresponded in Greek with Bishop Jewel, and translated his *Apologia* from the

Digitized by Google

Latin, so correctly that neither he nor Archbishop Parker could suggest a single alteration.* She also translated a series of sermons on fate and free-will from the Tuscan of Bernardo Ochino. This fact is the more curious, as Ochino was one of that small and audacious band of Italian reformers,—anathematized alike by Wittenberg, by Geneva, by Zurich, and by Rome,—from which the Socinian sect deduces its origin.

Lady Bacon was doubtless a lady of highly cultivated mind after the fashion of her age. But we must not suffer ourselves to be deluded into the belief, that she and her sisters were more accomplished women than many who are now living. On this subject there is, we think, much misapprehension. We have often heard men who wish, as almost all men of sense wish, that women should be highly educated, speak with rapture of the English ladies of the sixteenth century, and lament that they can find no modern damsel resembling those fair pupils of Ascham and Aylmer who compared, over their embroidery, the styles of Isocrates and Lysias, and who, while the Horns were sounding and the Dogs in full cry, sat in the lonely Oriel, with eyes rivetted to that immortal page which tells how meekly and bravely the first great martyr of intellectual liberty took the cup from his weeping gaoler. But surely these complaints have very little foundation. We would by no means disparage the ladies of the sixteenth century or their pursuits. But we conceive that those who extol them at the expense of the women of our time forget one very obvious and very important circumstance. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth, a person who did not read Greek and Latin could read nothing, or next to nothing. The Italian was the only modern language which possessed any thing that could be called a literature. All the valuable books then extant in all the vernacular dialects of Europe would hardly have filled a single shelf. England did not yet possess Shakspeare's plays, and the Fairy Queen; nor France Montaigne's Essays; nor Spain Don Quixote. In looking round a well-furnished library, how few English or French books can we find which were extant when Lady Jane Gray and Queen Elizabeth received their education. Chaucer, Gower, Froissart, Comines, Rabelais, nearly complete the list. It was therefore absolutely necessary that a woman should be uneducated or classically educated. Indeed, without a knowledge of one of the ancient languages no person could then have any clear notion of what was passing in the political, the literary, or the religious

* Strype's Life of Parker.

Digitized by Google

world. The Latin was in the sixteenth century all and more than all than the French was in the eighteenth. It was the language of Courts as well of the Schools. It was the language of diplomacy; it was the language of theological and political controversy. Being a fixed language, while the living languages were in a state of fluctuation,—being universally known to the learned and the polite,—it was employed by almost every writer who aspired to a wide and durable reputation. A person who was ignorant of it was shut out from all acquaintance,—not merely with Cicero and Virgil,—not merely with heavy treatises on canon-law and school divinity,—but with the most interesting memoirs, state papers, and pamphlets of his own time;—nay, even with the most admired poetry and the most popular squibs which appeared on the fleeting topics of the day,—with Buchanan's complimentary verses, with Erasmus's dialogues, with Hutten's epistles.

This is no longer the case. All political and religious controversy is now conducted in the modern languages. The ancient tongues are used only in comments on the ancient writers. The great productions of Athenian and Roman genius are indeed still what they were. But though their positive value is unchanged, their relative value, when compared with the whole mass of mental wealth possessed by mankind, has been constantly falling. They were the intellectual all of our ancestors. They are but a part of our treasures. Over what tragedy could Lady Jane Gray have wept—over what comedy could she have smiled, if the ancient dramatists had not been in her library? A modern reader can make shift without Œdipus and Medea, while he possesses Othello and Hamlet. If he knows nothing of Pyrgopolynices and Thraso, he is familiar with Bobadil, and Bessus, and Pistol, and Parolles. If he cannot enjoy the delicious irony of Plato, he may find some compensation in that of Pascal. If he is shut out from Nephelococcygia, he may take refuge in Lilliput. We are guilty, we hope, of no irreverence towards those great nations to which the human race owes art, science, taste, civil and intellectual freedom, when we say, that the stock bequeathed by them to us has been so carefully improved that the accumulated interest now exceeds the principal. We believe that the books which have been written in the languages of western Europe, during the last two hundred and fifty years, are of greater value than all the books, which at the beginning of that period were extant in the world. With the modern languages of Europe, English women are at least as well acquainted as English men. When, therefore, we compare the acquirements of Lady Jane Gray and those of an accomplished young woman of our own time, we have no hesitation in awarding the superiority to the latter. We hope

Digitized by Google

that our readers will pardon this digression. It is long; but it can hardly be called unseasonable, if it tends to convince them that they are mistaken in thinking that their great-great grandmothers were superior women to their sisters and their wives.

Francis Bacon, the youngest son of Sir Nicholas, was born at York House, his father's residence in the Strand, on the 22d of January, 1561. His health was very delicate, and to this circumstance may be partly attributed that gravity of carriage, and that love of sedentary pursuits, which distinguished him from other boys. Every body knows how much his premature readiness of wit, and sobriety of deportment, amused the Queen; and how she used to call him her young Lord Keeper. We are told that while still a mere child he stole away from his playfellows to a vault in St James's fields, for the purpose of investigating the cause of a singular echo which he had observed there. It is certain that, at only twelve, he busied himself with very ingenious speculations on the art of legerdemain,—a subject which, as Professor Dugald Stewart has most justly observed, merits much more attention from philosophers than it has ever received. These are trifles. But the eminence which Bacon afterwards attained renders them interesting.

In the thirteenth year of his age he was entered at Trinity College, Cambridge. That celebrated school of learning enjoyed the peculiar favour of the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Keeper; and acknowledged the advantages which it derived from their patronage in a public letter which bears date just a month after the admission of Francis Bacon.* The master was Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, a narrow-minded, mean, and tyrannical priest, who gained power by servility and adulation, and employed it in persecuting with impartial cruelty those who agreed with Calvin about Church Government, and those who differed from Calvin touching the doctrine of reprobation. He was now in a chrysalis state—putting off the worm and putting on the dragon-fly—a kind of intermediate grub between sycophant and oppressor. He was indemnifying himself for the court which he found it expedient to pay to the Ministers by exercising much petty tyranny within his own college. It would be unjust, however, to deny him the praise of having rendered about this time one important service to letters. He stood up manfully against those who wished to make Trinity College a mere appendage to Westminster school, and by this act—the only good act, as far as we remember of his long public life,—he saved the

* Strype's Life of Whitgift.

Digitized by Google

noblest place of education in England from the degrading fate of King's College and New College.

It has often been said that Bacon, while still at college, planned that great intellectual revolution with which his name is inseparably connected. The evidence on this subject, however, is hardly sufficient to prove what is in itself so improbable as that any definite scheme of that kind should have been so early formed, even by so powerful and active a mind. But it is certain that after a residence of three years at Cambridge, Bacon departed, carrying with him a profound contempt for the course of study pursued there; a fixed conviction that the system of academic education in England was radically vicious; a just scorn for the trifles on which the followers of Aristotle had wasted their powers, and no great reverence for Aristotle himself.

In his sixteenth year he visited Paris, and resided there for some time, under the care of Sir Amias Paulet, Elizabeth's minister at the French court, and one of the ablest and most upright of the many valuable servants whom she employed. France was at that time in a deplorable state of agitation. The Huguenots and the Catholics were mustering all their force for the fiercest and most protracted of their many struggles; while the Prince, whose duty it was to protect and to restrain both, had by his vices and follies degraded himself so deeply that he had no authority over either. Bacon, however, made a tour through several provinces, and appears to have passed some time at Poitiers. We have abundant proof that during his stay on the Continent he did not neglect literary and scientific pursuits. But his attention seems to have been chiefly directed to statistics and diplomacy. It was at this time that he wrote those Notes on the State of Europe which are printed in his works. He studied the principles of the art of deciphering with great interest; and invented one cipher so ingenious that, many years later, he thought it deserving of a place in the *De Augmentis*. In February, 1580, while engaged in these pursuits, he received intelligence of the almost sudden death of his father, and instantly returned to England.

His prospects were greatly overcast by this event. He was most desirous to obtain a provision which might enable him to devote himself to literature and politics. He applied to the Government, and it seems strange that he should have applied in vain. His wishes were moderate. His hereditary claims on the administration were great. He had himself been favourably noticed by the Queen. His uncle was Prime Minister. His own talents were such as any minister might have been eager to enlist in the public service. But his solicitations were unsuccessful. The truth is, that the Cecils disliked him, and did all that

Digitized by Google

they could decently do to keep him down. It has never been alleged that Bacon had done any thing to merit this dislike; nor is it at all probable that man whose temper was naturally mild,—whose manners were courteous, who, through life, nursed his fortunes with the utmost care, and who was fearful even to a fault of offending the powerful,—would have given any just cause of displeasure to a kinsman who had the means of rendering him essential service, and of doing him irreparable injury. The real explanation, we have no doubt, is this: Robert Cecil, the Treasurer's second son, was younger by a few months than Bacon. He had been educated with the utmost care; had been initiated, while still a boy, in the mysteries of diplomacy and court-intrigue; and was just at this time about to be produced on the stage of public life. The wish nearest to Burleigh's heart was that his own greatness might descend to this favourite child. But even Burleigh's fatherly partiality could hardly prevent him from perceiving that Robert, with all his abilities and acquirements, was no match for his cousin Francis. This seems to us the only rational explanation of the Treasurer's conduct. Mr Montagu is more charitable. He supposes that Burleigh was influenced merely by affection for his nephew, and was 'little disposed to 'encourage him to rely on others rather than on himself, and to 'venture on the quicksands of politics, instead of the certain pro-'fession of the law.' If such were Burleigh's feelings, it seems strange that he should have suffered his son to venture on those quicksands from which he so carefully preserved his nephew. But the truth is, that if Burleigh had been so disposed, he might easily have secured to Bacon a comfortable provision which should have been exposed to no risk. And it is equally certain, that he showed as little disposition to enable his nephew to live by a profession, as to enable him to live without a profession. That Bacon himself attributed the conduct of his relatives to jealousy of his superior talents, we have not the smallest doubt. In a letter, written many years after to Villiers, he expresses himself thus:—'Countenance, encourage, and advance able men in all kinds, 'degrees, and professions. For in the time of *the Cecils, the* '*father and the son*, able men were by design and of purpose sup-'pressed.' *

Whatever Burleigh's motives might be, his purpose was unalterable. The supplications which Francis addressed to his uncle and aunt were earnest, humble, and almost servile. He was the most promising and accomplished young man of his

* See page 61, Vol. XII. of the present edition.

Digitized by Google

time. His father had been the brother-in-law, the most useful colleague, the nearest friend of the minister. But all this availed poor Francis nothing. He was forced, much against his will, to betake himself to the study of the law. He was admitted at Gray's Inn, and, during some years, he laboured there in obscurity.

What the extent of his legal attainments may have been it is difficult to say. It was not hard for a man of his powers to acquire that very moderate portion of technical knowledge which, when joined to quickness, tact, wit, ingenuity, eloquence, and knowledge of the world, is sufficient to raise an advocate to the highest professional eminence. The general opinion appears to have been that which was on one occasion expressed by Elizabeth. 'Bacon,' said she, 'had a great wit and much learning; but 'in law sheweth to the uttermost of his knowledge, and is not deep.' The Cecils, we suspect, did their best to spread this opinion by whispers and insinuations. Coke openly proclaimed it with that rancorous insolence which was habitual to him. No reports are more readily believed than those which disparage genius and soothe the envy of conscious mediocrity. It must have been inexpressibly consoling to a stupid sergeant,—the forerunner of him who, a hundred and fifty years later, 'shook his head at 'Murray as a wit;'—to know that the most profound thinker, and the most accomplished orator of the age, was very imperfectly acquainted with the law touching *bastard eigné* and *mulier puisné*, and confounded the right of free fishery with that of common of piscary.

It is certain that no man in that age, or indeed during the century and a half which followed, was better acquainted with the philosophy of law. His technical knowledge was quite sufficient, with the help of his admirable talents, and his insinuating address, to procure clients. He rose very rapidly into business, and soon entertained hopes of being called within the bar. He applied to Lord Burleigh for that purpose, but received a testy refusal. Of the grounds of that refusal we can, in some measure, judge by Bacon's answer, which is still extant. It seems that the old Lord, whose temper, age and gout had by no means altered for the better, and who omitted no opportunity of marking his dislike of the showy, quick-witted young men of the rising generation, took this opportunity to read Francis a very sharp lecture on his vanity, and want of respect for his betters. Francis returned a most submissive reply, thanked the Treasurer for the admonition, and promised to profit by it. Strangers mean-while were less unjust to the young barrister than his nearest kinsmen had been. In his twenty-sixth year he became a bencher of his

Digitized by Google

Inn; and two years later he was appointed Lent reader. At length, in 1590, he obtained for the first time some show of favour from the Court. He was sworn in Queen's Counsel extraordinary. But this mark of honour was not accompanied by any pecuniary emolument. He continued, therefore, to solicit his powerful relatives for some provision which might enable him to live without drudging at his profession. He bore with a patience and serenity which, we fear, bordered on meanness, the morose humours of his uncle, and the sneering reflections which his cousin cast on speculative men, lost in philosophical dreams, and too wise to be capable of transacting public business. At length the Cecils were generous enough to procure for him the reversion of the Registrarship of the Star Chamber. This was a lucrative place; but as many years elapsed before it fell in, he was still under the necessity of labouring for his daily bread.

In the Parliament which was called in 1593 he sat as member for the county of Middlesex, and soon attained eminence as a debater. It is easy to perceive from the scanty remains of his oratory, that the same compactness of expression and richness of fancy which appear in his writings characterised his speeches; and that his extensive acquaintance with literature and history enabled him to entertain his audience with a vast variety of illustrations and allusions which were generally happy and apposite, but which were probably not least pleasing to the taste of that age when they were such as would now be thought childish or pedantic. It is evident also that he was, as indeed might have been expected, perfectly free from those faults which are generally found in an advocate who, after having risen to eminence at the bar, enters the House of Commons; that it was his habit to deal with every great question, not in small detached portions, but as a whole; that he refined little, and that his reasonings were those of a capacious rather than a subtle mind. Ben Jonson, a most unexceptionable judge, has described his eloquence in words, which, though often quoted, will bear to be quoted again. 'There happened in my time one noble speaker who 'was full of gravity in his speaking. His language, where he 'could spare or pass by a jest, was nobly censorious. No man 'ever spoke more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, or suf-'fered less emptiness, less idleness, in what he uttered. No mem-'ber of his speech but consisted of his own graces. His hearers 'could not cough or look aside from him without loss. He com-'manded where he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at 'his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. 'The fear of every man that heard him was lest he should make 'an end.' From the mention which is made of *judges*, it would

Digitized by Google

seem that Jonson had heard Bacon only at the bar. Indeed we imagine that the House of Commons was then almost inaccessible to strangers. It is not probable that a man of Bacon's nice observation would speak in Parliament exactly as he spoke in the Court of King's Bench. But the graces of manner and language, must to a great extent, have been common between the Queen's Counsel and the Knight of the Shire.

Bacon tried to play a very difficult game in politics. He wished to be at once a favourite at Court and popular with the multitude. If any man could have succeeded in this attempt, a man of talents so rare, of judgment so prematurely ripe, of temper so calm, and of manners so plausible, might have been expected to succeed. Nor indeed did he wholly fail. Once, however, he indulged in a burst of patriotism which cost him a long and bitter remorse, and which he never ventured to repeat. The Court asked for large subsidies, and for speedy payment. The remains of Bacon's speech breathe all the spirit of the Long Parliament. 'The gentlemen,' said he, 'must sell their plate, and the farmers 'their brass pots, ere this will be paid; and for us, we are here to 'search the wounds of the realm, and not to skin them over. The 'dangers are these. First, we shall breed discontent and endanger 'her Majesty's safety, which must consist more in the love of the 'people than their wealth. Secondly, this being granted in this 'sort, other princes hereafter will look for the like; so that we shall 'put an evil precedent on ourselves and our posterity; and in his-'tories, it is to be observed, of all nations the English are not to 'be subject, base, or taxable.' The Queen and her ministers resented this outbreak of public spirit in the highest manner. Indeed, many an honest member of the House of Commons had, for a much smaller matter, been sent to the Tower by the proud and hot-blooded Tudors. The young patriot condescended to make the most abject apologies. He adjured the Lord Treasurer to show some favour to his poor servant and ally. He bemoaned himself to the Lord Keeper, in a letter which may keep in countenance the most unmanly of the epistles which Cicero wrote during his banishment. The lesson was not thrown away. Bacon never offended in the same manner again.

He was now satisfied that he had little to hope from the patronage of those powerful kinsmen whom he had solicited during twelve years with such meek pertinacity; and he began to look towards a different quarter. Among the courtiers of Elizabeth had lately appeared a new favourite,—young, noble, wealthy, accomplished, eloquent, brave, generous, aspiring,—a favourite who had obtained from the grey-headed queen such marks of regard

Digitized by Google

as she had scarce vouchsafed to Leicester in the season of the passions; who was at once the ornament of the palace and the idol of the city; who was the common patron of men of letters and of men of the sword; who was the common refuge of the persecuted Catholic and of the persecuted Puritan. The calm prudence which had enabled Burleigh to shape his course through so many dangers, and the vast experience which he had acquired in dealing with two generations of colleagues and rivals, seemed scarcely sufficient to support him in this new competition; and Robert Cecil sickened with fear and envy as he contemplated the rising fame and influence of Essex.

The history of the factions which, towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, divided her court and her council, though pregnant with instruction, is by no means interesting or pleasing. Both parties employed the means which are familiar to unscrupulous statesmen; and neither had, or even pretended to have, any important end in view. The public mind was then reposing from one great effort, and collecting strength for another. That impetuous and appalling rush with which the human intellect had moved forward in the career of truth and liberty, during the fifty years which followed the separation of Luther from the communion of the Church of Rome, was now over. The boundary between Protestantism and Popery had been fixed very nearly where it still remains. England, Scotland, the Northern kingdoms were on one side; Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, on the other. The line of demarcation ran, as it still runs, through the midst of the Netherlands, of Germany, and of Switzerland,—dividing province from province, electorate from electorate, and canton from canton. France might be considered as a debateable land, in which the contest was still undecided. Since that time, the two religions have done little more than maintain their ground. A few occasional incursions have been made. But the general frontier remains the same. During two hundred and fifty years no great society has risen up like one man, and emancipated itself by one mighty effort from the enthralling superstition of ages. This spectacle was common in the middle of the sixteenth century. Why has it ceased to be so? Why has so violent a movement been followed by so long a repose? The doctrines of the Reformers are not less agreeable to reason or to revelation now than formerly. The public mind is assuredly not less enlightened now than formerly. Why is it that Protestantism, after carrying every thing before it in a time of comparatively little knowledge and little freedom, should make no perceptible progress in a reasoning and tolerant age;—that the Luthers, the Calvins, the Knoxes, the Zwingles, should have left no successors,—that during two

Digitized by Google

centuries and a half fewer converts should have been brought over from the Church of Rome than at the time of the Reformation were sometimes gained in a year? This has always appeared to us one of the most curious and interesting problems in history. On some other occasion we may perhaps attempt to solve it. At present, it is enough to say, that at the close of Elizabeth's reign, the Protestant party,—to borrow the language of the Apocalypse,—had left its first love and had ceased to do its first works.

The great struggle of the sixteenth century was over. The great struggle of the seventeenth century had not commenced. The confessors of Mary's reign were dead. The members of the Long Parliament were still in their cradles. The Papists had been deprived of all power in the state. The Puritans had not yet attained any formidable extent of power. True it is, that a student well acquainted with the history of the next generation, can easily discern in the proceedings of the last Parliaments of Elizabeth the germ of great and ever-memorable events. But to the eye of a contemporary nothing of this appeared. The two sections of ambitious men who were struggling for power differed from each other on no important public question. Both belonged to the Established Church. Both professed boundless loyalty to the Queen. Both approved the war with Spain. There is not, as far as we are aware, any reason to believe that they entertained different views concerning the succession to the Crown. Certainly, neither faction had any great measure of reform in view. Neither attempted to redress any public grievance. The most odious and pernicious grievance under which the nation then suffered was a source of profit to both, and was defended by both with equal zeal. Raleigh held a monopoly of cards,—Essex a monopoly of sweet wines. In fact, the only ground of quarrel between the parties was, that they could not agree as to their respective shares of power and patronage.

Nothing in the political conduct of Essex entitles him to esteem; and the pity with which we regard his early and terrible end is diminished by the consideration, that he put to hazard the lives and fortunes of his most attached friends, and endeavoured to throw the whole country into confusion for objects purely personal. Still, it is impossible not to be deeply interested for a man so brave, high-spirited, and generous;—for a man who, while he conducted himself towards his sovereign with a boldness such as was then found in no other subject, conducted himself towards his dependents with a delicacy such as has rarely been found in any other patron. Unlike the vulgar herd of benefactors, he desired to inspire, not gratitude, but affection. He tried to make those whom he befriended feel towards him as towards

Digitized by Google

an equal. His mind, ardent, susceptible, naturally disposed to admiration of all that is great and beautiful, was fascinated by the genius and the accomplishments of Bacon. A close friendship was soon formed between them,—a friendship destined to have a dark, a mournful, a shameful end.

In 1594 the office of Attorney-General became vacant, and Bacon hoped to obtain it. Essex made his friend's cause his own,—sued, expostulated, promised, threatened,—but all in vain. It is probable that the dislike felt by the Cecils for Bacon had been increased by the connexion which he had lately formed with the Earl. Robert was then on the point of being made Secretary of State. He happened one day to be in the same coach with Essex, and a remarkable conversation took place between them. 'My Lord,' said Sir Robert, 'the Queen has deter-'mined to appoint an Attorney-General without more delay. I 'pray your Lordship to let me know whom you will favour.' 'I wonder at your question,' replied the Earl. 'You cannot 'but know that resolutely, against all the world, I stand for your 'cousin, Francis Bacon.' 'Good Lord!' cried Cecil, unable to bridle his temper, 'I wonder your Lordship should spend your 'strength on so unlikely a matter. Can you name one precedent 'of so raw a youth promoted to so great a place?' This objection came with a singularly bad grace from a man who, though younger than Bacon, was in daily expectation of being made Secretary of State. The blot was too obvious to be missed by Essex, who seldom forbore to speak his mind. 'I have made 'no search,' said he, 'for precedents of young men who have 'filled the office of Attorney-General. But I could name to you, 'Sir Robert, a man younger than Francis, less learned, and equally 'inexperienced, who is suing and striving with all his might for an 'office of far greater weight.' Sir Robert had nothing to say but that he thought his own abilities equal to the place which he hoped to obtain; and that his father's long services deserved such a mark of gratitude from the Queen,—as if his abilities were comparable to his cousin's, or as if Sir Nicholas Bacon had done no service to the State. Cecil then hinted that if Bacon would be satisfied with the Solicitorship, that might be of easier digestion to the Queen. 'Digest me no digestions,' said the generous and ardent Earl. 'The Attorneyship for Francis is that I 'must have; and in that I will spend all my power, might, autho-'rity, and amity; and with tooth and nail procure the same for 'him against whomsoever; and whosoever getteth this office out 'of my hands for any other, before he have it, it shall cost him the 'coming by. And this be you assured of, Sir Robert, for now I 'fully declare myself; and for my own part, Sir Robert, I think

Digitized by Google

'strange both of my Lord Treasurer and you, that can have the 'mind to seek the preference of a stranger before so near a kins-'man; for if you weigh in a balance the parts every way of his 'competitor and him, only excepting five poor years of admitting 'to a house of court before Francis, you shall find in all other re-'spects whatsoever no comparison between them.'

When the office of Attorney-General was filled up, the Earl pressed the Queen to make Bacon Solicitor-General, and, on this occasion, the old Lord Treasurer professed himself not unfavourable to his nephew's pretensions. But after a contest which lasted more than a year and a half, and in which Essex, to use his own words, 'spent all his power, might, authority, and 'amity,' the place was given to another. Essex felt this disappointment keenly, but found consolation in the most munificent and delicate liberality. He presented Bacon with an estate, worth near two thousand pounds, situated at Twickenham; and this, as Bacon owned many years after, 'with so kind and 'noble circumstances as the manner was worth more than the 'matter.'

It was soon after these events that Bacon first appeared before the public as a writer. Early in 1597 he published a small volume of Essays, which was afterwards enlarged by successive editions to many times its original bulk. This little work was, as it well deserved to be, exceedingly popular. It was reprinted in a few months; it was translated into Latin, French, and Italian; and it seems to have at once established the literary reputation of its author. But though Bacon's reputation rose, his fortunes were still depressed. He was in great pecuniary difficulties; and, on one occasion was arrested in the street at the suit of a goldsmith, for a debt of L.300, and was carried to a spunging-house in Coleman Street.

The kindness of Essex was in the mean-time indefatigable. In 1596 he sailed on his memorable expedition to the coast of Spain. At the very moment of his embarkation, he wrote to several of his friends, commending to them, during his own absence, the interests of Bacon. He returned, after performing the most brilliant military exploit that was achieved on the Continent by English arms during the long interval which elapsed between the battle of Agincourt and that of Blenheim. His valour, his talents, his humane and generous disposition, had made him the idol of his countrymen, and had extorted praise from the enemies whom he had conquered.* He had always

* See Cervantes's *Novela de la Espanola Inglesa.*

Digitized by Google

been proud and headstrong; and his splendid success seems to have rendered his faults more offensive than ever. But to his friend Francis he was still the same. Bacon had some thoughts of making his fortune by marriage; and had begun to pay court to a widow of the name of Hatton. The eccentric manners and violent temper of this woman made her a disgrace and a torment to her connexions. But Bacon was not aware of her faults, or was disposed to overlook them for the sake of her ample fortune. Essex pleaded his friend's cause with his usual ardour. The letters which the Earl addressed to Lady Hatton and to her mother are still extant, and are highly honourable to him. 'If,' he wrote, 'she were my sister or my daughter, I protest I would as confidently resolve to further it as I now persuade you.' And again—'If my faith be any thing, I protest, if I had one as near me as she is to you, I had rather match her with him, than with men of far greater titles.' The suit, happily for Bacon, was unsuccessful. The lady indeed was kind to him in more ways than one. She rejected him, and she accepted his enemy. She married that narrow-minded, bad-hearted pedant, Sir Edward Coke, and did her best to make him as miserable as he deserved to be.

The fortunes of Essex had now reached their height, and began to decline. He possessed indeed all the qualities which raise men to greatness rapidly. But he had neither the virtues nor the vices which enable men to retain greatness long. His frankness, his keen sensibility to insult and injustice, were by no means agreeable to a sovereign naturally impatient of opposition, and accustomed, during forty years, to the most extravagant flattery, and the most abject submission. The daring and contemptuous manner in which he bade defiance to his enemies excited their deadly hatred. His administration in Ireland was unfortunate, and in many respects highly blameable. Though his brilliant courage, and his impetuous activity, fitted him admirably for such enterprises as that of Cadiz, he did not possess the caution, patience, and resolution necessary for the conduct of a protracted war;—in which difficulties were to be gradually surmounted, in which much discomfort was to be endured, and in which few splendid exploits could be achieved. For the civil duties of his high place he was still less qualified. Though eloquent and accomplished, he was in no sense a statesman. The multitude indeed still continued to regard even his faults with fondness. But the Court had ceased to give him credit, even for the merit which he really possessed. The person on whom, during the decline of his influence, he chiefly depended,—to whom he confided his perplexities, whose advice he solicited, whose inter-

Digitized by Google

cession he employed,—was his friend Bacon. The lamentable truth must be told. This friend, so loved, so trusted, bore a principal part in ruining the Earl's fortunes, in shedding his blood, and in blackening his memory.

But let us be just to Bacon. We believe that, to the last, he had no wish to injure Essex. Nay, we believe that he sincerely exerted himself to serve Essex, as long as he thought that he could serve Essex without injuring himself. The advice which he gave to his noble benefactor was generally most judicious. He did all in his power to dissuade the Earl from accepting the Government of Ireland. 'For,' says he, 'I did as plainly see 'his overthrow, chained as it were by destiny to that journey, as it 'is possible for a man to ground a judgment upon future contin-'gents.' The prediction was accomplished. Essex returned in disgrace. Bacon attempted to mediate between his friend and the Queen; and, we believe, honestly employed all his address for that purpose. But the task which he had undertaken was too difficult, delicate, and perilous, even for so wary and dexterous an agent. He had to manage two spirits equally proud, resentful, and ungovernable. At Essex House, he had to calm the rage of a young hero incensed by multiplied wrongs and humiliations; and then to pass to Whitehall for the purpose of soothing the peevishness of a sovereign, whose temper, never very gentle, had been rendered morbidly irritable by age, by declining health, and by the long habit of listening to flattery and exacting implicit obedience. It is hard to serve two masters. Situated as Bacon was, it was scarcely possible for him to shape his course so as not to give one or both of his employers reason to complain. For a time he acted as fairly as, in circumstances so embarrassing, could reasonably be expected. At length, he found that while he was trying to prop the fortunes of another he was in danger of shaking his own. He had disobliged both the parties whom he wished to reconcile. Essex thought him wanting in zeal as a friend—Elizabeth thought him wanting in duty as a subject. The Earl looked on him as a spy of the Queen—the Queen as a creature of the Earl. The reconciliation which he had laboured to effect appeared utterly hopeless. A thousand signs, legible to eyes far less keen than his, announced that the fall of his patron was at hand. He shaped his course accordingly. When Essex was brought before the council to answer for his conduct in Ireland, Bacon, after a faint attempt to excuse himself from taking part against his friend, submitted himself to the Queen's pleasure, and appeared at the bar in support of the charges. But a darker scene was behind. The unhappy young nobleman, made reckless by despair, ventured on a rash and cri-

Digitized by Google

minal enterprise, which rendered him liable to the highest penalties of the law. What course was Bacon to take? This was one of those conjunctures which show what men are. To a high-minded man, wealth, power, court-favour, even personal safety, would have appeared of no account, when opposed to friendship, gratitude, and honour. Such a man would have stood by the side of Essex at the trial,—would have 'spent all his power, 'might, authority, and amity' in soliciting a mitigation of the sentence,—would have been a daily visitor at the cell,—would have received the last injunctions and the last embrace on the scaffold,—would have employed all the powers of his intellect to guard from insult the fame of his generous, though erring friend. An ordinary man would neither have incurred the danger of succouring Essex, nor the disgrace of assailing him. Bacon did not even preserve neutrality. He appeared as counsel for the prosecution. In that situation, he did not confine himself to what would have been amply sufficient to procure a verdict. He employed all his wit, his rhetoric, and his learning,—not to ensure a conviction, for the circumstances were such that a conviction was inevitable,—but to deprive the unhappy prisoner of all those excuses which, though legally of no value, yet tended to diminish the moral guilt of the crime; and which, therefore, though they could not justify the peers in pronouncing an acquittal, might incline the Queen to grant a pardon. The Earl urged as a palliation of his frantic acts, that he was surrounded by powerful and inveterate enemies, that they had ruined his fortunes, that they sought his life, and that their persecutions had driven him to despair. This was true, and Bacon well knew it to be true. But he affected to treat it as an idle pretence. He compared Essex to Pisistratus, who, by pretending to be in imminent danger of assassination, and by exhibiting self-inflicted wounds, succeeded in establishing tyranny at Athens. This was too much for the prisoner to bear. He interrupted his ungrateful friend, by calling on him to quit the part of an advocate,—to come forward as a witness, and tell the Lords whether, in old times, he, Francis Bacon, had not under his own hand, repeatedly asserted the truth of what he now represented as idle pretexts. It is painful to go on with this lamentable story. Bacon returned a shuffling answer to the Earl's question; and, as if the allusion to Pisistratus were not sufficiently offensive, made another allusion still more unjustifiable. He compared Essex to Henry Duke of Guise, and the rash attempt in the city, to the day of the barricades at Paris. Why Bacon had recourse to such a topic it is difficult to say. It was quite unnecessary for the purpose of obtaining a verdict. It was certain to produce a strong impression on the mind of the

Digitized by Google

haughty and jealous princess on whose pleasure the Earl's fate depended. The faintest allusion to the degrading tutelage in which the last Valois had been held by the house of Lorraine, was sufficient to harden her heart against a man who in rank, in military reputation, in popularity among the citizens of the capital, bore some resemblance to the Captain of the League. Essex was convicted. Bacon made no effort to save him, though the Queen's feelings were such that he might have pleaded his benefactor's cause, possibly with success, certainly without any serious danger to himself. The unhappy nobleman was executed. His fate excited strong, perhaps unreasonable feelings of compassion and indignation. The Queen was received by the citizens of London with gloomy looks and faint acclamations. She thought it expedient to publish a vindication of her late proceedings. The faithless friend who had assisted in taking the Earl's life was now employed to murder the Earl's fame. The Queen had seen some of Bacon's writings, and had been pleased with them. He was accordingly selected to write 'A Declaration of 'the practices and treasons attempted and committed by Robert 'Earl of Essex,' which was printed by authority. In the succeeding reign, Bacon had not a word to say in defence of this performance—a performance abounding in expressions which no generous enemy would have employed respecting a man who had so dearly expiated his offences. His only excuse was, that he wrote it by command,—that he considered himself as a mere secretary,—that he had particular instructions as to the way in which he was to treat every part of the subject,—and that, in fact, he had furnished only the arrangement and the style.

We regret to say, that the whole conduct of Bacon through the course of these transactions appears to Mr Montagu not merely excusable, but deserving of high admiration. The integrity and benevolence of this gentleman are so well known, that our readers will probably be at a loss to conceive by what steps he can have arrived at so extraordinary a conclusion; and we are half afraid that they will suspect us of practising some artifice upon them when we report the principal arguments which he employs.

In order to get rid of the charge of ingratitude, Mr Montagu attempts to show, that Bacon lay under greater obligations to the Queen than to Essex. What these obligations were it is not easy to discover. The situation of Queen's Counsel, and a remote reversion, were surely favours very far below Bacon's personal and hereditary claims. They were favours which had not cost the Queen a groat, nor had they put a groat into Bacon's purse. It was necessary to rest Elizabeth's claims to gratitude on some other ground; and this Mr Montagu felt. 'What perhaps was

Digitized by Google

'her greatest kindness,' says he,' instead of having hastily advan-
'ced Bacon, she had, with a continuance of her friendship, made
'him bear the yoke in his youth. Such were his obligations to
'Elizabeth.' Such indeed they were. Being the son of one of her oldest and most faithful ministers—being himself the ablest and most accomplished young man of his time—he had been condemned by her to drudgery, to obscurity, to poverty. She had depreciated his acquirements. She had checked him in the most imperious manner, when in Parliament he ventured to act an independent part. She had refused to him the professional advancement to which he had a just claim. To her it was owing that while younger men,—not superior to him in extraction, and far inferior to him in every kind of personal merit,—were filling the highest offices of the state, adding manor to manor, rearing palace after palace, he was lying at a spunging-house for a debt of three hundred pounds. Assuredly if Bacon owed gratitude to Elizabeth, he owed none to Essex. If the Queen really was his best friend, the Earl was his worst enemy. We wonder that Mr Montagu did not press this argument a little further. He might have maintained, that Bacon was fully justified in revenging himself on a man who had attempted to rescue his youth from the salutary yoke imposed on it by the Queen,—who had wished to advance him hastily,—who, not content with attempting to inflict the Attorney-Generalship upon him, had been so cruel as to present him with a landed estate.

Again, we can hardly think Mr Montagu serious when he tells us, that Bacon was bound for the sake of the public not to destroy his own hopes of advancement; and that he took part against Essex from a wish to obtain power which might enable him to be useful to his country. We really do not know how to refute such arguments except by stating them. Nothing is impossible which does not involve a contradiction. It is barely possible that Bacon's motives for acting as he did on this occasion may have been gratitude to the Queen for keeping him poor; and a desire to benefit his fellow-creatures in some high situation. And there is a possibility that Bonner may have been a good Protestant, who, being convinced that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church, heroically went through all the drudgery and infamy of perseeution that he might inspire the English people with an intense and lasting hatred of Popery. There is a possibility that Jeffries may have been an ardent lover of liberty, and that he may have beheaded Algernon Sydney, and burned Elizabeth Gaunt, only in order to produce a reaction which might lead to the limitation of the prerogative. There is a possibility that Thurtell may have killed Weare, only in order to give the youth of England

Digitized by Google

an impressive warning against gaming and bad company. There is a possibility that Fauntleroy may have forged powers of attorney, only in order that his fate might turn the attention of the public to the defects of the penal law. These things, we say, are possible. But they are so extravagantly improbable, that a man who should act on such suppositions would be fit only for Saint Luke's. And we do not see why suppositions on which no rational man would act in ordinary life should be admitted into history.

Mr Montagu's notion that Bacon desired power only in order to do good to mankind, appears somewhat strange to us, when we consider how Bacon afterwards used power, and how he lost it. Surely the service which he rendered to mankind by taking Lady Wharton's broad pieces, and Sir John Kennedy's cabinet, was not of such vast importance as to sanctify all the means which might conduce to that end. If the case were fairly stated, it would, we much fear, stand thus:—Bacon was a servile advocate, that he might be a corrupt judge.

Mr Montagu conceives that none but the ignorant and unreflecting can think Bacon censurable for any thing that he did as counsel for the Crown; and maintains that no advocate can justifiably use any discretion as to the party for whom he appears. We will not at present enquire whether the doctrine which is held on this subject, by English lawyers, be or be not agreeable to reason and morality;—whether it be right that a man should, with a wig on his head, and a band round his neck, do for a guinea what, without those appendages, he would think it wicked and infamous to do for an empire;—whether it be right that, not merely believing but knowing a statement to be true, he should do all that can be done by sophistry, by rhetoric, by solemn asseveration, by indignant exclamation, by gesture, by play of features, by terrifying one honest witness, by perplexing another, to cause a jury to think that statement false. It is not necessary on the present occasion to decide these questions. The professional rules, be they good or bad, are rules to which many wise and virtuous men have conformed, and are daily conforming. If, therefore, Bacon did no more than these rules required of him, we shall readily admit that he was blameless. But we conceive that his conduct was not justifiable according to any professional rules that now exist or that ever existed in England. It has always been held, that in criminal cases, in which the prisoner was denied the help of counsel, and, above all, in capital cases, the advocate for the prosecution was both entitled, and bound, to exercise a discretion. It is true that, after the Revolution, when the Parliament began to make inquisition for the innocent blood which had been shed by

Digitized by Google

the last Stuarts, a feeble attempt was made to defend the lawyers who had been accomplices in the murder of Sir Thomas Armstrong, on the ground that they had only acted professionally. The wretched sophism was silenced by the execrations of the House of Commons. 'Things will never be well done,' said Mr Foley, 'till some of that profession be made examples.' 'We have a new sort of monsters in the world,' said the younger Hampden, 'haranguing a man to death. These I call blood-'hounds. Sawyer is very criminal and guilty of this murder.' 'I speak to discharge my conscience,' said Mr Garroway. 'I 'will not have the blood of this man at my door. Sawyer demand-'ed judgment against him and execution. I believe him guilty 'of the death of this man. Do what you will with him.' 'If 'the profession of the law,' said the elder Hampden, 'gives a man 'authority to murder at this rate, it is the interest of all men to 'rise and exterminate that profession.' Nor was this language held only by unlearned country gentlemen. Sir William Williams, one of the ablest and most unscrupulous lawyers of the age, took the same view of the case. He had not hesitated, he said, to take part in the prosecution of the Bishops, because they were allowed counsel. But he maintained, that where the prisoner was not allowed counsel, the Counsel for the Crown was bound to exercise a discretion; and that every lawyer who neglected this distinction was a betrayer of the law. But it is unnecessary to cite authority. It is known to every body who has ever looked into a court of quarter-sessions, that lawyers do exercise a discretion in criminal cases; and it is plain to every man of common sense, that if they did not exercise such a discretion, they would be a more hateful body of men than those bravos who used to hire out their stilettoes in Italy.

Bacon appeared against a man who was indeed guilty of a great offence, but who had been his benefactor and friend. He did more than this. Nay, he did more than a person who had never seen Essex would have been justified in doing. He employed all the art of an advocate in order to make the prisoner's conduct appear more inexcusable, and more dangerous to the state, than it really had been. All that professional duty could, in any case, have required of him, would have been to conduct the cause so as to ensure a conviction. But from the nature of the circumstances there could not be the smallest doubt that the Earl would be found guilty. The character of the crime was unequivocal. It had been committed recently—in broad day-light—in the streets of the capital—in the presence of thousands. If ever there was an occasion on which an advocate had no temptation to resort to extraneous topics for the purpose of blinding the judgment, and

Digitized by Google

inflaming the passions of a tribunal, this was that occasion. Why then resort to arguments which, while they could add nothing to the strength of the case, considered in a legal point of view, tended to aggravate the moral guilt of the fatal enterprise, and to excite fear and resentment in that quarter from which alone the Earl could now expect mercy? Why remind the audience of the arts of the ancient tyrants? Why deny, what every body knew to be the truth, that a powerful faction at court had long sought to effect the ruin of the prisoner? Why, above all, institute a parallel between the unhappy culprit and the most wicked and most successful rebel of the age? Was it absolutely impossible to do all that professional duty required without reminding a jealous sovereign of the League, of the barricades, and of all the humiliations which a too powerful subject had heaped on Henry the Third?

But if we admit the plea which Mr Montagu urges in defence of what Bacon did as an advocate, what shall we say of the 'Declaration of the Treasons of Robert Earl of Essex?' Here at least there was no pretence of professional obligation. Even those who may think it the duty of a lawyer to hang, draw, and quarter his benefactors, for a proper consideration, will hardly say that it is his duty to write abusive pamphlets against them, after they are in their graves. Bacon excused himself by saying that he was not answerable for the matter of the book, and that he furnished only the language. But why did he endow such purposes with words? Could no hack-writer, without virtue or shame, be found to exaggerate the errors, already so dearly expiated, of a gentle and noble spirit? Every age produces those links between the man and the baboon. Every age is fertile of Concanens, of Gildons, and of Antony Pasquins. But was it for Bacon so to prostitute his intellect? Could he not feel that while he rounded and pointed some period dictated by the envy of Cecil, or gave a plausible form to some slander invented by the dastardly malignity of Cobham, he was not sinning merely against his friend's honour and his own? Could he not feel that letters, eloquence, philosophy, were all degraded in his degradation?

The real explanation of all this is perfectly obvious; and nothing but a partiality amounting to a ruling passion could cause any body to miss it. The moral qualities of Bacon were not of a high order. We do not say that he was a bad man. He was not inhuman or tyrannical. He bore with meekness his high civil honours, and the far higher honours gained by his intellect. He was very seldom, if ever, provoked into treating any person with malignity and insolence. No man more readily held up the

Digitized by Google

left cheek to those who had smitten the right. No man was more expert at the soft answer which turneth away wrath. He was never accused of intemperance in his pleasures. His even temper, his flowing courtesy, the general respectability of his demeanour, made a favourable impression on those who saw him in situations which do not severely try the principles. His faults were—we write it with pain—coldness of heart, and meanness of spirit. He seems to have been incapable of feeling strong affection, of facing great dangers, of making great sacrifices. His desires were set on things below. Wealth, precedence, titles, patronage,—the mace, the seals, the coronet,—large houses, fair gardens, rich manors, massy services of plate, gay hangings, curious cabinets,—had as great attractions for him as for any of the courtiers who dropped on their knees in the dirt when Elizabeth passed by, and then hastened home to write to the King of Scots that her Grace seemed to be breaking fast. For these objects he had stooped to every thing and endured every thing. For these he had sued in the humblest manner, and when unjustly and ungraciously repulsed, had thanked those who had repulsed him, and had begun to sue again. For these objects, as soon as he found that the smallest show of independence in Parliament was offensive to the Queen, he had abased himself to the dust before her, and implored forgiveness, in terms better suited to a convicted thief than to a knight of the shire. For these he joined, and for these he forsook Lord Essex. He continued to plead his patron's cause with the Queen as long as he thought that by pleading that cause he might serve himself. Nay—he went further—for his feelings, though not warm, were kind—he pleaded that cause as long as he thought that he could plead it without injury to himself. But when it became evident that Essex was going headlong to his ruin, Bacon began to tremble for his own fortunes. What he had to fear would not indeed have been very alarming to a man of lofty character. It was not death. It was not imprisonment. It was the loss of court-favour. It was the being left behind by others in the career of ambition. It was the having leisure to finish the *Instauratio Magna*. The Queen looked coldly on him. The courtiers began to consider him as a marked man. He determined to change his line of conduct, and to proceed in a new course with so much vigour as to make up for lost time. When once he had determined to act against his friend, knowing himself to be suspected, he acted with more zeal than would have been necessary or justifiable if he had been employed against a stranger. He exerted his professional talents to shed the Earl's blood, and his literary talents to blacken the Earl's

Digitized by Google

memory. It is certain that his conduct excited at the time great and general disapprobation. While Elizabeth lived, indeed, this disapprobation, though deeply felt, was not loudly expressed. But a great change was at hand.

The health of the Queen had long been decaying; and the operation of age and disease was now assisted by acute mental suffering. The pitiable melancholy of her last days has generally been ascribed to her fond regret for Essex. But we are disposed to attribute her dejection partly to physical causes, and partly to the conduct of her courtiers and ministers. They did all in their power to conceal from her the intrigues which they were carrying on at the Court of Scotland. But her keen sagacity was not to be so deceived. She did not know the whole. But she knew that she was surrounded by men who were impatient for that new world which was to begin at her death,—who had never been attached to her by affection,—and who were now but very slightly attached to her by interest. Prostration and flattery could not conceal from her the cruel truth, that those whom she had trusted and promoted had never loved her, and were fast ceasing to fear her. Unable to avenge herself, and too proud to complain, she suffered sorrow and resentment to prey on her heart, till, after a long career of power, prosperity and glory, she died sick and weary of the world.

James mounted the throne; and Bacon employed all his address to obtain for himself a share of the favour of his new master. This was no difficult task. The faults of James, both as a man and as a prince, were numerous; but insensibility to the claims of genius and learning was not amongst them. He was indeed made up of two men,—a witty, well-read scholar, who wrote, disputed, and harangued,—and a nervous drivelling idiot, who acted. If he had been a Canon of Christ Church, or a Prebendary of Westminster, it is not improbable that he would have left a highly respectable name to posterity,—that he would have distinguished himself among the translators of the Bible, and among the Divines who attended the Synod of Dort,—that he would have been regarded by the literary world as no contemptible rival of Vossius and Casaubon. But fortune placed him in a situation in which his weaknesses covered him with disgrace; and in which his accomplishments brought him no honour. In a college, much eccentricity and childishness would have been readily pardoned in so learned a man. But all that learning could do for him on the throne, was to make people think him a pedant as well as a fool.

Bacon was favourably received at Court; and soon found that his chance of promotion was not diminished by the death of the

Digitized by Google

Queen. He was solicitous to be knighted—for two reasons; which are somewhat amusing. The King had already dubbed half London, and Bacon found himself the only untitled person in his mess at Gray's Inn. This was not very agreeable to him. He had also, to quote his own words, 'found an Alderman's daugh-'ter, a handsome maiden, to his liking.' On both these grounds, he begged his cousin Robert Cecil, 'if it might please his good 'Lordship' to use his interest in his behalf. The application was successful. Bacon was one of three hundred gentlemen who, on the coronation-day, received the honour, if it is to be so called, of knighthood. The handsome maiden, a daughter of Alderman Barnham, soon after consented to become Sir Francis's lady.

The death of Elizabeth, though on the whole it improved Bacon's prospects, was in one respect an unfortunate event for him. The new King had always felt kindly towards Lord Essex, who had been zealous for the Scotch succession; and, as soon as he came to the throne, began to show favour to the house of Devereux, and to those who had stood by that house in its adversity. Every body was now at liberty to speak out respecting those lamentable events in which Bacon had borne so large a share. Elizabeth was scarcely cold when the public feeling began to manifest itself by marks of respect towards Lord Southampton. That accomplished nobleman, who will be remembered to the latest ages as the generous and discerning patron of Shakspeare, was held in honour by his contemporaries, chiefly on account of the devoted affection which he had borne to Essex. He had been tried and convicted together with his friend; but the Queen had spared his life, and, at the time of her death, he was still a prisoner. A crowd of visitors hastened to the Tower to congratulate him on his approaching deliverance. With that crowd Bacon could not venture to mingle. The multitude loudly condemned him; and his conscience told him that the multitude had but too much reason. He excused himself to Southampton by letter, in terms which, if he had, as Mr Montagu conceives, done only what as a subject and an advocate he was bound to do, must be considered as shamefully servile. He owns his fear that his attendance would give offence, and that his professions of regard would obtain no credit. 'Yet,' says he, 'it is as true as a thing that God 'knoweth, that this great change hath wrought in me no other 'change towards your Lordship than this, that I may safely be that 'to you now which I was truly before.'

How Southampton received these apologies we are not informed. But it is certain that the general opinion was pronounced against Bacon in a manner not to be misunderstood. Soon after his marriage he put forth a defence of his conduct, in the form of a Letter

Digitized by Google

to the Earl of Devon. This track seems to us to prove only the exceeding badness of a cause for which such talents could do so little.

It is not probable that Bacon's Defence had much effect on his contemporaries. But the unfavourable impression which his conduct had made appears to have been gradually effaced. Indeed it must be some very peculiar cause that can make a man like him long unpopular. His talents secured him from contempt, his temper and his manners from hatred. There is scarcely any story so black that it may not be got over by a man of great abilities, whose abilities are united with caution, good-humour, patience, and affability,—who pays daily sacrifice to Nemesis, who is a delightful companion, a serviceable though not an ardent friend, and a dangerous yet a placable enemy. Waller in the next generation was an eminent instance of this. Indeed Waller had much more than may at first sight appear in common with Bacon. To the higher intellectual qualities of the great English philosopher,—to the genius which has made an immortal epoch in the history of science,—Waller had indeed no pretensions. But the mind of Waller, as far as it extended, coincided with that of Bacon, and might, so to speak, have been cut out of that of Bacon. In the qualities which make a man an object of interest and veneration to posterity, there was no comparison between them. But in the qualities by which chiefly a man is known to his contemporaries there was a striking similarity. Considered as men of the world, as courtiers, as politicians, as associates, as allies, as enemies, they had nearly the same merits and the same defects. They were not malignant. They were not tyrannical. But they wanted warmth of affection and elevation of sentiment. There were many things which they loved better than virtue, and which they feared more than guilt. Yet after they had stooped to acts of which it is impossible to read the account in the most partial narratives without strong disapprobation and contempt, the public still continued to regard them with a feeling not easily to be distinguished from esteem. The hyperbole of Juliet seemed to be verified with respect to them. 'Upon their brows shame was 'ashamed to sit.' Every body seemed as desirous to throw a veil over their misconduct as if it had been his own. Clarendon, who felt, and who had reason to feel, strong personal dislike towards Waller, speaks of him thus:—'There needs no more to be said 'to extol the excellence and power of his wit and pleasantness of 'his conversation, than that it was of magnitude enough to cover 'a world of very great faults,—that is, so to cover them that they 'were not taken notice of to his reproach,—viz., a narrowness in 'his nature to the lowest degree,—an abjectness and want of

Digitized by Google

'courage to support him in any virtuous undertaking,—an insinua-
'tion and servile flattery to the height the vainest and most im-
'perious nature could be contented with.... It had power to re-
'concile him to those whom he had most offended and provoked,
'and continued to his age with that rare felicity, that his company
'was acceptable where his spirit was odious, and he was at least
'pitied where he was most detested.' Much of this, with some softening, might, we fear, be applied to Bacon. The influence of Waller's talents, manners, and accomplishments, died with him; and the world has pronounced an unbiassed sentence on his character. A few flowing lines are not bribe sufficient to pervert the judgment of posterity. But the influence of Bacon is felt and will long be felt over the whole civilized world. Leniently as he was treated by his contemporaries, posterity has treated him more leniently still. Turn where we may, the trophies of that mighty intellect are full in view. We are judging Manlius in sight of the Capitol.

Under the reign of James, Bacon grew rapidly in fortune and favour. In 1604 he was appointed King's Counsel, with a fee of forty pounds a-year; and a pension of sixty pounds a-year was settled upon him. In 1607 he became Solicitor-General; in 1612 Attorney-General. He continued to distinguish himself in Parliament, particularly by his exertions in favour of one excellent measure on which the King's heart was set,—the union of England and Scotland. It was not difficult for such an intellect to discover many irresistible arguments in favour of such a scheme. He conducted the great case of the *Post Nati* in the Exchequer Chamber; and the decision of the judges,—a decision the legality of which may be questioned, but the beneficial effect of which must be acknowledged,—was in a great measure attributed to his dexterous management. While actively engaged in the House of Commons and in the courts of law, he still found leisure for letters and philosophy. The noble treatise on the 'Advancement of Learning,' which at a later period was expanded into the *De Augmentis*, appeared in 1605. The 'Wisdom of the Ancients,'—a work which, if it had proceeded from any other writer, would have been considered as a masterpiece of wit and learning, but which adds little to the fame of Bacon, was printed in 1609. In the mean time the *Novum Organum* was slowly proceeding. Several distinguished men of learning had been permitted to see sketches or detached portions of that extraordinary book; and though they were not generally disposed to admit the soundness of the author's views, they spoke with the greatest admiration of his genuis. Sir Thomas Bodley, the founder of the most magnificent of English libraries, was among those stubborn Conservatives who considered the hopes

Digitized by Google

with which Bacon looked forward to the future destinies of the human race as utterly chimerical; and who regarded with distrust and aversion the innovating spirit of the new schismatics in philosophy. Yet even Bodley after perusing the *Cogitata et Visa*—one of the most precious of those scattered leaves out of which the great oracular volume was afterwards made up—acknowledged that in 'those very points, and in all proposals and plots in that 'book, Bacon showed himself a master-workman;'—and that 'it 'could not be gainsaid but all the treatise over did abound with 'choice conceits of the present state of learning, and with worthy 'contemplations of the means to procure it.' In 1612 a new edition of the 'Essays' appeared, with additions surpassing the original collection both in bulk and quality. Nor did these pursuits distract Bacon's attention from a work the most arduous, the most glorious, and the most useful that even his mighty powers could have achieved, 'the reducing and recompiling,' to use his own phrase, 'of the laws of England.'

Unhappily he was at that very time employed in perverting those laws to the vilest purposes of tyranny. When Oliver St John was brought before the Star Chamber for maintaining that the King had no right to levy benevolences, and was for his manly and constitutional conduct sentenced to imprisonment during the royal pleasure, and to a fine of five thousand pounds, Bacon appeared as counsel for the prosecution. About the same time he was deeply engaged in a still more disgraceful transaction. An aged clergyman, of the name of Peacham, was accused of treason on account of some passages of a sermon which was found in his study. The sermon, whether written by him or not, had never been preached. It did not appear that he had any intention of preaching it. The most servile lawyers of those servile times were forced to admit that there were great difficulties both as to the facts and as to the law. Bacon was employed to remove those difficulties. He was employed to settle the question of law by tampering with the Judges, and the question of fact by torturing the prisoner. Three Judges of the Court of King's Bench were tractable. But Coke was made of different stuff. Pedant, bigot, and savage as he was, he had qualities which bore a strong, though a very disagreeable resemblance to some of the highest virtues which a public man can possess. He was an exception to a maxim which we believe to be generally true,—that those who trample on the helpless are disposed to cringe to the powerful. He behaved with gross rudeness to his juniors at the bar, and with execrable cruelty to prisoners on trial for their lives. But he stood up manfully against the King and the King's favourites. No man of that age appeared to so little advantage when he was opposed to an inte-

Digitized by Google

rior, and was in the wrong. But, on the other hand, it is but fair to admit that no man of that age made so creditable a figure when he was opposed to a superior, and happened to be in the right. On such occasions, his half-suppressed insolence and his impracticable obstinacy had a respectable and interesting appearance, when compared with the abject servility of the bar and of the bench. On the present occasion he was stubborn and surly. He declared that it was a new and a highly improper practice in the Judges to confer with a law-officer of the crown about capital cases which they were afterwards to try; and for some time he resolutely kept aloof. But Bacon was equally artful and persevering. 'I 'am not wholly out of hope,' said he, in a letter to the King, 'that 'my Lord Coke himself, when I have in some dark manner put 'him in doubt that he shall be left alone, will not be singular.' After some time Bacon's dexterity was successful; and Coke, sullenly and reluctantly, followed the example of his brethren. But in order to convict Peacham it was necessary to find facts as well as law. Accordingly, this wretched old man was put to the rack; and, while undergoing the horrible infliction, was examined by Bacon, but in vain. No confession could be wrung out of him; and Bacon wrote to the king, complaining that Peacham had a dumb devil. At length the trial came on. A conviction was obtained; but the charges were so obviously futile, that the government could not, for very shame, carry the sentence into execution; and Peacham was suffered to languish away the short remainder of his life in a prison.

All this frightful story Mr Montagu relates fairly. He neither conceals nor distorts any material fact. But he can see nothing deserving of condemnation in Bacon's conduct. He tells us most truly that we ought not to try the men of one age by the standard of another,—that Sir Matthew Hale is not to be pronounced a bad man, because he left a woman to be executed for witchcraft, —that posterity will not be justified in censuring judges of our time, for selling offices in their courts, according to the established practice, bad as that practice was,—and that Bacon is entitled to similar indulgence. 'To persecute the lover of truth,' says Mr Montagu, 'for opposing established customs, and to censure him 'in after ages for not having been more strenuous in opposition, 'are errors which will never cease until the pleasure of self-eleva-'tion from the depression of superiority is no more.'

We have no dispute with Mr Montagu about the general proposition. We assent to every word of it. But does it apply to the present case? Is it true that in the time of James I. it was the established practice for the law-officers of the Crown to hold private consultations with the judges, touching capital cases which

Digitized by Google

those judges were afterwards to try? Certainly not. In the very page in which Mr Montagu asserts that 'the influencing a 'judge out of court seems at that period scarcely to have been 'considered as improper,' he gives the very words of Sir Edward Coke on the subject. 'I will not thus declare what may be my 'judgment by these auricular confessions of *new* and pernicious 'tendency, and *not according to the customs of the realm.*' Is it possible to imagine that Coke,—who had himself been Attorney-General during thirteen years, who had conducted a far greater number of important state-prosecutions than any other lawyer named in English history, and who had passed with scarcely any interval from the Attorney-Generalship to the first seat in the first criminal court in the realm,—could have been startled at an invitation to confer with the crown-lawyers, and could have pronounced the practice *new*, if it had really been an established usage? We well know that where property only was at stake, it was then a common, though a most culpable practice, in the judges to listen to private solicitation. But the practice of tampering with judges in order to procure capital convictions, we believe to have been new, first, because Coke, who understood those matters better than any man of his time, asserted it to be new; and, secondly, because neither Bacon nor Mr Montagu has shown a single precedent.

How then stands the case? Even thus:—Bacon was not conforming to an usage then generally admitted to be proper. He was not even the last lingering adherent of an old abuse. It would have been sufficiently disgraceful to such a man to be in this last situation. Yet this last situation would have been honourable compared with that in which he stood. He was guilty of attempting to introduce into the courts of law an odious abuse for which no precedent could be found. Intellectually, he was better fitted than any man that England has ever produced for the work of improving her institutions. But, unhappily, we see that he did not scruple to exert his great powers for the purpose of introducing into those institutions new corruptions of the foulest kind.

The same, or nearly the same, may be said of the torturing of Peacham. If it be true that in the time of James I. the propriety of torturing prisoners was generally allowed, we should admit this as an excuse,—though we should admit it less readily in the case of such a man as Bacon than in the case of an ordinary lawyer or politician. But the fact is, that the practice of torturing prisoners was then generally acknowledged by lawyers to be illegal, and was execrated by the public as barbarous. More than thirty years before Peacham's trial, that practice was

Digitized by Google

so loudly condemned by the voice of the nation, that Lord Burleigh found it necessary to publish an apology for having occasionally resorted to it.* But though the dangers which then threatened the government were of a very different kind from those which were to be apprehended from any thing that Peacham could write,—though the life of the Queen and the dearest interests of the state were in jeopardy,—though the circumstances were such that all ordinary laws might seem to be superseded by that highest law, the public safety,—the apology did not satisfy the country: and the Queen found it expedient to issue an order positively forbidding the torturing of state-prisoners on any pretence whatever. From that time, the practice of torturing, which had always been unpopular, which had always been illegal, had also been unusual. It is well known that in 1628,—only fourteen years after the time when Bacon went to the Tower to listen to the yells of Peacham,—the judges decided that Felton, a criminal who neither deserved nor was likely to obtain any extraordinary indulgence, could not lawfully be put to the question. We therefore say that Bacon stands in a very different situation from that in which Mr Montagu tries to place him. Bacon was here distinctly behind his age. He was one of the last of the tools of power who persisted in a practice the most barbarous and the most absurd that has ever disgraced jurisprudence,—in a practice of which, in the preceding generation, Elizabeth and her ministers had been ashamed,—in a practice which, a few years later, no sycophant in all the Inns of Court had the heart, or the forehead, to defend.

Bacon far behind his age! Bacon far behind Sir Edward Coke! Bacon clinging to exploded abuses! Bacon withstanding the progress of improvement! Bacon struggling to push back the human mind! The words seem strange. They sound like a contradiction in terms. Yet the fact is even so: and the explanation may be readily found by any person who is not blinded by prejudice. Mr Montagu cannot believe that so extraordinary a man as Bacon could be guilty of a bad action,—as if history were not made up of the bad actions of extraordinary men,—as if all the most noted destroyers and deceivers of our species, all the founders of arbitrary governments and false religions, had not been extraordinary men,—as if nine-tenths of the calamities which have befallen the human race had any other origin than the union of high intelligence with low desires.

---

* This paper is contained in the *Harleian Miscellany*. It is dated 1583.

Digitized by Google

Bacon knew this well. He has told us that there are persons, 'scientia tanquam angeli alati, cupiditatibus vero tanquam serpentes qui humi reptant:'* and it did not require his admirable sagacity and his extensive converse with mankind to make the discovery. Indeed, he had only to look within. The difference between the soaring angel, and the creeping snake, was but a type of the difference between Bacon the philosopher and Bacon the Attorney-General,—Bacon seeking for Truth, and Bacon seeking for the Seals. Those who survey only one-half of his character may speak of him with unmixed admiration or with unmixed contempt. But those only judge of him correctly, who take in at one view Bacon in speculation and Bacon in action. They will have no difficulty in comprehending how one and the same man should have been far before his age and far behind it,—in one line the boldest and most useful of innovators,—in another line the most obstinate champion of the foulest abuses. In his library, all his rare powers were under the guidance of an honest ambition,—of an enlarged philanthropy,—of a sincere love of truth. There, no temptation drew him away from the right course. Thomas Aquinas could pay no fees—Duns Scotus could confer no peerages. The 'Master of the Sentences' had no rich reversions in his gift. Far different was the situation of the great philosopher when he came forth from his study and his laboratory to mingle with the crowd which filled the galleries of Whitehall. In all that crowd there was no man equally qualified to render great and lasting services to mankind. But in all that crowd there was not a heart more set on things which no man ought to suffer to be necessary to his happiness,—on things which can often be obtained only by the sacrifice of integrity and honour. To be the leader of the human race in the career of improvement,—to found on the ruins of ancient intellectual dynasties a more prosperous and a more enduring empire,—to be revered to the latest generations as the most illustrious among the benefactors of mankind,—all this was within his reach. But all this availed him nothing while some quibbling special pleader was promoted before him to the bench,—while some heavy country gentleman took precedence of him by virtue of a purchased coronet,—while some pander, happy in a fair wife, could obtain a more cordial salute from Buckingham,—while some buffoon, versed in all the latest scandal of the court, could draw a louder laugh from James.

During a long course of years, his unworthy ambition was crowned with success. His sagacity early enabled him to per-

* *De Augmentis*, Lib. v. cap. 1.

Digitized by Google

ceive who was likely to become the most powerful man in the kingdom. He probably knew the King's mind before it was known to the King himself, and attached himself to Villiers, while the less discerning crowd of courtiers still continued to fawn on Somerset. The influence of the younger favourite became greater daily. The contest between the rivals might, however, have lasted long, but for that frightful crime which, in spite of all that could be effected by the research and ingenuity of historians, is still covered with so mysterious an obscurity. The descent of Somerset had been a gradual and almost imperceptible lapse. It now became a headlong fall; and Villiers, left without a competitor, rapidly rose to a height of power such as no subject since Wolsey had attained.

There were many points of resemblance between the two celebrated courtiers who, at different times, extended their patronage to Bacon. It is difficult to say whether Essex or Villiers was the more eminently distinguished by those graces of person and manner which have always been rated in courts at much more than their real value. Both were constitutionally brave; and both, like most men who are constitutionally brave, were open and unreserved. Both were rash and headstrong. Both were destitute of the abilities and the information which are necessary to statesmen. Yet both, trusting to the accomplishments which had made them conspicuous in tilt-yards and ball-rooms, aspired to rule the state. Both owed their elevation to the personal attachment of the sovereign; and in both cases this attachment was of so eccentric a kind, that it perplexed observers,—that it still continues to perplex historians,—and that it gave rise to much scandal which we are inclined to think unfounded. Each of them treated the sovereign whose favour he enjoyed with a rudeness which approached to insolence. This petulance ruined Essex, who had to deal with a spirit naturally as proud as his own, and accustomed, during nearly half a century, to the most respectful observance. But there was a wide difference between the haughty daughter of Henry and her successor. James was timid from the cradle. His nerves, naturally weak, had not been fortified by reflection or by habit. His life, till he came to England, had been a series of mortifications and humiliations. With all his high notions of the origin and extent of his prerogatives, he was never his own master for a day. In spite of his kingly title,—in spite of his despotic theories, he was to the last a slave at heart. Villiers treated him like one; and this course, though adopted, we believe, merely from temper, succeeded as well as if it had been a system of policy formed after mature deliberation.

In generosity, in sensibility, in capacity for friendship, Essex

Digitized by Google

far surpassed Buckingham. Indeed Buckingham can scarcely be said to have had any friend, with the exception of the two princes, over whom successively he exercised so wonderful an influence. Essex was to the last adored by the people. Buckingham was always a most unpopular man; except perhaps for a very short time after his return from the childish visit to Spain. Essex fell a victim to the rigour of the government amidst the lamentations of the people. Buckingham, execrated by the people, and solemnly declared a public enemy by the representatives of the people, fell by the hand of one of the people, and was lamented by none but his master.

The way in which the two favourites acted towards Bacon was highly characteristic, and may serve to illustrate the old and true saying,—that a man is generally more inclined to feel kindly towards one on whom he has conferred favours than towards one from whom he has received them. Essex loaded Bacon with benefits, and never thought that he had done enough. It never seems to have crossed the mind of the powerful and wealthy noble that the poor barrister whom he treated with such munificent kindness was not his equal. It was, we have no doubt, with perfect sincerity that he declared, that he would willingly give his sister or daughter in marriage to his friend. He was in general more than sufficiently sensible of his own merits; but he did not seem to know that he had ever deserved well of Bacon. On that cruel day when they saw each other for the last time at the bar of the Lords, the earl taxed his perfidious friend with unkindness and insincerity, but never with ingratitude. Even in such a moment, more bitter than the bitterness of death, that noble heart was too great to vent itself in such a reproach.

Villiers, on the other hand, owed much to Bacon. When their acquaintance began, Sir Francis was a man of mature age, of high station, and of established fame as a politician, an advocate, and a writer. Villiers was little more than a boy, a younger son of a house then of no great note. He was but just entering on the career of court favour; and none but the most discerning observers could as yet perceive that he was likely to distance all his competitors. The countenance and advice of a man so highly distinguished as the Attorney-General, must have been an object of the highest importance to the young adventurer. But though Villiers was the obliged party, he was less warmly attached to Bacon, and far less delicate in his conduct towards him than Essex had been.

To do the new favourite justice, he early exerted his influence in behalf of his illustrious friend. In 1616, Sir Francis was sworn of the Privy Council; and, in March, 1617, on the retirement of Lord Brackley, was appointed Keeper of the Great Seal.

Digitized by Google

On the 7th of May, the first day of term, he rode in state to Westminster Hall, with the Lord Treasurer on his right hand, the Lord Privy Seal on his left,—a long procession of students and ushers before him,—and a crowd of peers, privy-councillors, and judges, following in his train. Having entered his court, he addressed the splendid auditory in a grave and dignified speech, which proves how well he understood those judicial duties which he afterwards performed so ill. Even at that moment,—the proudest moment of his life in the estimation of the vulgar, and, it may be, even in his own,—he cast back a look of lingering affection towards those noble pursuits from which, as it seemed, he was about to be estranged. 'The depth of the three long 'vacations,' said he, 'I would reserve in some measure free from 'business of estate, and for studies, arts, and sciences, to which 'of my own nature I am most inclined.'

The years during which Bacon held the Great Seal were among the darkest and most shameful in English history. Every thing at home and abroad was mismanaged. First came the execution of Raleigh, an act which, if done in a proper manner, might have been defensible, but which, under all the circumstances, must be considered as a dastardly murder. Worse was behind—the war of Bohemia—the successes of Tilly and Spinola—the Palatinate conquered—the King's son-in-law an exile—the house of Austria dominant on the Continent—the Protestant religion and the liberties of the Germanic body trodden under foot. In the mean time, the wavering and cowardly policy of England furnished matter of ridicule to all the nations of Europe. The love of peace which James professed would, even when indulged to an impolitic excess, have been respectable, if it had proceeded from tenderness for his people. But the truth is, that, while he had nothing to spare for the defence of the natural allies of England, he resorted without scruple to the most illegal and oppressive devices, for the purpose of enabling Buckingham and Buckingham's relations to outshine the ancient aristocracy of the realm. Benevolences were exacted. Patents of monopoly were multiplied. All the resources which could have been employed to replenish a beggared Exchequer, at the close of a ruinous war, were put in motion during this season of ignominious peace.

The vices of the administration must be chiefly ascribed to the weakness of the King, and to the levity and violence of the favourite. But it is impossible to acquit the Lord Keeper. For those odious patents, in particular, which passed the Great Seal while it was in his charge, he must be held answerable. In the speech which he made on first taking his seat in his court, he

Digitized by Google

had pledged himself to discharge this important part of his functions with the greatest caution and impartiality. He had declared that he 'would walk in the light'—'that men should see 'that no particular turn or end led him, but a general rule;' and Mr Montagu would have us believe that Bacon acted up to these professions. He says that 'the power of the favourite did not 'deter the Lord Keeper from staying grants and patents when 'his public duty demanded this interposition.' Does Mr Montagu consider patents of monopoly as good things? or does he mean to say that Bacon staid every patent of monopoly that came before him? Of all patents in our history, the most disgraceful was that which was granted to Sir Giles Mompesson,—supposed to be the original of Massinger's 'Over-reach,' and to Sir Francis Michell, from whom 'Justice Greedy' is supposed to have been drawn,—for the exclusive manufacturing of gold and silver lace. The effect of this monopoly was of course that the metal employed in the manufacture was adulterated, to the great loss of the public. But this was a trifle. The patentees were armed with powers as great as have ever been given to farmers of the revenue in the worst governed countries. They were authorized to search houses, and to arrest interlopers; and these formidable powers were used for purposes viler than even those for which they were given—for the wreaking of old grudges, and for the corrupting of female chastity. Was not this a case in which public duty demanded the interposition of the Lord Keeper? And did the Lord Keeper interpose? He did. He wrote to inform the King, that he 'had considered of the fitness and con-'veniency of the gold and silver thread business'—'that it was 'convenient that it should be settled'—that he 'did conceive 'apparent likelihood that it would redound much to his Majesty's 'profit'—that, therefore, 'it were good it were settled with all 'convenient speed.' The meaning of all this was, that certain of the house of Villiers were to go shares with 'Over-reach' and 'Greedy' in the plunder of the public. This was the way in which, when the favourite pressed for patents,—lucrative to his relations and to his creatures, ruinous and vexatious to the body of the people,—the chief guardian of the laws interposed. Having assisted the patentees to obtain this monopoly, Bacon assisted them also in the steps which they took for the purpose of guarding it. He committed several people to close confinement for disobeying his tyrannical edict. It is needless to say more. Our readers are now able to judge whether, in the matter of patents, Bacon acted conformably to his professions, or deserved the praise which his biographer has bestowed on him.

Digitized by Google

In his judicial capacity his conduct was not less reprehensible. He suffered Buckingham to dictate many of his decisions. Bacon knew as well as any man, that a judge who listens to private solicitations is a disgrace to his post. He had himself, before he was raised to the woolsack, represented this strongly to Villiers, then just entering on his career. 'By no means,'—said Sir Francis, in a letter of advice addressed to the young courtier,—'by no means be you persuaded to interpose yourself, either by 'word or letter, in any cause depending in any court of justice, 'nor suffer any great man to do it where you can hinder it. If 'it should prevail, it perverts justice; but, if the judge be so 'just and of such courage, as he ought to be, as not to be in-'clined thereby, yet it always leaves a taint of suspicion behind 'it.' Yet he had not been Lord Keeper a month when Buckingham began to interfere in Chancery suits, and his interference was, as might have been expected, successful.

Mr Montagu's reflections on the excellent passage which we have quoted above are exceedingly amusing. 'No man,' says he, 'more deeply felt the evils which then existed of the interference 'of the Crown and of statesmen to influence judges. How beauti-'fully did he admonish Buckingham, regardless as he proved of 'all admonition!' We should be glad to know how it can be expected that admonition will be regarded by him who receives it, when it is altogether neglected by him who gives it. We do not defend Buckingham, but what was his guilt to Bacon's? Buckingham was young, ignorant, thoughtless,—dizzy with the rapidity of his ascent and the height of his position. That he should be eager to serve his relations, his flatterers, his mistresses—that he should not fully apprehend the immense importance of a pure administration of justice—that he should think more about those who were bound to him by private ties than about the public interest —all this was perfectly natural, and not altogether unpardonable. Those who intrust a petulant, hot-blooded, ill-informed lad with power, are more to blame than he for the mischief which he may do with it. How could it be expected of a lively page, raised by a wild freak of fortune to the first influence in the empire, that he should have bestowed any serious thought on the principles which ought to guide judicial decisions? Bacon was the ablest public man then living in Europe. He was nearly sixty years old. He had thought much, and to good purpose, on the general principles of law. He had for many years borne a part daily in the administration of justice. It was impossible that a man with a tithe of his sagacity and experience should not have known, that a judge who suffers friends or patrons to dictate his decrees, violates the plainest rules of duty. In fact, as we have

Digitized by Google

seen, he knew this well: he expressed it admirably. Neither on this occasion nor on any other could his bad actions be attributed to any defect of the head. They sprang from quite a different cause.

A man who stooped to render such services to others was not likely to be scrupulous as to the means by which he enriched himself. He and his dependents accepted large presents from persons who were engaged in Chancery suits. The amount of the plunder which he collected in this way it is impossible to estimate. There can be no doubt that he received very much more than was proved on his trial, though, it may be, less than was suspected by the public. His enemies stated his illicit gains at a hundred thousand pounds. But this was probably an exaggeration.

It was long before the day of reckoning arrived. During the interval between the second and third Parliaments of James, the nation was absolutely governed by the Crown. The prospects of the Lord Keeper were bright and serene. His great place rendered the splendour of his talents even more conspicuous; and gave an additional charm to the serenity of his temper, the courtesy of his manners, and the eloquence of his conversation. The pillaged suitor might mutter. The austere Puritan patriot might, in his retreat, lament that one on whom God had bestowed without measure all the abilities which qualify men to take the lead in great reforms, should be found among the adherents of the worst abuses. But the murmurs of the suitor, and the lamentations of the patriot, had scarcely any avenue to the ears of the powerful. The King, and the minister who was the King's master, smiled on their illustrious flatterer. The whole crowd of courtiers and nobles sought his favour with emulous eagerness. Men of wit and learning hailed with delight the elevation of one who had so signally shown that a man of profound learning and of brilliant wit might understand, far better than any plodding dunce, the art of thriving in the world.

Once, and but once, this course of prosperity was for a moment interrupted. It should seem that even Bacon's brain was not strong enough to bear without some discomposure the inebriating effect of so much good fortune. For some time after his elevation, he showed himself a little wanting in that wariness and self-command to which, more than even to his transcendent talents, his elevation was to be ascribed. He was by no means a good hater. The temperature of his revenge, like that of his gratitude, was scarcely ever more than lukewarm. But there was one person whom he had long regarded with an animosity which, though studiously suppressed, was perhaps the stronger

Digitized by Google

for the suppression. The insults and injuries which, when a young man struggling into note and professional practice, he had received from Sir Edward Coke, were such as might move the most placable nature to resentment. About the time at which Bacon received the Seals, Coke had, on account of his contumacious resistance to the royal pleasure, been deprived of his seat in the Court of King's Bench, and had ever since languished in retirement. But Coke's opposition to the Court, we fear, was the effect, not of good principles, but of a bad temper. Perverse and testy as he was, he wanted true fortitude and dignity of character. His obstinacy, unsupported by virtuous motives, was not proof against disgrace. He solicited a reconciliation with the favourite, and his solicitations were successful. Sir John Villiers, the brother of Buckingham, was looking out for a rich wife. Coke had a large fortune and an unmarried daughter. A bargain was struck. But Lady Coke—the lady whom twenty years before Essex had wooed on behalf of Bacon—would not hear of the match. A violent and scandalous family quarrel followed. The mother carried the girl away by stealth. The father pursued them, and regained possession of his daughter by force. The king was then in Scotland, and Buckingham had attended him thither. Bacon was, during their absence, at the head of affairs in England. He felt towards Coke as much malevolence as it was in his nature to feel towards any body. His wisdom had been laid to sleep by prosperity. In an evil hour he determined to interfere in the disputes which agitated his enemy's household. He declared for the wife, countenanced the Attorney-General in filing an information in the Star Chamber against the husband, and wrote strongly to the King and the favourite against the proposed marriage. The language which he used in those letters shows that, sagacious as he was, he did not quite know his place;—that he was not fully acquainted with the extent either of Buckingham's power, or of the change which the possession of that power had produced in Buckingham's character. He soon had a lesson which he never forgot. The favourite received the news of the Lord Keeper's interference, with feelings of the most violent resentment, and made the King even more angry than himself. Bacon's eyes were at once opened to his error, and to all its possible consequences. He had been elated, if not intoxicated, by greatness. The shock sobered him in an instant. He was all himself again. He apologized submissively for his interference. He directed the Attorney-General to stop the proceedings against Coke. He sent to tell Lady Coke that he could do nothing for her. He announced to both the families that he was desirous to promote the connexion.

Digitized by Google

Having given these proofs of contrition, he ventured to present himself before Buckingham. But the young upstart did not think that he had yet sufficiently humbled an old man who had been his friend and his benefactor,—who was the highest civil functionary in the realm, and the most eminent man of letters in the world. It is said that on two successive days Bacon repaired to Buckingham's house—that on two successive days he was suffered to remain in an antechamber among foot-boys, seated on an old wooden box, with the Great Seal of England at his side; and that when at length he was admitted, he flung himself on the floor, kissed the favourite's feet, and vowed never to rise till he was forgiven. Sir Anthony Weldon, on whose authority this story rests, is likely enough to have exaggerated the meanness of Bacon and the insolence of Buckingham. But it is difficult to imagine that so circumstantial a narrative, written by a person who avers that he was present on the occasion, can be wholly without foundation; and, unhappily, there is little in the character either of the favourite or of the Lord Keeper to render the narrative improbable. It is certain that a reconciliation took place on terms humiliating to Bacon, who never more ventured to cross any purpose of any body who bore the name of Villiers. He put a strong curb on those angry passions which had for the first time in his life mastered his prudence. He went through the forms of a reconciliation with Coke, and did his best, by seeking opportunities of paying little civilities, and by avoiding all that could produce collision, to tame the untameable ferocity of his old enemy.

In the main, however, his life, while he held the Great Seal, was, in outward appearance, most enviable. In London he lived with great dignity at York-House, the venerable mansion of his father. Here it was that, in January, 1620, he celebrated his entrance into his sixtieth year amidst a splendid circle of friends. He had then exchanged the appellation of Keeper for the higher title of Chancellor. Ben Jonson was one of the party, and wrote on the occasion some of the happiest of his rugged rhymes. All things, he tells us, seemed to smile about the old house,—'the 'fire, the wine, the men.' The spectacle of the accomplished host, after a life marked by no great disaster, entering on a green old age, in the enjoyment of riches, power, high honours, undiminished mental activity, and vast literary reputation, made a strong impression on the poet, if we may judge from those well-known lines—

> 'England's high Chancellor, the destined heir,
> In his soft cradle, to his father's chair,
> Whose even thread the fates spin round and full
> Out of their choicest and their whitest wool.'

Digitized by Google

In the intervals of rest which Bacon's political and judicial functions afforded, he was in the habit of retiring to Gorhambury. At that place his business was literature, and his favourite amusement gardening, which in one of his most pleasing Essays he calls 'the purest of human pleasures.' In his magnificent grounds he erected, at a cost of ten thousand pounds, a retreat to which he repaired when he wished to avoid all visitors, and to devote himself wholly to study. On such occasions, a few young men of distinguished talents were sometimes the companions of his retirement. And among them his quick eye soon discerned the superior abilities of Thomas Hobbes. It is not probable, however, that he fully appreciated the powers of his disciple, or foresaw the vast influence, both for good and for evil, which that most vigorous and acute of human intellects was destined to exercise on the two succeeding generations.

In January, 1621, Bacon had reached the zenith of his fortunes. He had just published the *Novum Organum;* and that extraordinary book had drawn forth the warmest expressions of admiration from the ablest men in Europe. He had obtained honours of a widely different kind, but perhaps not less valued by him. He had been created Baron Verulam. He had subsequently been raised to the higher dignity of Viscount St Albans. His patent was drawn in the most flattering terms, and the Prince of Wales signed it as a witness. The ceremony of investiture was performed with great state at Theobalds, and Buckingham condescended to be one of the chief actors. Posterity has felt that the greatest of English philosophers could derive no accession of dignity from any title which James could bestow; and, in defiance of the royal letters patent, has obstinately refused to degrade Francis Bacon into Viscount St Albans.

In a few weeks was signally brought to the test the value of those objects for which Bacon had sullied his integrity, had resigned his independence, had violated the most sacred obligations of friendship and gratitude, had flattered the worthless, had persecuted the innocent, had tampered with judges, had tortured prisoners, had plundered suitors, had wasted on paltry intrigues all the powers of the most exquisitely constructed intellect that has ever been bestowed on any of the children of men. A sudden and terrible reverse was at hand. A Parliament had been summoned. After six years of silence the voice of the nation was again to be heard. Only three days after the pageant which was performed at Theobalds in honour of Bacon, the houses met.

Want of money had, as usual, induced the King to convoke his Parliament. But it may be doubted whether, if he or his ministers had been at all aware of the state of public feeling, they would not have tried any expedient, or borne with any incon-

Digitized by Google

venience, rather than have ventured to face the deputies of a justly exasperated nation. But they did not discern those times. Indeed almost all the political blunders of James, and of his more unfortunate son, arose from one great error. During the fifty years which preceded the Long Parliament a great and progressive change was taking place in the public mind. The nature and extent of this change was not in the least understood by either of the first two Kings of the House of Stuart, or by any of their advisers. That the nation became more and more discontented every year,—that every House of Commons was more unmanageable than that which had preceded it,—were facts, which it was impossible not to perceive. But the Court could not understand why these things were so. The Court could not see that the English people, and the English Government, though they might once have been well suited to each other, were suited to each other no longer,—that the nation had outgrown its old institutions, was every day more uneasy under them, was pressing against them, and would soon burst through them. The alarming phenomena, the existence of which no sycophant could deny, were ascribed to every cause except the true. 'In my first Par-'liament,' said James, 'I was a novice. In my next, there was 'a kind of beasts called *undertakers*,'—and so forth. In the third Parliament he could hardly be called a novice, and those beasts, the *undertakers*, did not exist. Yet his third Parliament gave him more trouble than either the first or the second.

The Parliament had no sooner met than the House of Commons proceeded, in a temperate and respectful, but most determined manner, to discuss the public grievances. Their first attacks were directed against those odious patents, under cover of which Buckingham and his creatures had pillaged and oppressed the nation. The vigour with which these proceedings were conducted spread dismay through the Court. Buckingham thought himself in danger, and, in his alarm, had recourse to an adviser who had lately acquired considerable influence over him,—Williams, Dean of Westminster. This person had already been of great use to the favourite in a very delicate matter. Buckingham had set his heart on marrying Lady Catherine Manners, daughter and heiress of the Earl of Rutland. But the difficulties were great. The Earl was haughty and impracticable, and the young lady was a Catholic. Williams soothed the pride of the father, and found arguments which, for a time at least, quieted the conscience of the daughter. For these services he had been rewarded with considerable preferment in the Church; and he was now rapidly rising to the same place in the regard of Buckingham which had formerly been occupied by Bacon.

Digitized by Google

Williams was one of those who are wiser for others than for themselves. His own public life was unfortunate, and was rendered unfortunate by his strange want of judgment and self-command at several important conjunctures. But the counsel which he gave on this occasion showed no want of worldly wisdom. He advised the favourite to abandon all thoughts of defending the monopolies—to find some foreign embassy for his brother Sir Edward, who was deeply implicated in the villanies of Mompesson—and to leave the other offenders to the justice of Parliament. Buckingham received this advice with the warmest expressions of gratitude, and declared that a load had been lifted from his heart. He then repaired with Williams to the royal presence. They found the King engaged in earnest consultation with Prince Charles. The plan of operations proposed by the Dean was fully discussed, and approved in all its parts.

The first victims whom the Court abandoned to the vengeance of the Commons were Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Michell. It was some time before Bacon began to entertain any apprehensions. His talents and his address gave him great influence in the house,—of which he had lately become a member,—as indeed they must have done in any assembly. In the House of Commons he had many personal friends and many warm admirers. But at length, about six weeks after the meeting of Parliament, the storm burst.

A committee of the lower house had been appointed to enquire into the state of the Courts of Justice. On the 15th of March the chairman of that committee, Sir Robert Philips, member for Bath, reported that great abuses had been discovered. 'The 'person,' said he, 'against whom these things are alleged is no 'less than the Lord Chancellor,—a man so endued with all parts, 'both of nature and art, as that I will say no more of him, being 'not able to say enough.' Sir Robert then proceeded to state, in the most temperate manner, the nature of the charges. A person of the name of Aubrey had a case depending in Chancery. He had been almost ruined by law-expenses, and his patience had been exhausted by the delays of the court. He received a hint from some of the hangers-on of the Chancellor, that a present of one hundred pounds would expedite matters. The poor man had not the sum required. However, having found out an usurer who accommodated him with it at high interest, he carried it to York-House. The Chancellor took the money, and his dependents assured the suitor that all would go right. Aubrey was, however, disappointed; for, after considerable delay, 'a 'killing decree' was pronounced against him. Another suitor of the name of Egerton complained that he had been induced by

Digitized by Google

two of the Chancellor's jackals to make his Lordship a present of four hundred pounds; and that, nevertheless, he had not been able to obtain a decree in his favour. The evidence to these facts was overwhelming. Bacon's friends could only entreat the house to suspend its judgment, and to send up the case to the Lords, in a form less offensive than an impeachment.

On the 19th of March the King sent a message to the Commons, expressing his deep regret that so eminent a person as the Chancellor should be suspected of misconduct. His Majesty declared that he had no wish to screen the guilty from justice, and proposed to appoint a new kind of tribunal, consisting of eighteen commissioners, who might be chosen from among the members of the two houses, to investigate the matter. The Commons were not disposed to depart from the regular course of proceeding. On the same day they held a conference with the Lords, and delivered in the heads of the accusation against the Chancellor. At this conference Bacon was not present. Overwhelmed with shame and remorse, and abandoned by all those in whom he had weakly put his trust, he shut himself up in his chamber from the eyes of men. The dejection of his mind soon disordered his body. Buckingham, who visited him by the King's order, 'found his Lordship very sick and heavy.' It appears from a pathetic letter which the unhappy man addressed to the Peers on the day of the conference, that he neither expected nor wished to survive his disgrace. During several days he remained in his bed, refusing to see any human being. He passionately told his attendants to leave him,—to forget him,—never again to name his name,—never to remember that there had been such a man in the world. In the mean time, fresh instances of corruption were every day brought to the knowledge of his accusers. The number of charges rapidly increased from two to twenty-three. The Lords entered on the investigation of the case with laudable alacrity. Some witnesses were examined at the bar of the house. A select committee was appointed to take the depositions of others; and the enquiry was rapidly proceeding, when, on the 26th of March, the King adjourned the Parliament for three weeks.

This measure revived Bacon's hopes. He made the most of his short respite. He attempted to work on the feeble mind of the King. He appealed to all the strongest feelings of James,—to his fears, to his vanity, to his high notions of prerogative. Would the Solomon of the age commit so gross an error as to encourage the encroaching spirit of Parliaments? Would God's anointed, accountable to God alone, pay homage to the clamorous multitude? 'Those,' he exclaimed, 'who now strike at

Digitized by Google

'the Chancellor will soon strike at the Crown. I am the first 'sacrifice. I wish I may be the last.' But all his eloquence and address were employed in vain. Indeed, whatever Mr Montagu may say, we are firmly convinced that it was not in the King's power to save Bacon, without having recourse to measures which would have convulsed the realm. The Crown had not sufficient influence in Parliament to procure an acquittal, in so clear a case of guilt. And to dissolve a Parliament which is universally allowed to have been one of the best Parliaments that ever sat,—which had acted liberally and respectfully towards the Sovereign, and which enjoyed in the highest degree the favour of the people, only in order to stop a grave, temperate and constitutional enquiry into the personal integrity of the first judge in the kingdom,—would have been a measure more scandalous and absurd than any of those which were the ruin of the House of Stuart. Such a measure, while it would have been as fatal to the Chancellor's honour as a conviction, would have endangered the very existence of the monarchy. The King, acting by the advice of Williams, very properly refused to engage in a dangerous struggle with his people, for the purpose of saving from legal condemnation a minister whom it was impossible to save from dishonour. He advised Bacon to plead guilty, and promised to do all in his power to mitigate the punishment. Mr Montagu is exceedingly angry with James on this account. But though we are, in general, very little inclined to admire that Prince's conduct, we really think that his advice was, under all the circumstances, the best advice that could have been given.

On the 17th of April the houses reassembled, and the Lords resumed their enquiries into the abuses of the Court of Chancery. On the 22d, Bacon addressed to the Peers a letter, which Prince Charles condescended to deliver. In this artful and pathetic composition, the Chancellor acknowledged his guilt in guarded and general terms, and, while acknowledging, endeavoured to palliate it. This, however, was not thought sufficient by his judges. They required a more particular confession, and sent him a copy of the charges. On the 30th, he delivered a paper, in which he admitted, with few and unimportant reservations, the truth of the accusations brought against him, and threw himself entirely on the mercy of his peers. 'Upon advised consideration of the 'charges,' said he, 'descending into my own conscience, and call-'ing my memory to account so far as I am able, I do plainly and 'ingenuously confess that I am guilty of corruption, and do re-'nounce all defence.'

The Lords came to a resolution that the Chancellor's confession appeared to be full and ingenuous, and sent a committee to en-

Digitized by Google

quire of him whether it was really subscribed by himself. The deputies, among whom was Southampton, the common friend many years before of Bacon and Essex, performed their duty with great delicacy. Indeed, the agonies of such a mind, and the degradation of such a name, might well have softened the most obdurate natures. 'My lords,' said Bacon, 'it is my act, 'my hand, my heart. I beseech your lordships to be merciful 'to a broken reed.' They withdrew; and he again retired to his chamber in the deepest dejection. The next day, the sergeant-at-arms and the usher of the House of Lords came to conduct him to Westminster Hall, where sentence was to be pronounced. But they found him so unwell that he could not leave his bed; and this excuse for his absence was readily accepted. In no quarter does there appear to have been the smallest desire to add to his humiliation. The sentence was, however, severe,—the more severe, no doubt, because the lords knew that it would not be executed, and that they had an excellent opportunity of exhibiting, at small cost, the inflexibility of their justice, and their abhorrence of corruption. Bacon was condemned to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure. He was declared incapable of holding any office in the State, or of sitting in Parliament, and he was banished for life from the verge of the court. In such misery and shame ended that long career of worldly wisdom and worldly prosperity!

Even at this pass Mr. Montagu does not desert his hero. He seems indeed to think that the attachment of an editor ought to be as devoted as that of Mr Moore's lovers; and cannot conceive what biography was made for

'if 't is not the same
'Through grief and through danger, through sin and through shame.'

He assures us that Bacon was innocent,—that he had the means of making a perfectly satisfactory defence,—that when he 'plainly 'and ingenuously confessed that he was guilty of corruption,' and when he afterwards solemnly affirmed that his confession was 'his act, his hand, his heart,' he was telling a great lie,—and that he refrained from bringing forward proofs of his innocence because he durst not disobey the King and the favourite, who, for their own selfish objects, pressed him to plead guilty.

Now, in the first place, there is not the smallest ground to believe that, if James and Buckingham thought Bacon had a good defence, they would have prevented him from making it. What conceivable motive had they for doing so? Mr Montagu perpetually repeats that it was their interest to sacrifice Bacon. But he overlooks an obvious distinction. It was their

Digitized by Google

interest to sacrifice Bacon on the supposition of his guilt; but not on the supposition of his innocence. James was very properly unwilling to run the risk of protecting his Chancellor against the Parliament. But if the Chancellor had been able, by force of argument, to obtain an acquittal from the Parliament, we have no doubt that both the King and Villiers would have heartily rejoiced. They would have rejoiced, not merely on account of their friendship for Bacon, which seems, however, to have been as sincere as most friendships of that sort, but on selfish grounds. Nothing could have strengthened the Government more than such a victory. The King and the favourite abandoned the Chancellor because they were unable to avert his disgrace, and unwilling to share it. Mr Montagu mistakes effect for cause. He thinks that Bacon did not prove his innocence, because he was not supported by the Court. The truth evidently is, that the Court did not venture to support him, because he could not prove his innocence.

Again, it seems strange that Mr Montagu should not perceive that, while attempting to vindicate Bacon's reputation, he is really casting on it the foulest of all aspersions. He imputes to his idol a degree of meanness and depravity more loathsome than judicial corruption itself. A corrupt judge may have many good qualities. But a man who, to please a powerful patron, solemnly declares himself guilty of corruption when he knows himself to be innocent, must be a monster of servility and impudence. Bacon was,—to say nothing of his highest claims to respect,—a gentleman, a nobleman, a scholar, a statesman, a man of the first consideration in society, a man far advanced in years. Is it possible to believe that such a man would, to gratify any human being, irreparably ruin his own character by his own act? Imagine a grey-headed judge, full of years and honours, owning with tears, with pathetic assurances of his penitence and of his sincerity, that he has been guilty of shameful mal-practices,—repeatedly asseverating the truth of his confession, subscribing it with his own hand, submitting to conviction, receiving a humiliating sentence and acknowledging its justice,—and all this when he has it in his power to show that his conduct has been irreproachable! The thing is incredible. But if we admit it to be true, what must we think of such a man,—if indeed he deserves the name of man, who thinks any thing that kings and minions can bestow more precious than honour, or any thing that they can inflict more terrible than infamy?

Of this most disgraceful imputation we fully acquit Bacon. He had no defence; and Mr Montagu's affectionate attempt to make a defence for him has altogether failed.

Digitized by Google

The grounds on which Mr Montagu rests the case are two,—the first, that the taking of presents was usual, and,—what he seems to consider as the same thing,—not discreditable; the second, that these presents were not taken as bribes.

Mr Montagu brings forward many facts in support of his first proposition. He is not content with showing that many English judges formerly received gifts from suitors, but collects similar instances from foreign nations and ancient times. He goes back to the commonwealths of Greece, and attempts to press into his service a line of Homer and a sentence of Plutarch, which, we fear, will hardly serve his turn. The gold of which Homer speaks was not intended to fee the judges, but was paid into court for the benefit of the successful litigant; and the gratuities which Pericles, as Plutarch states, distributed amongst the members of the Athenian tribunals, were legal wages paid out of the public revenue. We can supply Mr Montagu with passages much more in point. Hesiod, who, like poor Aubrey, had 'a killing decree' made against him in the Chancery of Ascra, was so uncivil as to designate the learned persons who presided in that court, as βασιλῆας δωροφάγους. Plutarch and Diodorus have handed down to the latest ages the respectable name of Anytus, the son of Anthemius, the first defendant who, eluding all the safeguards which the ingenuity of Solon could devise, succeeded in corrupting a bench of Athenian judges. We are indeed so far from grudging Mr Montagu the aid of Greece, that we will give him Rome into the bargain. We acknowledge that the honourable senators who tried Verres, received presents which were worth more than the fee-simple of York House and Gorhambury together; and that the no less honourable senators and knights who professed to believe in the *alibi* of Clodius, obtained marks still more extraordinary of the esteem and gratitude of the defendant. In short, we are ready to admit that before Bacon's time, and in Bacon's time, judges were in the habit of receiving gifts from suitors.

But is this a defence? We think not. The robberies of Cacus and Barabbas are no justification for those of Turpin. The conduct of the two men of Belial who swore away the life of Naboth, has never been cited as an excuse for the perjuries of Oates and Dangerfield. Mr Montagu has confounded two things which it is necessary carefully to distinguish from each other, if we wish to form a correct judgment of the characters of men of other countries and other times. That an immoral action is, in a particular society, generally considered as innocent, is a good plea for an individual who, being one of that society, and having adopted the notions which prevail among his neighbours, commits that action. But the circumstance that a great many people

Digitized by Google

are in the habit of committing immoral actions, is no plea at all. We should think it unjust to call St Louis a wicked man, because, in an age in which toleration was generally regarded as a sin, he persecuted heretics. We should think it unjust to call Cowper's friend, John Newton, a hypocrite and a monster, because, at a time when the slave-trade was commonly considered by the most respectable people as an innocent and beneficial traffic, he went, largely provided with hymn-books and handcuffs, on a Guinea voyage. But the circumstance that there are fifty thousand thieves in London is no excuse for a fellow who is caught breaking into a shop. No man is to be blamed for not making discoveries in morality,—for not finding out that something which every body else thinks to be good is really bad. But if a man does that which he and all around him know to be bad, it is no excuse for him that others have done the same. We should be ashamed of spending so much time in pointing out so clear a distinction, but that Mr Montagu seems altogether to overlook it.

Now, to apply these principles to the case before us: let Mr Montagu prove that, in Bacon's age, the practices for which Bacon was punished were generally considered as innocent; and we admit that he has made out his point. But this we defy him to do. That these practices were common, we admit. But they were common just as all wickedness to which there is strong temptation always was, and always will be common. They were common just as theft, cheating, perjury, adultery, have always been common. They were common, not because people did not know what was right, but because people liked to do what was wrong. They were common, though prohibited by law. They were common, though condemned by public opinion. They were common, because in that age law and public opinion united had not sufficient force to restrain the greediness of powerful and unprincipled magistrates. They were common, as every crime will be common when the gain to which it leads is great, and the chance of disgrace and punishment small. But though common, they were universally allowed to be altogether unjustifiable; they were in the highest degree odious; and, though many were guilty of them, none had the audacity publicly to avow and defend them.

We could give a thousand proofs that the opinion then entertained concerning these practices was such as we have described. But we will content ourselves with calling a single witness—honest Hugh Latimer. His sermons—preached more than seventy years before the enquiry into Bacon's conduct—abound with the sharpest invectives against those very practices of which Bacon was guilty, and which, as Mr Montagu seems to think, nobody

Digitized by Google

ever considered as blamable till Bacon was punished for them. We could easily fill twenty pages with the homely, but just and forcible rhetoric of the brave old bishop. We shall select a few passages as fair specimens, and no more than fair specimens, of the rest. '*Omnes diligunt munera.* They all love bribes. 'Bribery is a princely kind of thieving. They will be waged 'by the rich, either to give sentence against the poor, or to put 'off the poor man's cause. This is the noble theft of princes 'and magistrates. They are bribe-takers. *Nowadays they call 'them gentle rewards. Let them leave their colouring and call 'them by their Christian name—bribes.*' And again—'Cambyses 'was a great emperor, such another as our master is. He had 'many lord deputies, lord presidents, and lieutenants under him. 'It is a great while ago since I read the history. It chanced he 'had under him in one of his dominions a briber, a gift-taker, a 'gratifier of rich men; he followed gifts as fast as he that fol- 'lowed the pudding, a handmaker in his office to make his son 'a great man, as the old saying is: Happy is the child whose 'father goeth to the devil. The cry of the poor widow came to 'the emperor's ear, and caused him to flay the judge quick, and 'laid his skin in the chair of judgment, that all judges that should 'give judgment afterward should sit in the same skin. Surely 'it was a goodly sign, a goodly monument, the sign of the judge's 'skin. *I pray God we may once see the skin in England.*' 'I 'am sure,' says he in another sermon, 'this is *scala inferni*, the 'right way to hell, to be covetous, to take bribes, and pervert 'justice. If a judge should ask me the way to hell, I would 'show him this way. First, let him be a covetous man; let his 'heart be poisoned with covetousness. Then let him go a little 'further and take bribes; and, lastly, pervert judgment. Lo, 'here is the mother, and the daughter, and the daughter's 'daughter. Avarice is the mother: she brings forth bribe-taking, 'and bribe-taking perverting of judgment. There lacks a fourth 'thing to make up the mess, which, so help me God, if I were 'judge, should be *hangum tuum*, a Tyburn tippet to take with 'him; an it were the judge of the King's Bench, my Lord Chief 'Judge of England,—*yea, an it were my Lord Chancellor him- 'self, to Tyburn with him.*' We will quote but one more pas- sage. 'He that took the silver basin and ewer for a bribe, 'thinketh that it will never come out. But he may now know 'that I know it, and I know it not alone; there be more beside 'me that know it. Oh, briber and bribery! He was never a 'good man that will so take bribes. Nor can I believe that he 'that is a briber will be a good justice. It will never be merry 'in England till we have the skins of such. *For what needeth 'bribing where men do their things uprightly?*'

Digitized by Google

This was not the language of a great philosopher who had made new discoveries in moral and political science. It was the plain talk of a plain man, who sprang from the body of the people, who sympathized strongly with their wants and their feelings, and who boldly uttered their opinions. It was on account of the fearless way in which stout-hearted old Hugh exposed the misdeeds of men in ermine tippets, and gold collars, that the Londoners cheered him, as he walked down the Strand to preach at Whitehall,—struggled for a touch of his gown, and bawled, 'Have 'at them, father Latimer.' It is plain, from the passages which we have quoted, and from fifty others which we might quote, that, long before Bacon was born, the accepting of presents by a judge was known to be a wicked and shameful act,—that the fine words under which it was the fashion to veil such corrupt practices were even then seen through by the common people,—that the distinction on which Mr Montagu insists between compliments and bribes was even then laughed at as a mere 'colouring.' There may be some oratorical exaggeration in what Latimer says about the Tyburn tippet and the sign of the judge's skin; but the fact that he ventured to use such expressions is amply sufficient to prove, that the gift-taking judges, the receivers of silver basins and ewers, were regarded as such pests of the commonwealth, that a venerable divine might, without any breach of Christian charity, publicly pray to God for their detection and their condign punishment.

Mr Montagu tells us, most justly, that we ought not to transfer the opinions of our own age to a former age. But he has himself committed a greater error than that against which he has cautioned his readers. Without any evidence,—nay, in the face of the strongest evidence,—he ascribes to the people of a former age a set of opinions which no people ever held. But any hypothesis is in his view more probable than that Bacon should have been a dishonest man. We firmly believe that, if papers were to be discovered which should irresistibly prove that Bacon was concerned in the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, Mr Montagu would tell us that, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was not thought improper in a man to put arsenic into the broth of his friends, and that we ought to blame, not Bacon, but the age in which he lived.

But why should we have recourse to any other evidence, when the proceeding against Bacon is itself the best evidence on the subject? When Mr Montagu tells us, that we ought not to transfer the opinions of our age to Bacon's age, he appears altogether to forget, that it was by men of Bacon's own age that Bacon was prosecuted, tried, convicted, and sentenced. Did not they know

Digitized by Google

what their own opinions were? Did not they know whether they thought the taking of gifts by a judge a crime or not? Mr Montagu complains bitterly that Bacon was induced to abstain from making a defence. But, if Bacon's defence resembled that which is made for him in the volume before us, it would have been unnecessary to trouble the Houses with it. The Lords and Commons did not want Bacon to tell them the thoughts of their own hearts,—to inform them that they did not consider such practices as those in which they had detected him, as at all culpable. Mr Montagu's proposition may indeed be fairly stated thus:—It was very hard that Bacon's contemporaries should think it wrong in him to do what they did not think it wrong in him to do. Hard indeed; and withal somewhat improbable. Will any person say that the Commons who impeached Bacon for taking presents, and the Lords who sentenced him to fine, imprisonment, and degradation for taking presents, did not know that the taking of presents was a crime? Or, will any person say that Bacon did not know what the whole House of Commons and the whole House of Lords knew? Nobody who is not prepared to maintain one of these absurd propositions can deny that Bacon committed what he knew to be a crime.

It cannot be pretended that the Houses were seeking occasion to ruin Bacon; and that they therefore brought him to punishment on charges which they themselves knew to be frivolous. In no quarter was there the faintest indication of a disposition to treat him harshly. Through the whole proceeding there was no symptom of personal animosity or of factious violence in either House. Indeed, we will venture to say that no State-Trial in our history is more creditable to all who took part in it, either as prosecutors or judges. The decency, the gravity, the public spirit,—the justice moderated but not unnerved by compassion,—which appeared in every part of the transaction, would do honour to the most respectable public men of our own times. The accusers, while they discharged their duty to their constituents by bringing the misdeeds of the Chancellor to light, spoke with admiration of his many eminent qualities. The Lords, while condemning him, complimented him on the ingenuousness of his confession, and spared him the humiliation of a public appearance at their bar. So strong was the contagion of good feeling, that even Sir Edward Coke, for the first time in his life, behaved like a gentleman. No criminal ever had more temperate prosecutors than Bacon. No criminal ever had more favourable judges. If he was convicted, it was because it was impossible to acquit him without offering the grossest outrage to justice and common sense.

Digitized by Google

Mr Montagu's other argument, namely, that Bacon, though he took *gifts*, did not take *bribes*, seems to us as futile as that which we have considered. Indeed, we might be content to leave it to be answered by the plainest man among our readers. Demosthenes noticed it with contempt more than two thousand years ago. Latimer, we have seen, treated this sophistry with similar disdain. 'Leave colouring,' said he, 'and call these 'things by their Christian names—bribes.' Mr Montagu attempts—somewhat unfairly, we must say—to represent the presents which Bacon received, as similar to the perquisites which suitors paid to the members of the Parliaments of France. The French magistrate had a legal right to his fee; and the amount of the fee was regulated by law. Whether this be a good mode of remunerating judges is not the question. But what analogy is there between payments of this sort and the presents which Bacon received, —presents which were not sanctioned by the law, which were not made under the public eye, and of which the amount was regulated only by private bargain between the magistrate and the suitor? Again, it is mere trifling to say that Bacon could not have meant to act corruptly, because he employed the agency of men of rank, of bishops, privy councillors, and members of Parliament;—as if the whole history of that generation was not full of the low actions of high people;—as if it was not notorious that men as exalted in rank as any of the decoys Bacon employed, had pimped for Somerset, and poisoned Overbury.

But, says Mr Montagu, these presents 'were made openly 'and with the greatest publicity.' This would indeed be a strong argument in favour of Bacon. But we deny the fact. In one, and one only, of the cases in which Bacon was accused of corruptly receiving gifts, does he appear to have received a gift publicly. This was in a matter depending between the Company of Apothecaries and the Company of Grocers. Bacon, in his Confession, insisted strongly on the circumstance, that he had on this occasion taken presents publicly, as a proof that he had not taken them corruptly. Is it not clear, that if he had taken the presents mentioned in the other charges in the same public manner, he would have dwelt on this point in his answer to those charges? The fact that he insists so strongly on the publicity of one particular present, is of itself sufficient to prove that the other presents were not publicly taken. Why he took this present publicly and the rest secretly, is evident. He on that occasion acted openly, because he was acting honestly. He was not on that occasion sitting judicially. He was called in to effect an amicable arrangement between two parties. Both were satisfied with his decision. Both joined in making him a present in re-

Digitized by Google

turn for his trouble. Whether it was quite delicate in a man of his rank to accept a present under such circumstances, may be questioned. But there is no ground in this case for accusing him of corruption.

Unhappily, the very circumstances which prove him to have been innocent in this case, prove him to have been guilty on the other charges. Once, and once only, he alleges that he received a present publicly. The inference is, that in all the other cases mentioned in the articles against him he received presents secretly. When we examine the single case in which he alleges that he received a present publicly, we find that it is also the single case in which there was no gross impropriety in his receiving a present. Is it then possible to doubt that his reason for not receiving other presents in as public a manner was, that he knew that it was wrong to receive them?

One argument still remains, plausible in appearance, but admitting of easy and complete refutation. The two chief complainants, Aubrey and Egerton,* had both made presents to the Chancellor. But he had decided against them both. Therefore, he had not received those presents as bribes. 'The complaints 'of his accusers were,' says Mr Montagu, 'not that the gratui-'ties had, but that they had not influenced Bacon's judgment, as 'he had decided against them.'

The truth is, that it is precisely in this way that an extensive system of corruption is generally detected. A person who, by a bribe, has procured a decree in his favour, is by no means likely to come forward of his own accord as an accuser. He is content. He has his *quid pro quo*. He is not impelled either by interested or by vindictive motives to bring the transaction before the public. On the contrary, he has almost as strong motives for holding his tongue as the judge himself can have. But when a judge practises corruption, as we fear that Bacon practised it, on a large scale, and has many agents looking out in different quarters for prey, it will sometimes happen that he will be bribed on both sides. It will sometimes happen that he will receive money from suitors who are so obviously in the wrong that he cannot with decency do any thing to serve them. Thus, he will now and then be forced to pronounce against a person from whom he has received a present; and he makes that person a deadly enemy. The hundreds who have got what they paid for, remain quiet. It is the two or three who have paid, and have nothing to show for their money, who are noisy.

The memorable case of the Goëzmans is an example of this. Beaumarchais had an important suit depending before the Parliament of Paris. M. Goëzman was the judge on whom chiefly

Digitized by Google

the decision depended. It was hinted to Beaumarchais that Madame Goëzman might be propitiated by a present. He accordingly offered certain *rouleaus* of *Louis-d'or* to the lady, who received them graciously. There can be no doubt that if the decision of the Court had been favourable to him, these things would never have been known to the world. But he lost his cause. Almost the whole sum which he had expended in bribery, was immediately refunded; and those who had disappointed him probably thought that he would not, for the mere gratification of his malevolence, make public a transaction which was discreditable to himself as well as to them. They knew little of him. He soon taught them to curse the day in which they had dared to trifle with a man of so revengeful and turbulent a spirit,—of such dauntless effrontery, and of such eminent talents for controversy and satire. He compelled the Parliament to put a degrading stigma on M. Goëzman. He drove Madame Goëzman to a convent. Till it was too late to pause, his excited passions did not suffer him to remember that he could effect their ruin only by disclosures ruinous to himself. We could give other instances. But it is needless. No person well acquainted with human nature can fail to perceive that, if the doctrine for which Mr Montagu contends were admitted, society would be deprived of almost the only chance which it has of detecting the corrupt practices of judges.

We return to our narrative. The sentence of Bacon had scarcely been pronounced when it was mitigated. He was indeed sent to the Tower. But this was merely a form. In two days he was set at liberty, and soon after he retired to Gorhambury. His fine was speedily released by the Crown. He was next suffered to present himself at Court; and at length, in 1624, the rest of his punishment was remitted. He was now at liberty to resume his seat in the House of Lords, and he was actually summoned to the next Parliament. But age, infirmity, and perhaps shame, prevented him from attending. The Government allowed him a pension of one thousand two hundred pounds a-year; and his whole annual income is estimated by Mr Montagu at two thousand five hundred pounds,—a sum which was probably above the average income of a nobleman of that generation, and which was certainly sufficient for comfort and even for splendour. Unhappily, Bacon was fond of display, and unused to pay minute attention to domestic affairs. He was not easily persuaded to give up any part of the magnificence to which he had been accustomed in the time of his power and prosperity. No pressure of distress could induce him to part with the woods of Gorhambury. 'I will not,' he said, 'be stripped of my feathers.' He

Digitized by Google

travelled with so splendid an equipage, and so large a retinue, that Prince Charles, who once fell in with him on the road, exclaimed with surprise,—'Well; do what we can, this man scorns 'to go out in snuff.' This carelessness and ostentation reduced him to frequent distress. He was under the necessity of parting with York House, and of taking up his residence, during his visits to London, at his old chambers in Gray's Inn. He had other vexations, the exact nature of which is unknown. It is evident from his will, that some part of his wife's conduct had greatly disturbed and irritated him.

But whatever might be his pecuniary difficulties, or his conjugal discomforts, the powers of his intellect still remained undiminished. Those noble studies for which he had found leisure in the midst of professional drudgery and of courtly intrigues, gave to this last sad stage of his life a dignity beyond what power or titles could bestow. Impeached, convicted, sentenced,—driven with ignominy from the presence of his Sovereign, shut out from the deliberations of his fellow nobles, loaded with debt, branded with dishonour, sinking under the weight of years, sorrow and disease,—Bacon was Bacon still. 'My conceit of his person,' says Ben Jonson very finely, 'was never increased towards him 'by his place or honours; but I have and do reverence him for 'the greatness that was only proper to himself; in that he seemed 'to me ever, by his work, one of the greatest men and most worthy 'of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adversity I 'ever prayed that God would give him strength; for greatness he 'could not want.'

The services which he rendered to letters during the last five years of his life, amidst ten thousand distractions and vexations, increase the regret, with which we think on the many years which he had wasted,—to use the words of Sir Thomas Bodley,—'on such study as was not worthy of such a student.' He commenced a Digest of the Laws of England,—a History of England under the Princes of the House of Tudor, a body of Natural History, a Philosophical Romance. He made extensive and valuable additions to his essays. He published the inestimable Treatise *De Augmentis Scientiarum*. The very trifles with which he amused himself in hours of pain and languor bore the mark of his mind. The best Jest-Book in the world is that which he dictated from memory, without referring to any book, on a day on which illness had rendered him incapable of serious study.

The great apostle of experimental philosophy was destined to be its martyr. It had occurred to him that snow might be used with advantage for the purpose of preventing animal substances from putrefying. On a very cold day, early in the spring of the

Digitized by Google

year 1626, he alighted from his coach near Highgate, in order to try the experiment. He went into a cottage, bought a fowl, and with his own hands stuffed it with snow. While thus engaged he felt a sudden chill, and was soon so much indisposed that it was impossible for him to return to Gray's Inn. The Earl of Arundel, with whom he was well acquainted, had a house at Highgate. To that house Bacon was carried. The Earl was absent; but the servants who were in charge of the place showed great respect and attention to the illustrious guest. Here, after an illness of about a week, he expired early on the morning of Easter-day, 1626. His mind appears to have retained its strength and liveliness to the end. He did not forget the fowl which had caused his death. In the last letter that he ever wrote, with fingers which, as he said, could not steadily hold a pen, he did not omit to mention that the experiment of the snow had succeeded 'excellently well.'

Our opinion of the moral character of this great man has already been sufficiently explained. Had his life been passed in literary retirement, he would, in all probability, have deserved to be considered, not only as a great philosopher, but as a worthy and good-natured member of society. But neither his principles nor his spirit were such as could be trusted, when strong temptations were to be resisted, and serious dangers to be braved.

In his Will, he expressed with singular brevity, energy, dignity, and pathos, a mournful consciousness that his actions had not been such as to entitle him to the esteem of those under whose observation his life had been passed; and, at the same time, a proud confidence that his writings had secured for him a high and permanent place among the benefactors of mankind. So at least we understand those striking words which have been often quoted, but which we must quote once more—'For my name 'and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, and to fo- 'reign nations, and to the next age.'

His confidence was just. From the day of his death his fame has been constantly and steadily progressive; and we have no doubt that his name will be named with reverence to the latest ages, and to the remotest ends of the civilized world.

The chief peculiarity of Bacon's philosophy seems to us to have been this—that it aimed at things altogether different from those which his predecessors had proposed to themselves. This was his own opinion. 'Finis scientiarum,' says he, 'a nemine 'adhue bene positus est.'* And again, 'Omnium gravissimus

---

* *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1, Aph. 81.

Digitized by Google

'error in deviatione ab ultimo doctrinarum fine consistit.'* 'Nec 'ipsa meta,' says he elsewhere, 'adhuc ulli, quod sciam, mor-'talium posita est et defixa.'† The more carefully his works are examined the more clearly, we think, it will appear, that this is the real clue to his whole system; and that he used means different from those used by other philosophers, because he wished to arrive at an end altogether different from theirs.

What then was the end which Bacon proposed to himself? It was, to use his own emphatic expression, 'fruit.' It was the multiplying of human enjoyments and the mitigating of human sufferings. It was 'the relief of man's estate.'‡ It was 'com-'modis humanis inservire.'§ It was 'efficaciter operari ad suble-'vanda vitæ humanæ incommoda.'‖ It was 'dotare vitam hu-'manam novis inventis et copiis.'¶ It was 'genus humanum 'novis operibus et potestatibus continuo dotare.'** This was the object of all his speculations in every department of science,—in natural philosophy, in legislation, in politics, in morals.

Two words form the key of the Baconian doctrine—Utility and Progress. The ancient philosophy disdained to be useful, and was content to be stationary. It dealt largely in theories of moral perfection, which were so sublime that they never could be more than theories; in attempts to solve insoluble enigmas; in exhortations to the attainment of unattainable frames of mind. It could not condescend to the humble office of ministering to the comfort of human beings. All the schools regarded that office as degrading; some censured it as immoral. Once indeed Posidonius, a distinguished writer of the age of Cicero and Cæsar, so far forgot himself as to enumerate among the humbler blessings which mankind owed to philosophy, the discovery of the principle of the arch, and the introduction of the use of metals. This eulogy was considered as an affront, and was taken up with proper spirit. Seneca vehemently disclaims these insulting compliments.†† Philosophy, according to him, has nothing to do with teaching men to rear arched roofs over their heads. The true philosopher does not care whether he has an arched roof or any roof. Philosophy has nothing to do with teaching men the uses of metals. She teaches us to be independent of all material sub-

---

* *De Augmentis*, Lib. 1. † *Cogitata et visa.*
‡ *Advancement of Learning*, Book 1.
§ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 7, Cap. 1. ‖ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 2, Cap. 2.
¶ *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1, Aph. 81. ** *Cogitata et visa.*
†† Seneca, *Epist.* 90.

Digitized by Google

stances, of all mechanical contrivances. The wise man lives according to nature. Instead of attempting to add to the physical comforts of his species, he regrets that his lot was not cast in that golden age when the human race had no protection against the cold but the skins of wild beasts—no screen from the sun but a cavern. To impute to such a man any share in the invention or improvement of a plough, a ship, or a mill, is an insult. 'In 'my own time,' says Seneca, 'there have been inventions of this 'sort,—transparent windows,—tubes for diffusing warmth equally 'through all parts of a building,—short-hand, which has been car-'ried to such perfection that a writer can keep pace with the most 'rapid speaker. But the inventing of such things is drudgery for 'the lowest slaves: philosophy lies deeper. It is not her office to 'teach men how to use their hands. The object of her lessons is 'to form the soul—*Non est, inquam, instrumentorum ad usus ne-'cessarios opifex.*' If the *non* were left out, this last sentence would be no bad description of the Baconian philosophy; and would, indeed, very much resemble several expressions in the *Novum Organum*. 'We shall next be told,' exclaims Seneca, 'that the first shoemaker was a philosopher.' For our own part, if we are forced to make our choice between the first shoemaker, and the author of the three books 'On Anger,' we pronounce for the shoemaker. It may be worse to be angry than to be wet. But shoes have kept millions from being wet; and we doubt whether Seneca ever kept any body from being angry.

It is very reluctantly that Seneca can be brought to confess that any philosopher had ever paid the smallest attention to any thing that could possibly promote what vulgar people would consider as the well-being of mankind. He labours to clear Democritus from the disgraceful imputation of having made the first arch, and Anacharsis from the charge of having contrived the potter's wheel. He is forced to own that such a thing might happen; and it may also happen, he tells us, that a philosopher may be swift of foot. But it is not in his character of philosopher that he either wins a race or invents a machine. No, to be sure. The business of a philosopher was to declaim in praise of poverty with two millions sterling out at usury—to meditate epigrammatic conceits about the evils of luxury, in gardens which moved the envy of sovereigns—to rant about liberty, while fawning on the insolent and pampered freedmen of a tyrant—to celebrate the divine beauty of virtue with the same pen which had just before written a defence of the murder of a mother by a son.

From the cant of this philosophy—a philosophy meanly proud

Digitized by Google

of its own unprofitableness—it is delightful to turn to the lessons of the great English teacher. We can almost forgive all the faults of Bacon's life when we read that singularly graceful and dignified passage:—'Ego certe, ut de me ipso, quod res est, 'loquar, et in iis quæ nunc edo, et in iis quæ in posterum meditor, 'dignitatem ingenii et nominis mei, si qua sit, sæpius sciens et 'volens projicio, *dum commodis humanis inserviam;* quique archi-'tectus fortasse in philosophia et scientiis esse debeam, etiam ope-'rarius et bajulus, et quidvis demum fio, cum haud pauca quæ 'omnino fieri necesse sit, alii autem ob innatam superbiam subter-'fugiant, ipse sustineam et exsequar.'* This *philanthropia*, which, as he said, in one of the most remarkable of his early letters, 'was so fixed in his mind as it could not be removed,'—this majestic humility, this persuasion that nothing can be too insignificant for the attention of the wisest, which is not too insignificant to give pleasure or pain to the meanest—is the great characteristical distinction, the essential spirit of the Baconian philosophy. We trace it in all that Bacon has written on Physics, on Laws, on Morals. And we conceive that from this peculiarity all the other peculiarities of his system directly and almost necessarily sprang.

The spirit which appears in the passage of Seneca to which we have referred, tainted the whole body of the ancient philosophy from the time of Socrates downwards; and took possession of intellects with which that of Seneca cannot, for a moment, be compared. It pervades the dialogues of Plato. It may be distinctly traced in many parts of the works of Aristotle. Bacon has dropped hints from which it may be inferred, that in his opinion the prevalence of this feeling was in a great measure to be attributed to the influence of Socrates. Our great countryman evidently did not consider the revolution which Socrates effected in philosophy as a happy event; and he constantly maintained that the earlier Greek speculators, Democritus in particular, were, on the whole, superior to their more celebrated successors.†

Assuredly, if the tree which Socrates planted, and Plato watered, is to be judged of by its flowers and leaves, it is the noblest of trees. But if we take the homely test of Bacon,—if

---

* *De Augmentis*, Lib. 7, Cap. 1.

† *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1, Aph. 71, 79. *De Augmentis*, Lib. 3, Cap. 4. De principiis atque originibus. *Cogitata et visa.* Redargutio philosophiarum.

Digitized by Google

we judge of the tree by its *fruits*,—our opinion of it may perhaps be less favourable. When we sum up all the useful truths which we owe to that philosophy, to what do they amount? We find, indeed, abundant proofs that some of those who cultivated it were men of the first order of intellect. We find among their writings incomparable specimens both of dialectical and rhetorical art. We have no doubt that the ancient controversies were of use, in so far as they served to exercise the faculties of the disputants; for there is no controversy so idle that it may not be of use in this way. But, when we look for something more,—for something which adds to the comforts or alleviates the calamities of the human race,—we are forced to own ourselves disappointed. We are forced to say with Bacon, that this celebrated philosophy ended in nothing but disputation; that it was neither a vineyard nor an olive-ground, but an intricate wood of briars and thistles from which those who lost themselves in it, brought back many scratches and no food.*

We readily acknowledge that some of the teachers of this unfruitful wisdom were among the greatest men that the world has ever seen. If we admit the justice of Bacon's censure, we admit it with regret, similar to that which Dante felt when he learned the fate of those illustrious heathens who were doomed to the first circle of Hell.

> 'Gran duol mi prese al cuor quando lo'ntesi,
> Perocché gente di molto valore
> Conobbi che'n quel limbo eran sospesi.'

But in truth the very admiration which we feel for the eminent philosophers of antiquity, forces us to adopt the opinion, that their powers were systematically misdirected. For how else could it be that such powers should effect so little for mankind? A pedestrian may show as much muscular vigour on a treadmill as on the highway road. But on the road his vigour will assuredly carry him forward; and on the treadmill he will not advance an inch. The ancient philosophy was a treadmill, not a path. It was made up of revolving questions,—of controversies which were always beginning again. It was a contrivance for having much exertion and no progress. We must acknowledge that more than once while contemplating the doctrines of the Academy and the Portico, even as they appear in the transparent splendour of Cicero's incomparable diction, we have been tempted to mutter with the surly centurion in Persius—'Cur quis non prandeat hoc

---

* *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1, Aph. 73.

Digitized by Google

'est?' What is the highest good,—whether pain be an evil,—whether all things be fated,—whether we can be certain of any thing,—whether we can be certain that we are certain of nothing,—whether a wise man can be unhappy,—whether all departures from right be equally reprehensible,—these, and other questions of the same sort, occupied the brains, the tongues, and the pens, of the ablest men in the civilised world during several centuries. This sort of philosophy, it is evident, could not be progressive. It might indeed sharpen and invigorate the minds of those who devoted themselves to it; and so might the disputes of the orthodox Lilliputians, and the heretical Blefuscudians, about the big ends and the little ends of eggs. But such disputes could add nothing to the stock of knowledge. The human mind accordingly, instead of marching, merely marked time. It took as much trouble as would have sufficed to carry it forward; and yet remained on the same spot. There was no accumulation of truth,—no heritage of truth acquired by the labour of one generation and bequeathed to another, to be again transmitted with large additions to a third. Where this philosophy was in the time of Cicero, there it continued to be in the time of Seneca, and there it continued to be in the time of Favorinus. The same sects were still battling, with the same unsatisfactory arguments, about the same interminable questions. There had been no want of ingenuity, of zeal, of industry. Every trace of intellectual cultivation was there except a harvest. There had been plenty of ploughing, harrowing, reaping, thrashing. But the garners contained only smut and stubble.

The ancient philosophers did not neglect natural science; but they did not cultivate it for the purpose of increasing the power and ameliorating the condition of man. The taint of barrenness had spread from ethical to physical speculations. Seneca wrote largely on natural philosophy, and magnified the importance of that study. But why? Not because it tended to assuage suffering, to multiply the conveniences of life, to extend the empire of man over the material world; but solely because it tended to raise the mind above low cares, to separate it from the body, to exercise its subtlety in the solution of very obscure questions.* Thus natural philosophy was considered in the light merely of a mental exercise. It was made subsidiary to the art of disputation; and it consequently proved altogether barren of useful discoveries.

There was one sect, which, however absurd and pernicious

* Seneca *Nat. Quaest. præf.* Lib. 3.

Digitized by Google

some of its doctrines may have been, ought, it should seem, to have merited an exception from the general censure which Bacon has pronounced on the ancient schools of wisdom. The Epicurean, who referred all happiness to bodily pleasure, and all evil to bodily pain, might have been expected to exert himself for the purpose of bettering his own physical condition and that of his neighbours. But the thought seems never to have occurred to any member of that school. Indeed their notion, as reported by their great poet, was, that no more improvements were to be expected in the arts which conduce to the comfort of life,

'Ad victum quæ flagitat usus
Omnia jam ferme mortalibus esse parata.'

This contented despondency,—this disposition to admire what has been done, and to expect that nothing more will be done,—is strongly characteristic of all the schools which preceded the school of Fruit and Progress. Widely as the Epicurean and the Stoic differed on most points, they seem to have quite agreed in their contempt for pursuits so vulgar as to be useful. The philosophy of both was a garrulous, declaiming, canting, wrangling philosophy. Century after century they continued to repeat their hostile war-cries—Virtue and Pleasure; and in the end it appeared the Epicurean had added as little to the quantity of pleasure as the Stoic to the quantity of virtue. It is on the pedestal of Bacon, not on that of Epicurus, that those noble lines ought to be inscribed:

'O tenebris tantis tam clarum extollere lumen
Qui primus potuisti, ILLUSTRANS COMMODA VITÆ.'

In the fifth century, Christianity had conquered Paganism, and Paganism had infected Christianity. The Church was now victorious and corrupt. The rites of the Pantheon had passed into her worship; the subtleties of the Academy into her creed. In an evil day, says Bacon, though with great pomp and solemnity, was the ill-starred alliance stricken between the old philosophy and the new faith.* Questions widely different from those which had employed the ingenuity of Pyrrho and Carneades, but just as subtle, just as interminable, and just as unprofitable, exercised the minds of the lively and voluble Greeks. When learning began to revive in the West, similar trifles occupied the sharp and vigorous intellects of the Schoolmen. There was another sowing of the wind, and another reaping of the whirlwind. The great work of improving the condition of the human race was

* *Cogitata et visa.*

Digitized by Google

still considered as unworthy of a man of learning. Those who undertook that task, if what they effected could be readily comprehended, were despised as mechanics; if not, they were in danger of being burned as conjurers.

There cannot be a stronger proof of the degree in which the human mind had been misdirected than the history of the two greatest events which took place during the middle ages. We speak of the invention of Gunpowder, and of the invention of Printing. The dates of both are unknown. The authors of both are unknown. Nor was this because men were too rude and ignorant to value intellectual superiority. The inventor of gunpowder appears to have been contemporary with Petrarch and Boccaccio. The inventor of printing was contemporary with Nicholas the Fifth, with Cosmo de' Medici, and with a crowd of distinguished scholars. But the human mind still retained that fatal bent which it had received two thousand years earlier. George of Trebisond and Marsilio Ficino would not easily have been brought to believe that the inventor of the printing-press had done more for mankind than themselves; or than those ancient writers of whom they were the enthusiastic votaries.

At length the time arrived when the barren philosophy which had, during so many ages, employed the faculties of the ablest men, was destined to fall. It had worn many shapes. It had mingled itself with many creeds. It had survived revolutions in which empires, religions, languages, races, had perished. Driven from its ancient haunts, it had taken sanctuary in that Church which it had persecuted; and had, like the daring fiends of the poet, placed its seat

> 'next the seat of God,
> And with its darkness dared affront his light.'

Words and more words, and nothing but words, had been all the fruit of all the toil, of all the most renowned sages of sixty generations. But the days of this sterile exuberance were numbered.

Many causes predisposed the public mind to a change. The study of a great variety of ancient writers, though it did not give a right direction to philosophical research, did much towards destroying that blind reverence for authority which had prevailed when Aristotle ruled alone. The rise of the Florentine sect of Platonists,—a sect to which belonged some of the finest minds of the fifteenth century,—was not an unimportant event. The mere substitution of the Academic for the Peripatetic philosophy would indeed have done little good. But any thing was better than the old habit of unreasoning servility. It was something to have a choice of tyrants. 'A spark of freedom,' as Gibbon

Digitized by Google

has justly remarked, 'was produced by this collision of adverse 'servitude.'

Other causes might be mentioned. But it is chiefly to the great reformation of religion that we owe the great reformation of philosophy. The alliance between the Schools and the Vatican had for ages been so close, that those who threw off the dominion of the Vatican could not continue to recognise the authority of the Schools. Most of the great reformers treated the Peripatetic philosophy with contempt; and spoke of Aristotle as if Aristotle had been answerable for all the dogmas of Thomas Acquinas. 'Nullo apud Lutheranos philosophiam esse in pretio,'* was a reproach which the defenders of the Church of Rome loudly repeated, and which many of the Protestant leaders considered as a compliment. Scarcely any text was more frequently cited by them than that in which St Paul cautions the Colossians not to let any man spoil them by philosophy. Luther, almost at the outset of his career, went so far as to declare that no man could be at once a proficient in the school of Aristotle and in that of Christ. Zwingle, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Calvin, held similar language. In some of the Scotch universities, the Aristotelian system was discarded for that of Ramus. Thus, before the birth of Bacon, the empire of the scholastic philosophy had been shaken to its foundations. There was in the intellectual world an anarchy resembling that which in the political world often follows the overthrow of an old and deeply rooted government. Antiquity, prescription, the sound of great names, had ceased to awe mankind. The dynasty which had reigned for ages was at an end; and the vacant throne was left to be struggled for by pretenders.

The first effect of this great revolution was, as Bacon most justly observed,† to give for a time an undue importance to the mere graces of style. The new breed of scholars, the Aschams and Buchanans, nourished with the finest compositions of the Augustan age, regarded with loathing the dry, crabbed, and barbarous diction of respondents and opponents. They were far less studious about the matter of their works than about the manner. They succeeded in reforming Latinity; but they never even aspired to effect a reform in philosophy.

At this time Bacon appeared. It is altogether incorrect to say, as has often been said, that he was the first man who rose up against the Aristotelian philosophy when in the height of its

---

* We quote, on the authority of Bayle, from Melchior Cano, a scholastic divine of great reputation.

† *De Augmentis*, Lib. 1.

Digitized by Google

power. The authority of that philosophy had, as we have shown, received a fatal blow long before he was born. Several speculators, among whom Ramus was the best known, had recently attempted to form new sects. Bacon's own expressions about the state of public opinion in the time of Luther are clear and strong: 'Accedebat,' says he, 'odium et contemptus, illis ipsis temporibus ortus erga Scholasticos.' And again, 'Scholasticorum doctrina despectui prorsus haberi cœpit tanquam aspera et barbara.'* The part which Bacon played in this great change was the part, not of Robespierre, but of Bonaparte. When he came forward the ancient order of things had been subverted. Some bigots still cherished with devoted loyalty the remembrance of the fallen monarchy, and exerted themselves to effect a restoration. But the majority had no such feeling. Freed, yet not knowing how to use their freedom, they pursued no determinate course, and had found no leader capable of conducting them.

That leader at length arose. The philosophy which he taught was essentially new. It differed from that of the celebrated ancient teachers, not merely in method but in object. Its object was the good of mankind, in the sense in which the mass of mankind always have understood, and always will understand the word *good*. 'Meditor,' said Bacon, 'instaurationem philosophiæ ejusmodi quæ nihil inanis aut abstracti habeat, quæque vitæ humanæ conditiones in melius provebat.'†

The difference between the philosophy of Bacon and that of his predecessors cannot, we think, be better illustrated than by comparing his views on some important subjects with those of Plato. We select Plato, because we conceive that he did more than any other person towards giving to the minds of speculative men that bent which they retained till they received from Bacon a new impulse in a diametrically opposite direction.

It is curious to observe how differently these great men estimated the value of every kind of knowledge. Take Arithmetic for example. Plato, after speaking slightly of the convenience of being able to reckon and compute in the ordinary transactions of life, passes to what he considers as a far more important advantage. The study of the properties of numbers, he tells us, habituates the mind to the contemplation of pure truth, and raises it above the material universe. He would have his disciples apply themselves to this study,—not that they may be able to buy or sell,—not that they may qualify themselves to be shopkeepers

* Both these passages are in the first book of the *De Augmentis*.

† *Redargutio Philosophiarum*.

Digitized by Google

or travelling merchants,—but that they may learn to withdraw their minds from the ever-shifting spectacle of this visible and tangible world, and to fix them on the immutable essences of things.*

Bacon, on the other hand, valued this branch of knowledge only on account of its uses with reference to that visible and tangible world which Plato so much despised. He speaks with scorn of the mystical arithmetic of the later Platonists; and laments the propensity of mankind to employ, on mere matters of curiosity, powers, the whole exertion of which is required for purposes of solid advantage. He advises arithmeticians to leave these trifles, and to employ themselves in framing convenient expressions, which may be of use in physical researches.†

The same reasons which led Plato to recommend the study of arithmetic, led him to recommend also the study of mathematics. The vulgar crowd of geometricians, he says, will not understand him. They have practice always in view. They do not know that the real use of the science is to lead man to the knowledge of abstract, essential, eternal truth.‡ Indeed, if we are to believe Plutarch, Plato carried this feeling so far, that he considered geometry as degraded by being applied to any purpose of vulgar utility. Archytas, it seems, had framed machines of extraordinary power, on mathematical principles.§ Plato remonstrated with his friend; and declared that this was to degrade a noble intellectual exercise into a low craft, fit only for carpenters and wheelwrights. The office of geometry, he said, was to discipline the mind, not to minister to the base wants of the body. His interference was successful; and from that time, according to Plutarch, the science of mechanics was considered as unworthy of the attention of a philosopher.

Archimedes in a later age imitated and surpassed Archytas. But even Archimedes was not free from the prevailing notion that geometry was degraded by being employed to produce any thing useful. It was with difficulty that he was induced to stoop from speculation to practice. He was half ashamed of those inventions which were the wonder of hostile nations; and always spoke of them slightingly as mere amusements—as trifles in which a mathematician might be suffered to relax his mind after intense application to the higher parts of his science.

The opinion of Bacon on this subject was diametrically op-

---

* Plato's *Republic*, Book 7. † *De Augmentis*, Lib. 3, Cap. 6.

‡ Plato's *Republic*, Book 7.

§ Plutarch, *Sympos.* viii. and *Life of Marcellus.* The machines of Archytas are also mentioned by Aulus Gellius and Diogenes Laertius.

Digitized by Google

posed to that of the ancient philosophers. He valued geometry chiefly, if not solely, on account of those uses which to Plato appeared so base. And it is remarkable that the longer he lived the stronger this feeling became. When, in 1605, he wrote the two books on the 'Advancement of Learning,' he dwelt on the advantages which mankind derived from mixed mathematics; but he at the same time admitted, that the beneficial effect produced by mathematical study on the intellect, though a collateral advantage, was 'no less worthy than that which was principal and 'intended.' But it is evident that his views underwent a change. When, nearly twenty years later, he published the *De Augmentis*, which is the treatise on the 'Advancement of Learning,' greatly expanded and carefully corrected, he made important alterations in the part which related to mathematics. He condemned with severity the high pretensions of the mathematicians, —'delicias et fastum mathematicorum.' Assuming the well-being of the human race to be the end of knowledge,* he pronounced that mathematical science could claim no higher rank than that of an appendage, or an auxiliary to other sciences. Mathematical science, he says, is the handmaid of natural philosophy—she ought to demean herself as such—and he declares that he cannot conceive by what ill chance it has happened that she presumes to claim precedence over her mistress. He predicts, —a prediction which would have made Plato shudder,—that as more and more discoveries are made in physics, there will be more and more branches of mixed mathematics. Of that collateral advantage, the value of which, twenty years before, he rated so highly, he says not one word. This omission cannot have been the effect of mere inadvertence. His own treatise was before him. From that treatise he deliberately expunged whatever was favourable to the study of pure mathematics, and inserted several keen reflections on the ardent votaries of that study. This fact, in our opinion, admits of only one explanation. Bacon's love of those pursuits which directly tend to improve the condition of mankind, and his jealousy of all pursuits merely curious, had grown upon him, and had, it may be, become immoderate. He was afraid of using any expression which might have the effect of inducing any man of talents to employ in speculations, useful only to the mind of the speculator, a single hour which might be employed in extending the empire of man over matter.† If Bacon erred here, we must acknowledge that we greatly prefer

---

* Usui et commodis hominum consulimus.

† Compare the passage relating to mathematics in the Second Book of the Advancement of Learning with the *De Augmentis*, Lib. 3, Cap. 6.

Digitized by Google

his error to the opposite error of Plato. We have no patience with a philosophy which, like those Roman matrons who swallowed abortives in order to preserve their shapes, takes pains to be barren for fear of being homely.

Let us pass to astronomy. This was one of the sciences which Plato exhorted his disciples to learn, but for reasons far removed from common habits of thinking. 'Shall we set down astrono-'my,' says Socrates, 'among the subjects of study?'* 'I think 'so,' answers his young friend Glaucon: 'to know something 'about the seasons, about the months and the years is of 'use for military purposes, as well as for agriculture and na-'vigation.' 'It amuses me,' says Socrates, 'to see how afraid 'you are lest the common herd of people should accuse you 'of recommending useless studies.' He then proceeds in that pure and magnificent diction, which, as Cicero said, Jupiter would use if Jupiter spoke Greek, to explain, that the use of astronomy is not to add to the vulgar comforts of life, but to assist in raising the mind to the contemplation of things which are to be perceived by the pure intellect alone. The knowledge of the actual motions of the heavenly bodies he considers as of little value. The appearances which make the sky beautiful at night are, he tells us, like the figures which a geometrician draws on the sand, mere examples, mere helps to feeble minds. We must get beyond them; we must neglect them; we must attain to an astronomy which is as independent of the actual stars as geometrical truth is independent of the lines of an ill-drawn diagram. This is, we imagine, very nearly, if not exactly, the astronomy which Bacon compared to the ox of Prometheus†—a sleek, well shaped hide, stuffed with rubbish, goodly to look at, but containing nothing to eat. He complained that astronomy had, to its great injury, been separated from natural philosophy, of which it was one of the noblest provinces, and annexed to the domain of mathematics. The world stood in need, he said, of a very different astronomy—of a *living astronomy*,‡ of an astronomy which should set‖ forth the nature, the motion and the influences of the heavenly bodies, as they really are.

On the greatest and most useful of all inventions,—the invention of alphabetical writing,—Plato did not look with much complacency. He seems to have thought that the use of letters had operated on the human mind as the use of the go-cart in learn-

---

* Plato's *Republic*, Book 7. † *De Augmentis*, Lib. 3, Cap. 4.

‡ Astronomia viva.

‖ 'Quæ substantiam et motum et influxum cœlestium, prout re vera sunt proponat.' Compare this language with Plato's, '*τὰ δ'ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἰάσομεν.*'

Digitized by Google

ing to walk, or of corks in learning to swim, is said to operate on the human body. It was a support which soon became indispensable to those who used it,—which made vigorous exertion first unnecessary, and then impossible. The powers of the intellect would, he conceived, have been more fully developed without this delusive aid. Men would have been compelled to exercise the understanding and the memory; and, by deep and assiduous meditation, to make truth thoroughly their own. Now, on the contrary, much knowledge is traced on paper, but little is engraved in the soul. A man is certain that he can find information at a moment's notice when he wants it. He therefore suffers it to fade from his mind. Such a man cannot in strictness be said to know any thing. He has the show without the reality of wisdom. These opinions Plato has put into the mouth of an ancient King of Egypt.* But it is evident from the context that they were his own; and so they were understood to be by Quinctilian.† Indeed they are in perfect accordance with the whole Platonic system.

Bacon's views, as may easily be supposed, were widely different.‡ The powers of the memory, he observes, without the help of writing, can do little towards the advancement of any useful science. He acknowledges that the memory may be disciplined to such a point as to be able to perform very extraordinary feats. But on such feats he sets little value. The habits of his mind, he tells us, are such that he is not disposed to rate highly any accomplishment, however rare, which is of no practical use to mankind. As to these prodigious achievements of the memory, he ranks them with the exhibitions of rope-dancers and tumblers. 'The two performances,' he says, 'are of much the same sort. 'The one is an abuse of the powers of the body; the other is 'an abuse of the powers of the mind. Both may perhaps excite 'our wonder; but neither is entitled to our respect.'

To Plato, the science of medicine appeared one of very disputable advantage.§ He did not indeed object to quick cures for acute disorders, or for injuries produced by accidents. But the art which resists the slow sap of a chronic disease—which repairs frames enervated by lust, swollen by gluttony, or inflamed by wine—which encourages sensuality, by mitigating the natural punishment of the sensualist, and prolongs existence when the intellect has ceased to retain its entire energy—had no share of his esteem. A life protracted by medical skill he pronounced to be a long death. The exercise of the art of medicine ought, he said, to be tolerated so far as that art may serve to cure the occasional distempers of

---

* Plato's *Phædrus*.

† Quinctilian, XI.

‡ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 5, Cap. 5.

§ Plato's *Republic*, Book 3.

Digitized by Google

men whose constitutions are good. As to those who have bad constitutions, let them die;—and the sooner the better. Such men are unfit for war, for magistracy, for the management of their domestic affairs. That however is comparatively of little consequence. But they are incapable of study and speculation. If they engage in any severe mental exercise, they are troubled with giddiness and fulness of the head; all which they lay to the account of philosophy. The best thing that can happen to such wretches is to have done with life at once. He quotes mythical authority in support of this doctrine; and reminds his disciples that the practice of the sons of Æsculapius, as described by Homer, extended only to the cure of external injuries.

Far different was the philosophy of Bacon. Of all the sciences, that which he seems to have regarded with the greatest interest was the science which, in Plato's opinion, would not be tolerated in a well regulated community. To make men perfect was no part of Bacon's plan. His humble aim was to make imperfect men comfortable. The beneficence of his philosophy resembled the beneficence of the common Father, whose sun rises on the evil and the good—whose rain descends for the just and the unjust. In Plato's opinion man was made for philosophy; in Bacon's opinion philosophy was made for man; it was a means to an end; —and that end was to increase the pleasures, and to mitigate the pains of millions who are not and cannot be philosophers. That a valetudinarian who took great pleasure in being wheeled along his terrace, who relished his boiled chicken and his weak wine and water, and who enjoyed a hearty laugh over the Queen of Navarre's tales, should be treated as a *caput lupinum* because he could not read the Timæus without a headach, was a notion which the humane spirit of the English school of wisdom altogether rejected. Bacon would not have thought it beneath the dignity of a philosopher to contrive an improved garden chair for such a valetudinarian,—to devise some way of rendering his medicines more palatable,—to invent repasts which he might enjoy, and pillows on which he might sleep soundly; and this though there might not be the smallest hope that the mind of the poor invalid would ever rise to the contemplation of the ideal beautiful and the ideal good. As Plato had cited the religious legends of Greece to justify his contempt for the more recondite parts of the art of healing, Bacon vindicated the dignity of that art by appealing to the example of Christ; and reminded his readers that the great physician of the soul did not disdain to be also the physician of the body.*

* *De Augmentis*, Lib. 4, Cap. 2.

Digitized by Google

When we pass from the science of medicine to that of legislation, we find the same difference between the systems of these two great men. Plato, at the commencement of the fine Dialogue on Laws, lays it down as a fundamental principle, that the end of legislation is to make men virtuous. It is unnecessary to point out the extravagant conclusions to which such a proposition leads. Bacon well knew to how great an extent the happiness of every society must depend on the virtue of its members; and he also knew what legislators can, and what they cannot do for the purpose of promoting virtue. The view which he has given of the end of legislation and of the principal means for the attainment of that end, has always seemed to us eminently happy; even among the many happy passages of the same kind with which his works abound. 'Finis et scopus quem leges intueri atque ad 'quem jussiones et sanctiones suas dirigere debent, non alius est 'quam ut cives feliciter degant. Id fiet si pietate et religione 'recte instituti, moribus honesti, armis adversus hostes externos 'tuti, legum auxilio adversus seditiones et privatas injurias muniti, 'imperio et magistratibus obsequentes, copiis et opibus locupletes 'et florentes fuerint.' * The end is the well-being of the people. The means are the imparting of moral and religious education; the providing of every thing necessary for defence against foreign enemies; the maintaining of internal order; the establishing of a judicial, financial, and commercial system, under which wealth may be rapidly accumulated and securely enjoyed.

Even with respect to the form in which laws ought to be drawn, there is a remarkable difference of opinion between the Greek and the Englishman. Plato thought a preamble essential; Bacon thought it mischievous. Each was consistent with himself. Plato, considering the moral improvement of the people as the end of legislation, justly inferred that a law which commanded and threatened, but which neither convinced the reason nor touched the heart, must be a most imperfect law. He was not content with deterring from theft a man who still continued to be a thief at heart,—with restraining a son who hated his mother from beating his mother. The only obedience on which he set so much value, was the obedience which an enlightened understanding yields to reason, and which a virtuous disposition yields to precepts of virtue. He really seems to have believed that, by prefixing to every law an eloquent and pathetic exhortation, he should, to a great extent, render penal enactments superfluous. Bacon entertained no such romantic hopes; and he well knew

---

* *De Augmentis*, Lib. 8, Cap. 3, Aph. 5.

Digitized by Google

the practical inconveniences of the course which Plato recommended. 'Neque nobis,' says he, 'prologi legum qui inepti olim 'habiti sunt et leges introducunt disputantes non jubentes utique 'placerent si priscos mores ferre possemus.... Quantum fieri po- 'test prologi evitentur et lex incipiat a jussione.'*

Had Plato lived to finish the 'Critias,' a comparison between that noble fiction and the 'New Atlantis,' would probably have furnished us with still more striking instances. It is amusing to think with what horror he would have seen such an institution as 'Solomon's House' rising in his republic; with what vehemence he would have ordered the brewhouses, the perfume-houses, and the dispensatories to be pulled down; and with what inexorable rigour he would have driven beyond the frontier all the Fellows of the College, Merchants of light and Depredators, Lamps and Pioneers.

To sum up the whole: we should say that the aim of the Platonic philosophy was to exalt man into a god. The aim of the Baconian philosophy was to provide man with what he requires while he continues to be man. The aim of the Platonic philosophy was to raise us far above vulgar wants. The aim of the Baconian philosophy was to supply our vulgar wants. The former aim was noble; but the latter was attainable. Plato drew a good bow; but, like Acestes in Virgil, he aimed at the stars; and therefore, though there was no want of strength or skill, the shot was thrown away. His arrow was indeed followed by a track of dazzling radiance, but it struck nothing.

> 'Volans liquidis in nubibus arsit arundo
> Signavitque viam flammis, tenuisque recessit
> Consumata in ventos.'

Bacon fixed his eye on a mark which was placed on the earth and within bow-shot, and hit it in the white. The philosophy of Plato began in words and ended in words,—noble words indeed, —words such as were to be expected from the finest of human intellects exercising boundless dominion over the finest of human languages. The philosophy of Bacon began in observations and ended in arts.

The boast of the ancient philosophers was, that their doctrine formed the minds of men to a high degree of wisdom and virtue. This was indeed the only practical good which the most celebrated of those teachers even pretended to effect; and undoubtedly if they had effected this, they would have deserved the greatest praise. But the truth is, that in those very matters in which alone they professed to do any good to mankind, in these

* *De Augmentis*, Lib. 8, Cap. 3, Aph. 69.

Digitized by Google

very matters for the sake of which they neglected all the vulgar interests of mankind, they did nothing, or worse than nothing. They promised what was impracticable; they despised what was practicable; they filled the world with long words and long beards; and they left it as wicked and as ignorant as they found it.

An acre in Middlesex is better than a principality in Utopia. The smallest actual good is better than the most magnificent promises of impossibilities. The wise man of the Stoics would, no doubt, be a grander object than a steam-engine. But there are steam-engines. And the wise man of the Stoics is yet to be born. A philosophy which should enable a man to feel perfectly happy while in agonies of pain, may be better than a philosophy which assuages pain. But we know that there are remedies which will assuage pain; and we know that the ancient sages liked the toothache just as little as their neighbours. A philosophy which should extinguish cupidity, would be better than a philosophy which should devise laws for the security of property. But it is possible to make laws which shall, to a very great extent, secure property. And we do not understand how any motives which the ancient philosophy furnished could extinguish cupidity. We know indeed that the philosophers were no better than other men. From the testimony of friends as well as of foes—from the confessions of Epictetus and Seneca, as well as from the sneers of Lucian and the fierce invectives of Juvenal, it is plain that these teachers of virtue had all the vices of their neighbours, with the additional vice of hypocrisy. Some people may think the object of the Baconian philosophy a low object, but they cannot deny that, high or low, it has been attained. They cannot deny that every year makes an addition to what Bacon called 'fruit.' They cannot deny that mankind have made, and are making, great and constant progress in the road which he pointed out to them. Was there any such progressive movement among the ancient philosophers? After they had been declaiming eight hundred years, had they made the world better than when they began? Our belief is, that among the philosophers themselves, instead of a progressive improvement there was a progressive degeneracy. An abject superstition, which Democritus or Anaxagoras would have rejected with scorn, added the last disgrace to the long dotage of the Stoic and Platonic schools. Those unsuccessful attempts to articulate which are so delightful and interesting in a child, shock and disgust us in an aged paralytic; and in the same way, those wild mythological fictions which charm us when lisped by Greek poetry in its infancy, excite a mixed sensation of pity and loathing when mumbled by Greek philosophy

Digitized by Google

in its old age. We know that guns, cutlery, spy-glasses, clocks, are better in our time than they were in the time of our fathers; and were better in the time of our fathers than they were in the time of our grandfathers. We might, therefore, be inclined to think, that when a philosophy which boasted that its object was the elevation and purification of the mind, and which for this object neglected the sordid office of ministering to the comforts of the body, had flourished in the highest honour for many hundreds of years, a vast moral amelioration must have taken place. Was it so? Look at the schools of this wisdom four centuries before the Christian era, and four centuries after that era. Compare the men whom those schools formed at those two periods. Compare Plato and Libanius. Compare Pericles and Julian. This philosophy confessed, nay boasted, that for every end but one it was useless. Had it attained that one end?

Suppose that Justinian, when he closed the schools of Athens, had called on the last few sages who still haunted the Portico, and lingered round the ancient plane-trees, to show their title to public veneration:—suppose that he had said, 'A thousand 'years have elapsed since, in this famous city, Socrates posed 'Protagoras and Hippias; during those thousand years a large 'proportion of the ablest men of every generation has been em-'ployed in constant efforts to bring to perfection the philosophy 'which you teach; that philosophy has been munificently pa-'tronised by the powerful; its professors have been held in the 'highest esteem by the public; it has drawn to itself almost all 'the sap and vigour of the human intellect—and what has it 'effected? What profitable truth has it taught us which we 'should not equally have known without it? What has it enabled 'us to do which we should not have been equally able to do with-'out it?' Such questions, we suspect, would have puzzled Simplicius and Isidore. Ask a follower of Bacon what the new philosophy, as it was called in the time of Charles the Second, has effected for mankind, and his answer is ready—'It has 'lengthened life; it has mitigated pain; it has extinguished dis-'eases; it has increased the fertility of the soil; it has given new 'securities to the mariner; it has furnished new arms to the 'warrior; it has spanned great rivers and estuaries with bridges 'of form unknown to our fathers; it has guided the thunderbolt 'innocuously from heaven to earth; it has lighted up the night 'with the splendour of the day; it has extended the range of the 'human vision; it has multiplied the power of the human mus-'cles; it has accelerated motion; it has annihilated distance; 'it has facilitated intercourse, correspondence, all friendly offices, 'all dispatch of business; it has enabled man to descend to the

Digitized by Google

'depths of the sea, to soar into the air, to penetrate securely into 'the noxious recesses of the earth, to traverse the land on cars 'which whirl along without horses, and the ocean in ships which 'sail against the wind. These are but a part of its fruits, and 'of its first fruits. For it is a philosophy which never rests, 'which has never attained it, which is never perfect. Its law is 'progress. A point which yesterday was invisible is its goal to-'day, and will be its starting-post to-morrow.'

Great and various as the powers of Bacon were, he owes his wide and durable fame chiefly to this, that all those powers received their direction from common sense. His love of the vulgar useful, his strong sympathy with the popular notions of good and evil, and the openness with which he avowed that sympathy, are the secret of his influence. There was in his system no cant, no illusion. He had no anointing for broken bones,—no fine theories *de finibus*,—no arguments to persuade men out of their senses. He knew that men, and philosophers as well as other men, do actually love life, health, comfort, honour, security, the society of friends; and do actually dislike death, sickness, pain, poverty, disgrace, danger, separation from those to whom they are attached. He knew that religion, though it often regulates and moderates these feelings, seldom eradicates them; nor did he think it desirable for mankind that they should be eradicated. The plan of eradicating them by conceits like those of Seneca, or syllogisms like those of Chrysippus, was too preposterous to be for a moment entertained by a mind like his. He did not understand what wisdom there could be in changing names where it was impossible to change things—in denying that blindness, hunger, the gout, the rack, were evils, and calling them ἀποπροήγμενα—in refusing to acknowledge that health, safety, plenty, were good things, and dubbing them by the name of ἀδιάφορα. In his opinions on all these subjects, he was not a Stoic, nor an Epicurean, nor an Academic, but what would have been called by Stoics, Epicureans, and Academics, a mere ἰδιώτης,—a mere common man. And it was precisely because he was so that his name makes so great an era in the history of the world. It was because he dug deep that he was able to pile high. It was because, in order to lay his foundations, he went down into those parts of human nature which lie low, but which are not liable to change, that the fabric which he reared has risen to so stately an elevation, and stands with such immovable strength.

We have sometimes thought that an amusing fiction might be written, in which a disciple of Epictetus and a disciple of Bacon should be introduced as fellow-travellers. They come to a vil-

Digitized by Google

lage where the small-pox has just begun to rage; and find houses shut up, intercourse suspended, the sick abandoned, mothers weeping in terror over their children. The Stoic assures the dismayed population that there is nothing bad in the small-pox, and that to a wise man diseases, deformity, death, the loss of friends, are not evils. The Baconian takes out a lancet and begins to vaccinate. They find a body of miners in great dismay. An explosion of noisome vapours has just killed many of those who were at work; and the survivors are afraid to venture into the cavern. The Stoic assures them that such an accident is nothing but a mere *ἀποπροήγμενον*. The Baconian, who has no such fine word at his command, contents himself with devising a safety-lamp. They find a shipwrecked merchant wringing his hands on the shore. His vessel with an inestimable cargo has just gone down, and he is reduced in a moment from opulence to beggary. The Stoic exhorts him not to seek happiness in things which lie without himself, and repeats the whole chapter of Epictetus *πρὸς τοὺς τὴν ἀπορίαν δεδοικότας*. The Baconian constructs a diving-bell, goes down in it, and returns with the most precious effects from the wreck. It would be easy to multiply illustrations of the difference between the philosophy of thorns and the philosophy of fruit—the philosophy of words and the philosophy of works.

Bacon has been accused of overrating the importance of those sciences which minister to the physical well-being of man, and of underrating the importance of moral philosophy; and it cannot be denied that persons who read the *Novum Organum* and the *De Augmentis*, without adverting to the circumstances under which those works were written, will find much that may seem to countenance the accusation. It is certain, however, that, though in practice he often went very wrong, and though, as his historical work and his essays prove, he did not hold, even in theory, very strict opinions on points of political morality, he was far too wise a man not to know how much our well-being depends on the regulation of our minds. The world for which he wished was not, as some people seem to imagine, a world of water-wheels, power-looms, steam-carriages, sensualists, and knaves. He would have been as ready as Zeno himself to maintain, that no bodily comforts which could be devised by the skill and labour of a hundred generations would give happiness to a man whose mind was under the tyranny of licentious appetite, of envy, of hatred, or of fear. If he sometimes appeared to ascribe importance too exclusively to the arts which increase the outward comforts of our species, the reason is plain. Those arts had been most unduly depreciated. They had been represented as

Digitized by Google

unworthy of the attention of a man of liberal education. 'Cogi-
'tavit,' says Bacon of himself, 'eam esse opinionem sive æsti-
'mationem humidam et damnosam, minui nempe majestatem
'mentis humanæ, si in experimentis et rebus particularibus, sen-
'sui subjectis, et in materia terminatis, diu ac multum versetur:
'præsertim cum hujusmodi res ad inquirendum laboriosæ, ad
'meditandum ignobiles, ad discendum asperæ, ad practicam illi-
'berales, numero infinitæ, et subtilitate pusillæ videri soleant, et
'ob hujusmodi conditiones, gloriæ artium minus sint accommo-
'datæ.'* This opinion seemed to him 'omnia in familia humana
'turbasse.' It had undoubtedly caused many arts which were of the greatest utility, and which were susceptible of the greatest improvements, to be neglected by speculators, and abandoned to joiners, masons, smiths, weavers, apothecaries. It was necessary to assert the dignity of those arts, to bring them prominently forward, to proclaim that, as they have a most serious effect on human happiness, they are not unworthy of the attention of the highest human intellects. Again, it was by illustrations drawn from these arts that Bacon could most easily illustrate his principles. It was by improvements effected in these arts that the soundness of his principles could be most speedily and decisively brought to the test, and made manifest to common understandings. He acted like a wise commander who thins every other part of his line to strengthen a point where the enemy is attacking with peculiar fury, and on the fate of which the event of the battle seems likely to depend. In the *Novum Organum*, however, he distinctly and most truly declares that his philosophy is no less a Moral than a Natural Philosophy—that, though his *illustrations* are drawn from physical science, the *principles* which those illustrations are intended to explain are just as applicable to Ethical and Political enquiries as to enquiries into the nature of Heat and Vegetation.†

He frequently treated of moral subjects; and he almost always brought to those subjects that spirit which was the essence of his whole system. He has left us many admirable practical observations on what he somewhat quaintly called the *Georgics* of the mind,—on the mental culture which tends to produce good dis-

---

* *Cogitata et visa.* The expression *opinio humida* may surprise a reader not accustomed to Bacon's style. The allusion is to the maxim of Heraclitus the obscure—*Dry light is the best.* By dry light, Bacon understood the light of the intellect, not obscured by the mists of passion, interest, or prejudice.

† *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1, Aph. 127.

Digitized by Google

positions. Some persons, he said, might accuse him of spending labour on a matter so simple that his predecessors had passed it by with contempt. He desired such persons to remember that he had from the first announced the objects of his search to be not the splendid and the surprising, but the useful and the true,—not the deluding dreams which go forth through the shining portal of ivory, but the humbler realities of the gate of horn.*

True to this principle, he indulged in no rants about the fitness of things, the all-sufficiency of virtue, and the dignity of human nature. He dealt not at all in resounding nothings, such as those with which Bolingbroke pretended to comfort himself in exile; and in which Cicero sought consolation after the loss of Tullia. The casuistical subtleties which occupied the attention of the keenest spirits of his age had, it should seem, no attractions for him. The treatises of the doctors whom Escobar afterwards compared to the four beasts, and the four and twenty elders in the Apocalypse, Bacon dismissed with most contemptuous brevity. 'Inanes plerumque evadunt et futiles.'† Nor did he ever meddle with those ænigmas which have puzzled hundreds of generations, and will puzzle hundreds more. He said nothing about the grounds of moral obligation, or the freedom of the human will. He had no inclination to employ himself in labours resembling those of the damned in the Grecian Tartarus,—to spin for ever on the same wheel round the same pivot,—to gape for ever after the same deluding clusters,—to pour water for ever into the same bottomless buckets,—to pace for ever to and fro on the same wearisome path after the same recoiling stone. He exhorted his disciples to prosecute researches of a very different description; to consider moral science as a practical science—a science of which the object was to cure the diseases and perturbations of the mind,—and which could be improved only by a method analogous to that which has improved medicine and surgery. Moral philosophers ought, he said, to set themselves vigorously to work for the purpose of discovering what are the actual effects produced on the human character by particular modes of education, by the indulgence of particular habits, by the study of particnlar books, by society, by emulation, by imitation. Then we might hope to find out what mode of training was most likely to preserve and restore moral health.‡

What he was as a natural philosopher and a moral philosopher,

---

* *De Augmentis*, Lib. 7, Cap. 3.
† *De Augmentis*, Lib. 7, Cap. 2.
‡ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 7, Cap. 3.

Digitized by Google

that he was also as a theologian. He was, we are convinced, a sincere believer in the divine authority of the Christian revelation. Nothing can be found in his writings, or in any other writings, more eloquent and pathetic than some passages which were apparently written under the influence of strong devotional feeling. He loved to dwell on the power of the Christian religion to effect much that the ancient philosophers could only promise. He loved to consider that religion as the bond of charity; the curb of evil passions; the consolation of the wretched; the support of the timid; the hope of the dying. But controversies on speculative points of theology seem to have engaged scarcely any portion of his attention. In what he wrote on Church Government he showed, as far as he dared, a tolerant and charitable spirit. He troubled himself not at all about Homoousians and Homoiousians, Monothelites and Nestorians. He lived in an age in which disputes on the most subtle points of divinity excited an intense interest throughout Europe; and no where more than in England. He was placed in the very thick of the conflict. He was in power at the time of the Synod of Dort, and must for months have been daily deafened with talk about election, reprobation, and final perseverance. Yet we do not remember a line in his works from which it can be inferred that he was either a Calvinist or an Arminian. While the world was resounding with the noise of a disputatious philosophy, and a disputatious theology, the Baconian school, like Alworthy seated between Square and Thwackum, preserved a calm neutrality,—half scornful, half benevolent, and, content with adding to the sum of practical good, left the war of words to those who liked it.

We have dwelt long on the end of the Baconian philosophy, because from this peculiarity all the other peculiarities of that philosophy necessarily arose. Indeed, scarcely any person who proposed to himself the same end with Bacon could fail to hit upon the same means.

The vulgar notion about Bacon we take to be this,—that he invented a new method of arriving at truth, which method is called Induction; and that he exposed the fallacy of the syllogistic reasoning which had been in vogue before his time. This notion is about as well-founded as that of the people who, in the middle ages, imagined that Virgil was a great conjurer. Many who are far too well informed to talk such extravagant nonsense, entertain what we think incorreet notions as to what Bacon really effected in this matter.

The inductive method has been practised ever since the beginning of the world by every human being. It is constantly practised by the most ignorant clown, by the most thoughtless school-

Digitized by Google

boy, by the very child at the breast. That method leads the clown to the conclusion, that if he sows barley he shall not reap wheat. By that method the schoolboy learns, that a cloudy day is the best for catching trout. The very infant, we imagine, is led by induction to expect milk from his mother or nurse, and none from his father.

Not only is it not true that Bacon invented the inductive method; but it is not true that he was the first person who correctly analyzed that method and explained its uses. Aristotle had long before pointed out the absurdity of supposing that syllogistic reasoning could ever conduct men to the discovery of any new principle; had shown that such discoveries can be made by induction, and by induction alone; and had given the history of the inductive process, concisely indeed, but with great perspicuity and precision.*

Again, we are not inclined to ascribe much practical value to the analysis of the inductive method which Bacon has given in the second book of the 'Novum Organum.' It is indeed an elaborate and correct analysis. But it is an analysis of that which we are all doing from morning to night, and which we continue to do even in our dreams. A plain man finds his stomach out of order. He never heard Lord Bacon's name. But he proceeds in the strictest conformity with the rules laid down in the second book of the 'Novum Organum,' and satisfies himself that minced pies have done the mischief. 'I ate minced pies on Monday 'and Wednesday, and I was kept awake by indigestion all night.' This is the *comparentia ad intellectum instantiarum convenientium*. 'I did not eat any on Tuesday and Friday, and I was quite well.' This is the *comparentia instantiarum in proximo quæ natura data privantur*. 'I ate very sparingly of them on Sunday, and was 'very slightly indisposed in the evening. But on Christmas day 'I almost dined on them, and was so ill that I was in some dan-'ger.' This is the *comparentia instantiarum secundum magis et minus*. 'It cannot have been the brandy which I took with 'them. For I have drunk brandy daily for years without being 'the worse for it.' This is the *rejectio naturarum*. Our invalid then proceeds to what is termed by Bacon the *Vindemiatio*, and pronounces that mince pies do not agree with him.

We might go on to what are called by Bacon *prærogativæ instantiarum*. For example: 'It must be something peculiar to 'minced pies; for I can eat any other pastry without the least

* See the last chapter of the Posterior Analytics, and the first of the Metaphysics.

Digitized by Google

'bad effect.' This is the *instantia solitaria.* We might easily proceed; but we have already sufficiently explained our meaning.

We repeat, that we dispute neither the ingenuity nor the accuracy of the theory contained in the second book of the *Novum Organum;* but we think that Bacon greatly over-rated its utility. We conceive that the inductive process, like many other processes, is not likely to be better performed merely because men know how they perform it. William Tell would not have been one whit more likely to cleave the apple if he had known that his arrow would describe a parabola under the influence of the attraction of the earth. Captain Barclay would not have been more likely to walk a thousand miles in a thousand hours, if he had known the place and name of every muscle in his legs. Monsieur Jourdain probably did not pronounce D and F more correctly after he had been apprized that D is pronounced by touching the teeth with the end of the tongue, and F by putting the upper teeth on the lower lip. We cannot perceive that the study of Grammar makes the smallest difference in the speech of people who have always lived in good society. Not one Londoner in ten thousand can lay down the rules for the proper use of *will* and *shall.* Yet not one Londoner in a million ever misplaces his *will* and *shall.* No man uses figures of speech with more propriety because he knows that one figure is called a metonomy and another a synedoche. A drayman in a passion calls out, 'You are 'a pretty fellow,' without suspecting that he is uttering irony, and that irony is one of the four primary tropes. The old systems of rhetoric were never regarded by the most experienced and discerning judges as of any use for the purpose of forming an orator. 'Ego hanc vim intelligo,' said Cicero, 'esse in præceptis omnibus, 'non ut ea secuti oratores eloquentiæ laudem sint adepti, sed 'quæ sua sponte homines eloquentes facerent, ea quosdam obser- 'vasse, atque id egisse; sic esse non eloquentiam ex artificio, 'sed artificium ex eloquentia natum.'* We must own that we entertain the same opinion concerning the study of Logic which Cicero entertained concerning the study of Rhetoric. A man of sense syllogises in *celarent* and *cesare* all day long without suspecting it; and, though he may not know what an *ignoratio elenchi* is, has no difficulty in exposing it whenever he falls in with it; which is likely to be as often as he falls in with a reverend Master of Arts nourished on mode and figure in the cloisters of Oxford. Considered merely as an intellectual feat, the *Organum* of Aristotle can scarcely be admired too highly. But the more we compare individual with individual, school with school, nation

* *De Oratore,* Lib. 1.

Digitized by Google

with nation, generation with generation, the more do we lean to the opinion, that the knowledge of the theory of logic has no tendency whatever to make men good reasoners.

What Aristotle did for the syllogistic process, Bacon has, in the second book of the *Novum Organum*, done for the inductive process; that is to say, he has analyzed it well. His rules are quite proper; but we do not need them, because they are drawn from our own constant practice.

But though every body is constantly performing the process described in the second book of the *Novum Organum*, some men perform it well, and some perform it ill. Some are led by it to truth, and some to error. It led Franklin to discover the nature of lightning. It led thousands, who had less brains than Franklin, to believe in animal magnetism. But this was not because Franklin went through the process described by Bacon, and the dupes of Mesmer through a different process. The *comparentiæ* and *rejectiones*, of which we have given examples, will be found in the most unsound inductions. We have heard that an eminent judge of the last generation was in the habit of jocosely propounding after dinner a theory, that the cause of the prevalence of Jacobinism was the practice of bearing three names. He quoted on the one side, Charles James Fox, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, John Horne Tooke, John Philpot Curran, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Theobald Wolfe Tone. These were *instantiæ convenientes*. He then proceeded to cite instances *absentiæ in proximo*,—William Pitt, John Scott, William Windham, Samuel Horsley, Henry Dundas, Edmund Burke. He might have gone on to instances *secundum magis et minus*. The practice of giving children three names has been for some time a growing practice, and Jacobinism has also been growing. The practice of giving children three names is more common in America than in England. In England we still have a King and a House of Lords; but the Americans are republicans. The *rejectiones* are obvious. Burke and Theobald Wolfe Tone were both Irishmen; therefore the being an Irishman is not the cause of Jacobinism. Horsley and Horne Tooke are both clergymen; therefore the being a clergyman is not the cause of Jacobinism. Fox and Windham were both educated at Oxford; therefore the being educated at Oxford is not the cause of Jacobinism. Pitt and Horne Tooke were both educated at Cambridge; therefore the being educated at Cambridge is not the cause of Jacobinism. In this way our inductive philosopher arrives at what Bacon calls the *vintage*, and pronounces that the having three names is the cause of Jacobinism.

Here is an induction corresponding with Bacon's analysis, and

Digitized by Google

ending in a monstrous absurdity. In what, then, does this induction differ from the induction which leads us to the conclusion that the presence of the sun is the cause of our having more light by day than by night. The difference evidently is not in the kind of instances, but in the number of instances; that is to say, the difference is not in that part of the process for which Bacon has given precise rules, but in a circumstance for which no precise rule can possibly be given. If the learned author of the theory about Jacobinism had enlarged either of his tables a little, his system would have been destroyed. The names of Tom Paine and William Windham Grenville would have been sufficient to do the work.

It appears to us, then, that the difference between a sound and an unsound induction, or, to use the Baconian phraseology, between the interpretation of nature and the anticipation of nature, does not lie in this—that the interpreter of nature goes through the process analyzed in the second book of the *Novum Organum*, and the anticipator through a different process. They may both perform the same process. But the anticipator performs it foolishly or carelessly;—the interpreter performs it with patience, attention, sagacity, and judgment. Now, precepts can do little towards making men patient and attentive; and still less towards making them sagacious and judicious. It is very well to tell men to be on their guard against prejudices, not to believe facts on slight evidence, not to be content with a scanty collection of facts, to put out of their minds the *idola* which Bacon has so finely described. But these rules are too general to be of much practical use. The question is, What is a prejudice? How long does the incredulity with which I hear a new theory propounded continue to be a wise and salutary incredulity? When does it become an *idolum specus*—the unreasonable pertinacity of a too sceptical mind? What is slight evidence? What collection of facts is scanty? Will ten instances do, or fifty, or a hundred? In how many months would the first human beings who settled on the shores of the ocean have been justified in believing that the moon had an influence on their tides? After how many experiments would Jenner have been justified in believing that he had discovered a safeguard against the small-pox? These are questions to which it would be most desirable to have a precise answer; but, unhappily, they are questions to which no precise answer can be returned.

We think then that it is possible to lay down accurate rules, as Bacon has done, for the performing of that part of the inductive process which all men perform alike; but that these rules, though accurate, are not wanted, because in truth they only tell us to do

Digitized by Google

what we are all doing. We think that it is impossible to lay down any precise rule for the performing of that part of the inductive process which a great experimental philosopher performs in one way and a superstitious old woman in another.

On this subject, we think, Bacon was in an error. He certainly attributed to his rules a value which did not belong to them. He went so far as to say that, if his method of making discoveries were adopted, little would depend on the degree of force or acuteness of any intellect; that all minds would be reduced to one level; that his philosophy resembled a compass or a rule which equalizes all hands, and enables the most unpractised person to draw a more correct circle or line than the best draftsman can produce without such aid.* This really seems to us as extravagant as it would have been in Lindley Murray to announce that every body who should learn his grammar would write as good English as Dryden; or in that very able writer Dr Whatley to promise that all the readers of his logic would reason like Chillingworth, and that all the readers of his rhetoric would speak like Burke. That Bacon was altogether mistaken as to this point will now hardly be disputed. His philosophy has flourished during two hundred years, and has produced none of this levelling. The interval between a man of talents and a dunce is as wide as ever; and is never more clearly discernible than when they engage in researches which require the constant use of induction.

It will be seen that we do not consider Bacon's ingenious analysis of the inductive method as a very useful performance. Bacon was not, as we have already said, the inventor of the inductive method. He was not even the person who first analyzed the inductive method correctly, though he undoubtedly analyzed it more minutely than any who preceded him. He was not the person who first showed that by the inductive method alone new truth could be discovered. But he was the person who first turned the minds of speculative men, long occupied in verbal disputes, to the discovery of new truth; and, by doing so, he at once gave to the inductive method an importance and dignity which had never before belonged to it. He was not the maker of that road; he was not the discoverer of that road; he was not the person who first surveyed and mapped that road. But he was the person who first called the public attention to an inexhaustible mine of wealth, which had been utterly neglected, and which was accessible by that road alone. By doing so he caused that road which had pre-

* *Novum Organum*, Præf. and Lib. 1, Aph. 122.

Digitized by Google

viously been trodden only by peasants and higglers to be frequented by a higher class of travellers.

That which was eminently his own in his system was the end which he proposed to himself. The end being given, the means, as it appears to us, could not well be mistaken. If others had aimed at the same object with Bacon, we hold it to be certain that they would have employed the same method with Bacon. It would have been hard to convince Seneca that the inventing of a safety-lamp was an employment worthy of a philosopher. It would have been hard to persuade Thomas Aquinas to descend from the making of syllogisms to the making of gunpowder. But Seneca would never have doubted for a moment, that it was only by a series of experiments that a safety-lamp could be invented. Thomas Aquinas would never have thought that his *barbara* and *baralipton* would enable him to ascertain the proportion which charcoal ought to bear to saltpetre in a pound of gunpowder. Neither common sense nor Aristotle would have suffered him to fall into such an absurdity.

By stimulating men to the discovery of *new* truth, Bacon stimulated them to employ the inductive method, the only method, —even the ancient philosophers and the schoolmen themselves being judges,—by which new truth can be discovered. By stimulating men to the discovery of *useful* truth, he furnished them with a motive to perform the inductive process well and carefully. His predecessors had been anticipators of nature. They had been content with first principles, at which they had arrived by the most scanty and slovenly induction. And why was this? It was, we conceive, because their philosophy proposed to itself no practical end, because it was merely an exercise of the mind. A man who wants to contrive a new machine or a new medicine has a strong motive to observe accurately and patiently, and to try experiment after experiment. But a man who merely wants a theme for disputation or declamation has no such motive. He is therefore content with premises grounded on assumption, or on the most scanty and hasty induction. Thus, we conceive, the schoolmen acted. On their foolish premises they often argued with great ability; and as their object was '*assensum subjugare, non res*,'*— to be victorious in controversy, not to be victorious over nature,— they were consistent. For just as much logical skill could be shown on reasoning on false as on true premises. But the followers of the new philosophy, proposing to themselves the discovery of useful truth as their object, must have altogether failed of

* *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1, Aph. 29.

Digitized by Google

attaining that object if they had been content to build theories on superficial induction.

Bacon has remarked * that in all ages when philosophy was stationary, the mechanical arts went on improving. Why was this? Evidently because the mechanic was not content with so careless a mode of induction as served the purpose of the philosopher. And why was the philosopher more easily satisfied than the mechanic? Evidently because the object of the mechanic was to mould things, whilst the object of the philosopher was only to mould words. Careful induction is not at all necessary to the making of a good syllogism. But it is indispensable to the making of a good shoe. Mechanics, therefore, have always been, as far as the range of their humble but useful callings extended, not anticipators but interpretators of nature. And when a philosophy arose, the object of which was to do on a large scale what the mechanic does on a small scale,—to extend the power and to supply the wants of man,—the truth of the premises, which logically is a matter altogether unimportant, became a matter of the highest importance; and the careless induction with which men of learning had previously been satisfied gave place, of necessity, to an induction far more accurate and satisfactory.

What Bacon did for inductive philosophy may, we think, be fairly stated thus. The objects of preceding speculators were objects which could be attained without careful induction. Those speculators, therefore, did not perform the inductive process carefully. Bacon stirred up men to pursue an object which could be attained only by induction, and by induction carefully performed; and consequently induction was more carefully performed. We do not think that the importance of what Bacon did for inductive philosophy has ever been over-rated. But we think that the nature of his services is often mistaken, and was not fully understood even by himself. It was not by furnishing philosophers with rules for performing the inductive process well, but by furnishing them with a motive for performing it well, that he conferred so vast a benefit on society.

To give to the human mind a direction which it shall retain for ages is the rare prerogative of a few imperial spirits. It cannot, therefore, be uninteresting to enquire, what was the moral and intellectual constitution which enabled Bacon to exercise so vast an influence on the world.

In the temper of Bacon,—we speak of Bacon the philosopher, not of Bacon the lawyer and politician,—there was a singular union of audacity and sobriety. The promises which he made to

---

* *De Augmentis*, Lib. 1.

Digitized by Google

mankind might, to a superficial reader, seem to resemble the rants which a great dramatist has put into the mouth of an Oriental conqueror half-crazed by good fortune and by violent passions,

> 'He shall have chariots easier than air,
> Which I will have invented; and thyself
> That art the messenger shall ride before him,
> On a horse cut out of an entire diamond,
> That shall be made to go with golden wheels,
> I know not how yet.'

But Bacon performed what he promised. In truth, Fletcher would not have dared to make Arbaces promise, in his wildest fits of excitement, the tithe of what the Baconian philosophy has performed.

The true philosophical temperament may, we think, be described in four words—much hope, little faith; a disposition to believe that any thing, however extraordinary, may be done; an indisposition to believe that any thing extraordinary has been done. In these points the constitution of Bacon's mind seems to us to have been absolutely perfect. He was at once the Mammon and the Surly of his friend Ben. Sir Epicure did not indulge in visions more magnificent and gigantic. Surly did not sift evidence with keener and more sagacious incredulity.

Closely connected with this peculiarity of Bacon's temper was a striking peculiarity of his understanding. With great minuteness of observation he had an amplitude of comprehension such as has never yet been vouchsafed to any other human being. The small fine mind of Labruyère had not a more delicate tact than the large intellect of Bacon. The 'Essays' contain abundant proofs that no nice feature of character, no peculiarity in the ordering of a house, a garden, or a court-masque, could escape the notice of one whose mind was capable of taking in the whole world of knowledge. His understanding resembled the tent which the fairy Paribanou gave to Prince Ahmed. Fold it; and it seemed a toy for the hand of a lady. Spread it, and the armies of powerful Sultans might repose beneath its shade.

In keenness of observation he has been equalled, though perhaps never surpassed. But the largeness of his mind was all his own. The glance with which he surveyed the intellectual universe resembled that which the Archangel, from the golden threshold of heaven, darted down into the new creation.

> 'Round he surveyed—and well might, where he stood
> So high above the circling canopy
> Of night's extended shade,—from eastern point
> Of Libra, to the fleecy star which bears
> Andromeda far off Atlantic seas
> Beyond the horizon.'

Digitized by Google

His knowledge differed from that of other men, as a Terrestrial Globe differs from an Atlas which contains a different country on every leaf. The towns and roads of England, France, and Germany, are better laid down in the atlas than in the globe. But while we are looking at England we see nothing of France; and while we are looking at France we see nothing of Germany. We may go to the atlas to learn the bearings and distances of York and Bristol, or of Dresden and Prague. But it is useless if we want to know the bearings and distances of France and Martinique, or of England and Canada. On the globe we shall not find all the market-towns in our own neighbourhood; but we shall learn from it the comparative extent and the relative position of all the kingdoms of the earth. 'I have taken,' said Bacon, in a letter written when he was only thirty-one, to his uncle Lord Burleigh—'I have taken all knowledge to be my province.' In any other young man, indeed in any other man, this would have been a ridiculous flight of presumption. There have been thousands of better mathematicians, astronomers, chemists, physicians, botanists, mineralogists, than Bacon. No man would go to Bacon's works to learn any particular science or art; any more than he would go to a twelve-inch globe in order to find his way from Kennington turnpike to Clapham Common. The art which Bacon taught was the art of inventing arts. The knowledge in which Bacon excelled all men, was a knowledge of the mutual relations of all departments of knowledge.

The mode in which he communicated his thoughts was exceedingly peculiar. He had no touch of that disputatious temper which he often censured in his predecessors. He effected a vast intellectual revolution in opposition to a vast mass of prejudices; yet he never engaged in any controversy:—nay, we cannot at present recollect, in all his philosophical works, a single passage of a controversial character. All those works might with propriety have been put into the form which he adopted in the work entitled *Cogitata et visa*—'Franciscus Baconus sic cogitavit.'—These are thoughts which have occurred to me:—weigh them well—and take them or leave them.

Borgia said of the famous expedition of Charles the Eighth, that the French had conquered Italy, not with steel, but with chalk; for that the only exploit which they had found necessary for the purpose of taking military occupation of any place, had been to mark the doors of the houses where they meant to quarter. Bacon often quoted this saying, and loved to apply it to the victories of his own intellect.* His philosophy, he said,

* *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1, Aph. 35, and elsewhere.

Digitized by Google

came as a guest, not as an enemy. She found no difficulty in obtaining admittance, without a contest, into every understanding fitted, by its structure and by its capacity, to receive her. In all this we think that he acted most judiciously—first, because, as he has himself remarked, the difference between his school and other schools was a difference so fundamental that there was hardly any common ground on which a controversial battle could be fought; and, secondly, because his mind, eminently observant, pre-eminently discursive and capacious, was, we conceive, neither formed by nature, nor disciplined by habit, for dialectical combat.

Though Bacon did not arm his philosophy with the weapons of logic, he adorned her profusely with all the richest decorations of rhetoric. His eloquence, though not untainted with the vicious taste of his age, would alone have entitled him to a high rank in literature. He had a wonderful talent for packing thought close and rendering it portable. In wit, if by wit be meant the power of perceiving analogies between things which appear to have nothing in common, he never had an equal,—not even Cowley,—not even the author of Hudibras. Indeed, he possessed this faculty, or rather this faculty possessed him, to a morbid degree. When he abandoned himself to it without reserve, as he did in the *Sapientia Veterum*, and at the end of the second book of the *De Augmentis*, the feats which he performed were not merely admirable, but portentous, and almost shocking. On those occasions we marvel at him as clowns on a fair-day marvel at a juggler, and can hardly help thinking that the devil must be in him.

These, however, were freaks in which his ingenuity now and then wantoned, with scarcely any other object than to astonish and amuse. But it occasionally happened that, when he was engaged in grave and profound investigations, his wit obtained the mastery over all his other faculties, and led him into absurdities into which no dull man could possibly have fallen. We will give the most striking instance which at present occurs to us. In the third book of the *De Augmentis* he tell us that there are some principles which are not peculiar to one science, but are common to several. That part of philosophy which concerns itself with these principles, is, in his nomenclature, designated as *philosophia prima*. He then proceeds to mention some of the principles with which this *philosophia prima* is conversant. One of them is this. An infectious disease is more likely to be communicated while it is in progress than when it has reached its height. This, says he, is true in medicine. It is also true in morals; for we see that the example of very abandoned men injures public morality less than the example of men in whom vice has not yet extin-

Digitized by Google

guished all good qualities. Again—he tells us that in music a discord ending in a concord is agreeable, and that the same thing may be noted in the affections. Once more he tells us, that in physics the energy with which a principle acts is often increased by the antiperistasis of its opposite; and that it is the same in the contests of factions. If this be indeed the *philosophia prima*, we are quite sure that the greatest philosophical work of the nineteenth century is Mr Moore's 'Lalla Rookh.' The similitudes which we have cited are very happy similitudes. But that a man like Bacon should have taken them for more,—that he should have thought the discovery of such resemblances as these an important part of philosophy,—has always appeared to us one of the most singular facts in the history of letters.

The truth is, that his mind was wonderfully quick in perceiving analogies of all sorts. But, like several eminent men whom we could name, both living and dead, he sometimes appeared strangely deficient in the power of distinguishing rational from fanciful analogies,—analogies which are arguments from analogies which are mere illustrations,—analogies like that which Bishop Butler so ably pointed out between natural and revealed religion, from analogies like that which Addison discovered between the series of Grecian gods carved by Phidias, and the series of English kings painted by Kneller. This want of discrimination has led to many strange political speculations. Sir William Temple deduced a theory of government from the properties of the pyramid. Mr Southey's whole system of finance is grounded on the phenomena of evaporation and rain. In theology this perverted ingenuity has made still wilder work. From the time of Irenæus and Origen, down to the present day, there has not been a single generation in which great divines have not been led into the most absurd expositions of Scripture, by mere incapacity to distinguish analogies proper,—to use the scholastic phrase,—from analogies metaphorical.* It is curious that Bacon has himself mentioned this very kind of delusion among the *idola specus;* and has mentioned it in language which, we are inclined to think, indicates that he knew himself to be subject to it. It is the vice, he tells us, of subtle minds to attach too much importance to slight distinctions;—it is the vice, on the other hand, of high and discursive intellects to attach too much importance to slight resemblances; and he adds, that when this last propensity is indulged to excess, it leads men to catch at shadows instead of substances.†

* See some interesting remarks on this subject in Bishop's Berkeley's 'Minute Philosopher.' Dialogue IV.

† *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1. Aph. 55.

Digitized by Google

Yet we cannot wish that Bacon's wit had been less luxuriant. For,—to say nothing of the pleasure which it affords,—it was in the vast majority of cases employed for the purpose of making obscure truth plain—of making repulsive truth attractive—of fixing in the mind for ever truth which might otherwise have made but a transient impression.

The poetical faculty was powerful in Bacon's mind; but not, like his wit, so powerful as occasionally to usurp the place of his reason, and to tyrannize over the whole man. No imagination was ever at once so strong and so thoroughly subjugated. It never stirred but at a signal from good sense. It stopped at the first check from good sense. Yet though disciplined to such obedience, it gave noble proofs of its vigour. In truth, much of Bacon's life was passed in a visionary world,—amidst things as strange as any that are described in the 'Arabian Tales,' or in those romances on which the curate and barber of Don Quixote's village performed so cruel an *auto da-fe*,—amidst buildings more sumptuous than the palace of Aladdin,—fountains more wonderful than the golden water of Parizade,—conveyances more rapid than the hippogryph of Ruggiero,—arms more formidable than the lance of Astolfo,—remedies more efficacious than the balsam of Fierabras. Yet in his magnificent day-dreams there was nothing wild,—nothing but what sober reason sanctioned. He knew that all the secrets feigned by poets to have been written in the books of enchanters, are worthless when compared with the mighty secrets which are really written in the book of nature, and which, with time and patience, will be read there. He knew that all the wonders wrought by all the talismans in fable were trifles when compared to the wonders which might reasonably be expected from the philosophy of *fruit;* and, that if his words sank deep into the minds of men, they would produce effects such as superstition had never ascribed to the incantations of Merlin and Michael Scot. It was here that he loved to let his imagination loose. He loved to picture to himself the world as it would be when his philosophy should, in his own noble phrase, 'have enlarged the bounds of human empire.'* We might refer to many instances. But we will content ourselves with the strongest—the description of the 'House of Solomon' in the 'New Atlantis.' By most of Bacon's contemporaries, and by some people of our time, this remarkable passage would, we doubt not, be considered as an ingenious rhodomontade,—a counterpart to the adventures of Sinbad or Baron Munchausen. The truth is, that

* 'New Atlantis.'

Digitized by Google

there is not to be found in any human composition a passage more eminently distinguished by profound and serene wisdom. The boldness and originality of the fiction is far less wonderful than the nice discernment which carefully excluded from that long list of prodigies every thing that can be pronounced impossible; every thing that can be proved to lie beyond the mighty magic of induction and of time. Already some parts, and not the least startling parts, of this glorious prophecy have been accomplished, even according to the letter; and the whole, construed according to the spirit, is daily accomplishing all around us.

One of the most remarkable circumstances in the history of Bacon's mind, is the order in which its powers expanded themselves. With him the fruit came first and remained till the last: the blossoms did not appear till late. In general, the developement of the fancy is to the developement of the judgment what the growth of a girl is to the growth of a boy. The fancy attains at an earlier period to the perfection of its beauty, its power, and its fruitfulness; and, as it is first to ripen, it is also first to fade. It has generally lost something of its bloom and freshness before the sterner faculties have reached maturity; and is commonly withered and barren while those faculties still retain all their energy. It rarely happens that the fancy and the judgment grow together. It happens still more rarely that the judgment grows faster than the fancy. This seems, however, to have been the case with Bacon. His boyhood and youth appear to have been singularly sedate. His gigantic scheme of philosophical reform is said by some writers to have been planned before he was fifteen; and was undoubtedly planned while he was still young. He observed as vigilantly, meditated as deeply, and judged as temperately, when he gave his first work to the world as at the close of his long career. But in eloquence, in sweetness, and variety of expression, and in richness of illustration, his later writings are far superior to those of his youth. In this respect the history of his mind bears some resemblance to the history of the mind of Burke. The treatise on the 'Sublime and 'Beautiful,' though written on a subject which the coldest metaphysician could hardly treat without being occasionally betrayed into florid writing, is the most unadorned of all Burke's works. It appeared when he was twenty-five or twenty-six. When, at forty, he wrote the 'Thoughts on the causes of the existing Discontents,' his reason and his judgment had reached their full maturity; but his eloquence was still in its splendid dawn. At fifty, his rhetoric was quite as rich as good taste would permit; and when he died, at almost seventy, it had become ungracefully gorgeous. In his youth he wrote on the emotions produced by mountains and cas-

Digitized by Google

cades; by the master-pieces of painting and sculpture; by the faces and necks of beautiful women; in the style of a parliamentary report. In his old age, he discussed treaties and tariffs in the most fervid and brilliant language of romance. It is strange that the Essay on the 'Sublime and Beautiful,' and the 'Letter to a Noble 'Lord,' should be the productions of one man. But it is far more strange that the Essay should have been a production of his youth, and the Letter of his old age.

We will give very short specimens of Bacon's two styles. In 1597, he wrote thus:—'Crafty men contemn studies; simple 'men admire them; and wise men use them; for they teach not 'their own use: that is a wisdom without them, and won by 'observation. Read not to contradict, nor to believe, but to 'weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to 'be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested. Read-'ing maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an 'exact man. And therefore if a man write little, he had need 'have a great memory; if he confer little, have a present wit; 'and if he read little, have much cunning to seem to know that 'he doth not. Histories make men wise, poets witty, the ma-'thematics subtle, natural philosophy deep, morals grave, logic 'and rhetoric able to contend.' It will hardly be disputed that this is a passage to be 'chewed and digested.' We do not believe that Thucydides himself has any where compressed so much thought into so small a space.

In the additions which Bacon afterwards made to the 'Essays,' there is nothing superior in truth or weight to what we have quoted. But his style was constantly becoming richer and softer. The following passage, first published in 1625, will show the extent of the change:—'Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Tes-'tament; adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the 'greater benediction and the clearer evidence of God's favour. 'Yet, even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp 'you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pen-'cil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the 'afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is 'not without many fears and distastes; and adversity is not 'without comforts and hopes. We see in needle-works and em-'broideries it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad 'and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work 'upon a lightsome ground. Judge therefore of the pleasure of 'the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like 'precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed or 'crushed; for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity 'doth best discover virtue.'

Digitized by Google

It is by the 'Essays' that Bacon is best known to the multitude. The *Novum Organum* and the *De Augmentis* are much talked of, but little read. They have produced indeed a vast effect on the opinions of mankind; but they have produced it through the operation of intermediate agents. They have moved the intellects which have moved the world. It is in the 'Essays' alone that the mind of Bacon is brought into immediate contact with the minds of ordinary readers. There, he opens an exoteric school, and he talks to plain men in language which every body understands, about things in which every body is interested. He has thus enabled those who must otherwise have taken his merits on trust to judge for themselves; and the great body of readers have, during several generations, acknowledged that the man who has treated with such consummate ability questions with which they are familiar, may well be supposed to deserve all the praise bestowed on him by those who have sat in his inner school.

Without any disparagement to the admirable treatise *De Augmentis*, we must say that, in our judgment, Bacon's greatest performance is the first book of the *Novum Organum*. All the peculiarities of his extraordinary mind are found there in the highest perfection. Many of the aphorisms, but particularly those in which he gives examples of the influence of the *idola*, show a nicety of observation that has never been surpassed. Every part of the book blazes with wit, but with wit which is employed only to illustrate and decorate truth. No book ever made so great a revolution in the mode of thinking—overthrew so many prejudices—introduced so many new opinions. Yet no book was ever written in a less contentious spirit. It truly conquers with chalk and not with steel. Proposition after proposition enters into the mind,—is received not as an invader, but as a welcome friend,—and though previously unknown, becomes at once domesticated. But what we most admire is the vast capacity of that intellect which, without effort, takes in at once all the domains of science,—all the past, the present, and the future,—all the errors of two thousand years,—all the encouraging signs of the passing times,—all the bright hopes of the coming age. Cowley, who was among the most ardent, and not among the least discerning followers of the new philosophy, has, in one of his finest poems, compared Bacon to Moses standing on Mount Pisgah. It is to Bacon, we think, as he appears in the first book of the *Novum Organum*, that the comparison applies with peculiar felicity. There we see the great Law-giver looking round from his lonely elevation on an infinite expanse;—behind him a wilderness of dreary sands and bitter waters in which successive generations have sojourned, always moving, yet never advancing, reaping no

Digitized by Google

harvest and building no abiding city;—before him a goodly land, a land of promise, a land flowing with milk and honey. While the multitude below saw only the flat sterile desert in which they had so long wandered, bounded on every side by a near horizon, or diversified only by some deceitful mirage, he was gazing from a far higher stand, on a far lovelier country,—following with his eye the long course of fertilizing rivers, through ample pastures, and under the bridges of great capitals,—measuring the distances of marts and havens, and portioning out all those wealthy regions from Dan to Beersheba.

It is painful to turn back from contemplating Bacon's philosophy to contemplate his life. Yet without so turning back it is impossible fairly to estimate his powers. He left the University at an earlier age than that at which most people repair thither. While yet a boy he was plunged into the midst of diplomatic business. Thence he passed to the study of a vast technical system of law, and worked his way up through a succession of laborious offices to the highest post in his profession. In the mean time he took an active part in every Parliament; he was an adviser of the Crown; he paid court with the greatest assiduity and address to all whose favour was likely to be of use to him; he lived much in society; he noted the slightest peculiarities of character and the slightest changes of fashion. Scarcely any man has led a more stirring life than that which Bacon led from sixteen to sixty. Scarcely any man has been better entitled to be called a thorough man of the world. The founding of a new philosophy, the imparting of a new direction to the minds of speculators,—this was the amusement of his leisure, the work of hours occasionally stolen from the Woolsack and the Council Board. This consideration, while it increases the admiration with which we regard his intellect, increases also our regret that such an intellect should so often have been unworthily employed. He well knew the better course, and had, at one time, resolved to pursue it. 'I confess,' said he in a letter written when he was still young, 'that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have 'moderate civil ends.' Had his civil ends continued to be moderate, he would have been, not only the Moses, but the Joshua of philosophy. He would have fulfilled a large part of his own magnificent predictions. He would have led his followers, not only to the verge, but into the heart of the promised land. He would not merely have pointed out, but would have divided the spoil. Above all, he would have left not only a great, but a spotless name. Mankind would then have been able to esteem their illustrious benefactor. We should not then be

Digitized by Google

compelled to regard his character with mingled contempt and admiration,—with mingled aversion and gratitude. We should not then regret that there should be so many proofs of the narrowness and selfishness of a heart, the benevolence of which was yet large enough to take in all races and all ages. We should not then have to blush for the disingenuousness of the most devoted worshipper of speculative truth,—for the servility of the boldest champion of intellectual freedom. We should not then have seen the same man at one time far in the van, and at another time far in the rear of his generation. We should not then be forced to own, that he who first treated legislation as a science was among the last Englishmen who used the rack,—that he who first summoned philosophers to the great work of interpreting nature was among the last Englishmen who sold justice. And we should conclude our survey of a life placidly, honourably, beneficently passed, 'in industrious observations, 'grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discover-'ies,'* with feelings very different from those with which we now turn away from the checkered spectacle of so much glory and so much shame.

ART. II.—1. *The Great Metropolis.* By the Author of 'Random 'Recollections of the Lords and Commons.' First Series. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1836.

2. *The Great Metropolis.* Second Series. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1837.

THIS work possesses one great attraction, viz., its title;—we fear that the label is more inviting than the wine. The preface to the 'Second Series' informs us, however, that the 'First Series' had been attended with 'very great success.' Flushed with his triumph, our author attempts a bolder, louder strain; and, in the opening chapter of his 'Second Series,' leads off the ball at Almack's. From time immemorial, writers, when approaching difficult ground, have thought it wise to inform their readers that they are backed by authorities more weighty than their own. Herodotus assures us that he drew his knowledge of the great Pelasgic Oracle from the priests of Egypt and the priestesses of Dodona. Mindful, doubtless, of so renowned an example, the

---

* From a Letter of Bacon to Lord Burleigh.

Digitized by Google

author of the 'Great Metropolis,' 'for much of the information con-
'tained in this chapter' (on Almack's), 'is indebted to one who has
'been for many years a member!' Still, following the example of the old Halicarnassian, our author proceeds as rapidly as possible to convey narrative through the medium of dialogue:—

'"Are you a subscriber to Almack's this season?" "Have you applied for admission to Almack's?" "What a dashing ball that was at Almack's on Wednesday!" "I did not see you at Almack's last night!" "Have you heard that the Mortons have applied for admission to Almack's and been rejected?" "I'm sure those vulgar low-bred creatures the Cottons have not the least chance of being admitted: it was a piece of great assurance on their part to suppose the ladies-patronesses could listen for a moment to an application from such a quarter." "O, I never saw the Marchioness of Londonderry look so well as she did at the last Almack's; she was so splendidly dressed." "That brute, Lord —— was quite tipsy at Almack's last night: I was sorry to see mamma give him the slightest countenance." *These, and a hundred other expressions, are quite current in the higher circles on the subject of Almack's.*'

Our author having thus proved himself so thoroughly acquainted with the phraseology and expressions 'current in the 'higher circles,' proceeds to trace the chronicle from the earliest recorded mythi. 'When, or under what particular circumstances '(saith he solemnly) Almack's was originally instituted, is not 'exactly known. It is first accidentally noticed by Horace Wal-'pole.' We had imagined there was a line, attributed to that ancient and forgotten writer, Alexander Pope, running somewhat thus—if the decipherers of the old character used in that day be right in their interpretation:—

'To dine with Peers at Boodle's and Almack's.'

But let this pass. Our historian is of the inventive school—the Müller of the Metropolis. He informs us that the infant institution, dating from Horace Walpole, was not free from those storms to which all states are subject. That owing to some misunderstanding among the ladies-patronesses it was discontinued. 'It was reorganized on such an extensive scale, and under such 'powerful patronage, that it assumed a sway and importance in 'the fashionable world which its foundresses never contemplated:' that 'a more despotic power never existed;' 'that all we read 'about political slavery in other countries, is not to be compared 'with this.' And, warming as he pursues the theme, our author places before us, in the most glowing language, the caprices and tyranny of this terrible Inquisition. It is not our intention to follow the ingenious chronicler through his details. The following dialogue (our author shines in polite dialogue) will suffice

Digitized by Google

as a specimen of his peculiar fitness for the task he has undertaken:—

'Miss Manchester applied at the beginning of last season for a ticket. "Who is this Miss Manchester?" enquired Lady Dominant. "Does any body know any thing about her? I never heard the name before."

'"Nor I," said the Marchioness of Duffus. "Some upstart vulgar creature of City origin, I suppose," she continued, giving her head a most contemptuous toss.

'"She is a very respectable young lady; I have seen her two or three times, and she is possessed of an immense fortune," said Baroness Positive.

'"Made, I have no doubt, by her father's spinning-jennies," said Lady Dominant, sneeringly.

'"Her father is a manufacturer in the Manchester trade, but he is a most respectable man: my brother and he are on very intimate terms," said the Baroness.

'"Well, surely the impudence of these low-bred, vulgar people! it exceeds every thing," said the Countess of Speyside. "Why, after this, it would not surprise me to see every coal-merchant's daughter in the City applying for admission."

'"O! the very idea of the thing is monstrous," observed Lady Rafford. "Besides, the creature's a perfect fright. You know, my dear Baroness, you pointed her out to me one day in the Strand."

'"Quite a turnip face, I dare say," said Lady Dominant.

'"And cat's-eyes, I'll answer for it," observed the Marchioness.

'"You are both right," said Lady Rafford. "And you might have added carroty-hair. The very thought of such a horrid-looking creature, and a cotton merchant's daughter, waltzing at Almack's, almost throws me into hysterics."

'"I think you are unreasonably severe," observed the Baroness. "She is heiress to a princely fortune. Her father is worth half-a-million, and her hand would therefore be deemed a prize by any nobleman in the land. My brother, Colonel Vincent, has begged of me as a particular favour, to do all I can to get her admitted, and I therefore hope your ladyships will give her a voucher."

'"Yes," said Lady Dominant, bridling up, "yes, if we wish to disgrace ourselves and the order to which we belong. If we did, I dare say," she continued, biting her lip and tossing her head, "I dare say the piece of vulgarity would come to our balls dressed in some of her father's cotton-cloth. Better admit our housemaids at once."

'"I'll engage," said Lady Rafford, assuming an air of unwonted self-importance, "I'll engage this would-be-fashionable Miss Vulgarity could not acquit herself, though she were here, so well as one of my waiting-maids."

'"O!" said Lady Dominant, tartly, and with some haste, "O let us be done with this poor empty-headed but aspiring cotton-spinning miss; the very idea of listening for one moment to her application is perfectly monstrous."'

Digitized by Google

There is a classical simplicity—a sublime *naïveté* in our author, which bears out the parallel we ventured to intimate between Herodotus and himself. 'Thus fought the Greeks at Thermo-'pylæ!' says the Father of History. 'Such is Almack's!' exclaims the author of the 'Great Metropolis.' It may possibly be presumed, that one so eminently successful in his picture of the Privileged Ball-room of London might not be equally happy in the humbler and more homely subjects upon which he expatiates. Not so; he is equally accurate and profound in those sections of the work that immediately follow. In his second chapter, he sits in judgment on 'Political Opinions;' and by way of a fair specimen of those great political dinners which make so remarkable a feature in English manners, and which undoubtedly, on either side of the question, often seriously affect the position of political parties, he favours us with the subjoined picture:—

Scene.—The Marylebone Festival.

'"Vaiter, why don't you bring us something to eat?"

'"It's all on the table, sir," said the waiter, stretching out his arm to withdraw an empty pudding-dish.

'"And it's all off the table, too," said the coffin-maker, indignantly.

'"That's not my fault," observed John; and he scudded away with his arms full of empty dishes, to some unknown region where they were to be deposited.

'"Why don't you complain to one of the stewards," said Dr Wade, who, in the scramble had, as already mentioned, come off very successfully. The Rev. Gentleman winked at Mr Murphy, in a way which evidently showed that he was enjoying a joke at the poor hungry undertaker's expense.

'"Mr Savage," said the latter—Mr Savage was one of the stewards—"here's a pretty go of it; nothing to eat; no, not a morsel. Better be at home on Yarmouth bloaters than this."

'"Whose fault's that?" enquired Mr Savage, with inimitable *sang froid*. Mr Savage whispered across the table to Mr Fergus O'Connor, "I hope the speeches to-night will be of the right Radical sort."

'"It's the vaiter's fault, I suppose," said the man of coffins. "Poor fellow, he knew no better!"

'"Well then," observed Mr Savage, "you have the remedy in your own hands; take his number."

'"But he's gone."

'"Then why don't you go after him?"

'"I tell you what it is, Mr Savage, I won't submit to be treated in this 'ere way; I must have some grub, or my four shillings back again."

'"I wish he may get either," whispered Dr Wade into my ear, with a smile of that peculiar character which I never saw any one give but himself.

Digitized by Google

'"What excellent music!" observed Mr Murphy to the "performers" of funerals, trying to soothe him down a little.

'"What's music to a hungry stomach?" said the other, lowering his brow. "Can I dine on music?"

'"Never mind," said a sturdy unwashed personage, the very image of Thistlewood of Cato Street notoriety, his head half buried in his breast; "never mind, my friend, you are at no loss any how. I would not give a farden for the whole kit of vat vas on the table; it vas no better than"——

"It's all very vell for you to say so, after you have had a bellyful of the vitals," interrupted the undertaker, his choler rising still higher and higher. "I say, Mr Savage," he continued, "if I don't get something to eat, I'll be"——

We think we have now fairly exhibited the versatility of our author, and have shown that he is equally at home at Almack's and the Marylebone Festival—we would only respectfully make one suggestion. In his next edition let him transfer the respective dialogues. The conversation which he ascribes to the ladies of Almack's would, we think, do just as well for the Marylebone Festival; while that which he relates as a faithful transcript of the conversation of the tradesmen of Marylebone, would be very pretty small-talk for great ladies, as they are imagined and depicted by our literary Alcibiades.

The author of the 'Great Metropolis' next invites our attention to the subject of Literature; and he treats it in a manner that must be allowed to be quite original. An ordinary writer stumbling on such a theme as the Literature of the British metropolis, at a period when it presents phenomena of peculiar interest, would have tasked his gravest powers to analyze the motley and active competitors for fame in that mart of intellect and knowledge. He would have entered into elaborate and careful criticisms on the authors—perhaps (if inclined to portraiture or gossip) he might have indulged in graphic sketches or characteristic anecdotes of the men. Not thus vulgar and commonplace is the design of the writer before us. He takes a view of the subject at once new and practical. He only estimates books by the prices they fetch in the market. He calculates the number of copies they sell. He can tell you to a farthing what an author gets for his copyrights. For example, his criticism on the 'Life of Lord Exmouth' is,—that it sold 1500 copies! He passes in review travellers and tourists, medical men, poets, novelists, and historians,—and reduces them all to arithmetic! He, however, exempts from the class of authors thus estimated, one meritorious tribe, of whom he speaks with an affection that seems sympathetic—viz., '*those whose works have fallen still-born from*

Digitized by Google

'*the press!*' He thinks that 'works of superior talent are consigned to *eternal* oblivion the very moment they have been ushered into being.' He declares that 'the resurrection of Milton and Hume from the land of forgetfulness was merely '*the effect of chance;*' and that 'it is beyond all question that the works of many others of great talent have never been awakened, nor ever will, from the sleep of death, into which they fell on the day of their publication.'

In another chapter, on 'Authors and Publishers,' he renews the subject; and now, for the first time, we are surprised by a deviation into something like sensible remark and accurate information.

The following anecdote is amusing—*si non é vero é ben trovato:*—'When the new edition of Mr Peter Cunningham's (son of Allan Cunningham) "Poems of Drummond of Hawthornden" was being subscribed, one of the same class of booksellers, to whom the volume was submitted, enquired of the publisher, whether this Henry Drummond of Hawthornden was any relation of Henry Drummond the banker;—adding, that if he was, he would take a couple of copies, as he was sure the private friends of the author would ensure the sale of the book to a certain extent.'

We subjoin a passage which we really think deserves the serious attention of booksellers.

'There is another error, into which I think some of the leading publishing houses fall. It is an error which arises from a spirit of misdirected rivalry, and entails suffering on all parties. My allusion is to the practice which has been so common of late years among the leading houses, of bringing out important works as nearly as they can about the same time. If one house sees a rival establishment announce a work which promises to be popular, at a given time, such house very often makes a point of either delaying or accelerating, according to circumstances, some important work of which it may have undertaken the publication,—so as that it may appear about the same time as the other. I have often known three, sometimes four, interesting works brought out within a few days of each other, solely from this spirit of rivalry. The consequence is, that the public attention being distracted between them, they all suffer to a greater or less extent; whereas, if an interval of a few weeks had taken place in the publication, the public attention could have been exclusively given for a short time to each, and thus greatly increased the sale of all. I say nothing of the extent to which literature suffers from this injudicious rivalry among publishers; because that, strictly speaking, is no matter for their consideration. I put the question wholly on the broad ground of business. I may be told that the number of books which are published in the course of a year is so great that two or three, from rival houses, must necessarily appear more

Digitized by Google

or less frequently at a time. In answer to this, let me remark, that my observations do not apply to books taken in the mass; they have a reference only to works whose interest and popularity are in some degree guaranteed by the name of the author; and these assuredly are not so numerous that an interval of two or three weeks could not be suffered to pass, by a little arrangement, between their respective publications. I would throw it out as a suggestion to publishers, whether it would not be advisable, viewed merely as a matter affecting their own pecuniary interests, to come to some understanding with each other on the subject.'

Several chapters are devoted to the Bank of England, the Royal Exchange, and the Stock Exchange. We may observe generally, that the latter portion of the work is much better than the commencement: the author is not without talent, whenever he chances on a subject not wholly uncongenial to its display. His anecdotes are often racily told; and though he does not possess the qualities of an authentic narrator, he sometimes exhibits those of a pleasant gossip. The following passage certainly presents the grave business of the Stock Exchange in a point of view that will a little surprise our country readers:—

'The first impression of a stranger on entering the Stock Exchange, were he not previously otherwise informed, would naturally be, that instead of being met to transact important business, they had assembled for the express purpose of having a little fun and frolic together. You not only hear them uttering, in addition to the sounds just alluded to, all other sorts of sounds, some of which partake a good deal of the zoological character, but you see a large proportion of them playing all manner of tricks at each other's expense. One of the most approved of these tricks, if we are to judge from the extent to which it is practised, is that of knocking one's hat down over one's eyes. This pastime, I believe, they call "eclipsing," or "bonneting." If the hat only goes down so far as not to prevent altogether the use of one's luminaries, it is, I presume, called a partial eclipse; but when the application of one's hand to the crown of the hat is given with such vigour as to force it down over the optics of the party who chances to be at the time the person played on, it is called a total eclipse. How far it can be so called with propriety is at least a debatable point; for I have been assured by those who have undergone the somewhat unpleasant experiment of eclipsing, that if they saw nothing else, the severity and suddenness of "the whack," to use Stock Exchange phraseology, has made them see stars innumerable. How many crowns of "best beavers" have been so completely "knocked in," as to render the hats ever afterwards unwearable, by means of the process of eclipsing, is, I suspect, a question which the most skilful calculator in the house would not undertake to decide. The cases from first to last of the destruction of hats in this way, must be innumerable; but the ingenuity of some of the members has discovered other means of assisting the hatters, where the eclipsing plan fails of effect. The

Digitized by Google

members in question are remarkably expert at knocking the hats of other members off their heads altogether, and then kicking them about on the floor until they are shattered to pieces. So marked indeed are the hat-destroying propensities of some of the members, that a stranger would come away with the impression, that they were in the pay of the leading city hat-manufacturers. Query—Are they so?

'The dexterity which many of the members have acquired from long practice, at playing all manner of tricks with the hats of each other, is really surprising, and would, were they inclined to accept it, procure them an engagement at any of the theatres. By wetting the fore-part of their fingers, and applying them to the hat of the party to be operated on, they, unconsciously to him, can make it let go its hold of his head, and then, before it has quitted his cranium entirely, they give it another "touch," as they call it, with the aforesaid forepart of their fingers, which sends it spinning through the place a distance perhaps of forty or fifty feet.

'There are various other pastimes which are daily practised on the Stock Exchange, besides those I have mentioned. Occasionally you will see walking-canes, umbrellas, &c. moving about through the place, to the imminent hazard of the heads of members. Chalking one another's backs is one of their most harmless expedients, when in a larking humour. The figures sometimes made on these occasions are of so odd a character, as to be equally beyond the pale of Euclid's mathematics, and the tailorifics of any German knight of the thimble, or any other distinguished professor of the "fitting" art. It is scarcely necessary to say that when a person's back is thus well chalked he cuts a very odd figure. Not long ago, two of the gentlemen of the house mutually chalked each other's back with every conceivable variety of stroke, without the one knowing that the other had been playing any of his old tricks. The other gents, or at least that portion of them who most keenly relish a little frolic, had, of course, their laugh at the expense of both parties, while they individually richly enjoyed the affair, thinking they had achieved a wonderful exploit in having got through the chalking process without the party chalked being aware of the trick that had been played him. When others looked into their faces and laughed heartily, they each fancied it was in the way of giving them credit for their dexterity, and congratulated themselves accordingly. Little did either suppose the other gentlemen were laughing *at*, instead of *with*, them. But perhaps the most amusing part of the affair, was that of the two chalked parties laughing most immoderately at each other, and winking at the other gentlemen around them, by way of self-gratulation at the ridiculous figure the one had been the means of making the other look. When the discovery was made of how they had tricked each other, both were mortified and crest-fallen in the greatest degree.'

From the Royal Exchange our author proceeds to the Old Bailey, and favours us with some *historiettes*, which, making allowance for the exaggerations common to one who indulges in the dramatic artifices of dialogue, are characteristic enough. But

Digitized by Google

the gem of this chapter, and, indeed, of the whole work, is the description of a gentleman whose enthusiasm seems to have taken a direction so original, that he ought to make the reputation of a novelist,—and to a novelist, sooner or later, we predict that he will fall a prey:—

'Mr Curtis is known to every body in and about the place, and nobody can know him without being attached to him. A more honest, kind-hearted, or inoffensive creature does not exist. For nearly a quarter of a century has he been in constant attendance at the Old Bailey, from the opening to the close of each session, never, so far as I am aware, being absent, with the exception of two occasions when attending the county assizes. . . . . He is particularly partial to wet weather, and is as fond of a rainy day as if he were a duck. He is never so comfortable as when thoroughly drenched. . . . . His taste for executions, and for the society of persons sentenced to death, is remarkable. He has been present at every execution in the metropolis and its immediate neighbourhood, for the last quarter of a century. This may appear so improbable a statement, that it may be proper to mention I have it from his own lips; and nothing in the world would induce him to state what is not true. Nay, so powerful is his propensity for witnessing executions, that, some years since, he actually walked down before breakfast to Chelmsford, which is twenty-nine miles from London, to be present at the execution of Captain Moir. For a great many years past he has not only heard the condemned sermon preached in Newgate, but has spent many hours in their gloomy cells, with the leading men who have been executed in London during that time. He was a great favourite with poor Fauntleroy. Many an hour did Mr Curtis spend in Newgate with that unfortunate man. He was with him a considerable part of the day previous to his execution. With Corder, too, of Red Barn notoriety, he contracted a warm friendship; sleeping, I think he has told me, repeatedly on the same bed as that unhappy man had been accustomed to sleep on. Immediately on the discovery of the murder of Maria Martin, he hastened down to the scene, and there remained till the execution of William Corder, making a period of several weeks. He afterwards wrote "Memoirs of Corder," which extended to upwards of three hundred pages. The work was published by the present Lord Mayor, then Mr Kelly; and being published in sixpenny numbers, had a large sale. Three portraits, all engraved on one piece of plate, embellished the work. They were portraits of William Corder, Maria Martin, and Mr Curtis himself. I believe this is the only literary work of Mr Curtis; he is proud of it; nothing pleases him better than to be called the biographer of Corder.

'By some unaccountable sort of fatality, Mr Curtis, where he is unknown, has always had the mortification of being mistaken, under very awkward circumstances, for other parties. He was never at Dover but once in his life, and on that occasion he was locked up all night on suspicion of being a spy. When he went down to Chelmsford, to be present at the execution of the unfortunate captain, whose name I have already mentioned, he engaged a bed early in the morning the day before the

Digitized by Google

execution, at the Three Cups Tavern. On returning to the inn in the evening, he saw every body stare at him as hard as if he had been a giraffe. The female servants rushed out of his sight the moment they fixed their eyes on him. Among the men-servants, in addition to the feeling of horror with which they clearly regarded him, he heard a variety of whispers, without being able to understand the why or wherefore. At last, the landlady of the Three Cups advanced a few steps towards him, though still keeping at a distance of some yards, and said in tremulous accents and with quivering frame,—"We cannot give you a bed here; when I promised you one, I did not know the house was so full as it is."

'"Ma'am," said Mr Curtis, indignantly, at the same time pulling himself up—"Ma'am, I have taken my bed, and I insist on having it."

'"I'm very sorry for it, but you cannot sleep here to-night."

'"I *will* sleep here to-night; I've engaged my bed, and refuse it me at your peril," said Mr Curtis, thrusting his right hand into the breast of his waistcoat, and assuming an aspect of offended dignity.

'"It's impossible; it's impossible; it cannot be," observed the landlady of the Three Cups, with great eagerness and emphasis.

'"Why, madam? I should like to know the reason *why?*" taking off his glasses, and buttoning his coat.

'"I'll pay the price of your bed in any other place, if you'll only go and sleep somewhere else," was the only answer of the relict of the late Mr Boniface.

'"No, ma'am," said Mr Curtis, with an edifying energy, the brilliant indignation of his eye proclaiming with expressive eloquence the spirit with which he resented the affront offered to him, "No, ma'am, I insist on my rights as a *public* man; I have a duty to perform to-morrow." As he spoke, he took three or four hasty paces through the room.

'"It's all true. He says he's a public man, and that he has a duty to perform," were words which every person in the room exchanged in suppressed whispers with each other.

'The waiter now stepped up to Mr Curtis, and taking him aside, said —"The reason why Missus won't give you no bed, is because you're the executioner;" and, as he uttered the words, he drew himself back from Mr Curtis, as if the latter had been a walking cholera. Mr Curtis was on the first announcement of the thing somewhat astounded; but in a few moments he laughed heartily at the mistake. "I'll soon convince you of your error, ma'am," said Mr Curtis, walking out of the house. He returned in about ten minutes with a respectable gentleman of the place, with whom he was acquainted; and the gentleman having spoken to the fact of his identity being different from what had been supposed, the landlady made a thousand apologies for the mistake, and as the only reparation she could make him, she gave him the best bed in the Three Cups Tavern.

'This was, in all conscience, a sufficiently awkward mistake; but it was nothing to one which was made on another occasion. I have already mentioned the zest with which he enjoyed the luxury of sleeping in Corder's bed. That, however, was not enough; nor did it satisfy him to spend night after night with him in prison. He accompanied Corder to

Digitized by Google

his trial, and stood up close behind him at the bar all the time the trial lasted. A limner had been sent from Ipswich to take a portrait of Corder, for one of the newspapers of that place. And what did he do? Nobody, I am sure, would guess. Why, the stupid animal, as Mr Curtis justly calls him, actually took a sketch of Mr Curtis himself, mistaking him for Corder; and in the next number of the provincial print, Mr Curtis figured at full length as the murderer of Maria Martin! Mr Curtis regards this as one of the most amusing incidents in his life; and I speak seriously when I say, that while expressing his anxiety that I would omit none of those adventures of his which I have here given, he was particularly solicitous that this incident should have a place. I promised I would attend to his wishes. I have kept my word.'

Our author appears to us to show good sense and a proper philosophy in the passage we subjoin from his chapter on Newgate, which appropriately enough follows that on the Old Bailey:—

'There lives not the man who can more cordially venerate than I do, those philanthropic individuals who spend so much of their time in endeavouring to enlighten the minds of those in Newgate who are standing on the verge of eternity, in matters of a spiritual kind. But I am afraid that their good offices are sometimes deficient in Christian prudence. I confess it has always appeared to me a matter which ought to be one of deep concern to Christians, that almost all the culprits who are executed, mount the scaffold with the most entire persuasion, that all is safe as regards their future destinies. In most cases they have had only a few conversations with their spiritual advisers, before they seem to be as much satisfied that their absence from the earth will be their presence in heaven, as that they are about to close their connexion with all things below for ever. This is a matter of such general occurrence, that it has become a daily remark, that if a man wishes to make sure of the way to heaven, he has only to go by the gallows. I am aware that the abuse of a thing is no argument against the thing itself; and that though some men were on this account to think lightly of the commission of crimes against society, that would be no reason for not communicating spiritual instruction, and administering, within proper limits, spiritual consolation to persons condemned to death. But I much fear that when the cases are so numerous in which men who have been guilty of the grossest crimes, both against the Deity and their fellow-men, thus ascend the scaffold, with so entire a confidence in a happy hereafter, there must be something injudicious in the way in which the duties of a spiritual monitor are discharged.'

Of the character of these volumes our readers will now form a pretty unanimous judgment. As a treatise upon the society, interests, employments, and characteristic phenomena of the good people of London, its whole pretensions, as we before intimated, consist in its title. On a considerable proportion of the matter he selects, our author exhibits as much ignorance as if he had

Digitized by Google

been treating of Timbuctoo; while on others, in regard to which his opportunities of information are more favourable, he displays much shrewdness, natural humour, and a vein of good-natured caricature, which redeem many blunders in detail; and make us hope that we may meet with him again upon ground not quite so rashly entered, and so utterly unknown to him.

We cannot conclude this very slight notice without a few remarks, which certain portions, and, still more, certain omissions of the work suggest to us.

London presents many features in the existing relations between society and literature, peculiar to itself, and also to the time. That rank within rank which has furnished inspiration to so many of our novelists, and is called 'Fashion'—a rank not necessarily reflected from power, from birth, from wealth, or from talent—has already had its day, and is waning to its decline. The great and stirring questions which agitate all society have invaded also the monotonous stillness of the Exclusive circles. The agencies which heaved the ocean have been felt on the surface of the garden-fountain. Fashion was in much the creation of a perverted ambition. The old parliamentary system, under the lethargic rule of the Tory principles, failed to excite a very general ardour for, or a very general attention to, public life. Things seemed to the believers in the general creed of 'whatever is, is right,' so safe and secure—and schemes of popular government appeared so vague and distant—that the members of those classes who toil not, neither do they spin, naturally surrendered themselves to the pursuit of frivolous objects and small distinctions. Young men, who, unless born to large fortunes, or blest with parliamentary connexions, could scarcely aspire to the expensive luxury of a seat in Parliament, at the cost of L.1200 a-year, directed their aspirations towards easier roads to notoriety. Even those who were in Parliament, undisturbed by the vigilance of constituents, and unstimulated by constant struggles for party power—had not their minds engrossed by the rare field-nights which demanded attendance, or proffered occasion for display. The management of debates was left to half-a-dozen experienced leaders—and, save when some periodical party question was brought forward, the speakers were few, and the attendance thin. It was of the old unreformed House of Commons that it was said, that 'It was the best *Club* in London.' This, by the majority of its members, was the easy and pleasant light in which that assembly, now so animated—so laborious—was considered. The close of the long continental war, which seemed to establish Tory government on an imperishable throne, and to give the wealthier and higher classes an excuse to surrender themselves to a life of

Digitized by Google

ease and pleasure—gave a wonderful impulse to Fashion. Then was Almack's established—and then were 'Exclusives' first heard of. In the absence of more energetic and universal excitement—the desire of small distinctions became prevalent and contagious. The wealthier sons of commerce, sensible of the importance they had acquired, and were daily augmenting, naturally wished to carry their political importance into the social relations. Hence the vying and emulation between wealth and birth—the forwardness of some—the haughtiness of others. It was in society that the struggle for equality first commenced. From the date of the Peace to the carrying of the Catholic Question, was the flourishing period of Fashion. The success of that question stirred society to its depth—new interests of masculine and majestic order were created—'coming events cast their shadows before,'—conversation took a more earnest tone—political ambition began to invade the conventional—and, the two aristocratic parties of the state being more evenly balanced, hopes and fears of a nature very different from those which depended on the fiat of lady patronesses, were called into stirring existence. Hitherto there had not been any keen animosity between the sections contending for power. The strength of the one was so great,—the weakness of the other was so evident,—that the conflicts appeared rather holyday diversions than, as we see them now, the ardent enforcement of opposing principles of action. But with the concession of those mighty theories connected with Catholic Emancipation, the demarcations between the aristocratic portion of society became deep and wide. Each took in new recruits, and looked to more extended circles for new allies. Exclusiveness tottered—Fashion received a mortal blow. The agitation and final victory of the Reform Bill completed the revolution; and since that period, society in London has taken a much more vigorous, healthy, and catholic character. Young men, formerly contented with the honours acquired from horses and hats, and the golden opinions of club-window loungers, have caught the political fervour that pervades the working classes themselves. Parliament presents a cheaper opening and a more exciting field than heretofore. Politics is no longer a thing apart from the ordinary pursuits and occupations of society; it enters into the ideas, it pervades the conversation, it colours the opinions of whole classes of men, who, ten years ago, would have voted all '*politics* '*a bore.*' In the recent election for Westminster, *les jeunes elégans* were the most active canvassers; and nightly in Parliament they are the loudest 'cheerers' and the most bustling 'whippers-in.' One great and almost invariable advantage of increasing, under wise limitations, the popular power, is in stimulating the intellect of

Digitized by Google

the national aristocracy. This consequence did not escape the sagacity of Machiaveli, who has well observed, that the Roman patricians owed much of their characteristic vigour of mind to being compelled by the constitution to court the favour of the commonalty. The illustration is yet more remarkable in the case of the Athenians, among whom it is noticeable that the large proportion of eminent men were Eupatirds,—Solon, Pericles, Cimon, Aristides, Alcibiades, in action,—Æschylus, Sophocles, Thucydides, in literature. And, indeed, it may be universally observed, that the freer the countries, the more intellectual the aristocracies; while in despotic states the men who struggle to celebrity generally rise from the most subordinate classes;—a fact which tends to show that much which appears to weaken the ostensible, advances the moral, power of an aristocracy. Wherever politics form an habitual and universal theme of interest and discussion, it cannot fail to brace the mind even of the idlest disputants to masculine objects, and to diffuse knowledge at once various and useful. For politics, while often a war of persons, is not the less the investigation of principles; and men who would seek any conventional reputation derived from their discussion, must not only be able to praise the oratory of Sir Robert Peel, or to ridicule the calculations of Mr Hume, but they must show some acquaintance with the great subjects which oratory adorns or calculations illustrate. Any person living much in London during the last ten or twelve years, must have observed the great improvement in general society,—the gradual disappearance of the old apathy and fopperies,—the more miscellaneous materials of which societies and *coteries* are composed,—and the more instructive and intellectual topics upon which conversation falls. Still, however, Literature and its influences are not sufficiently mixed up with the general concerns of men. Authors still too much form a class apart—and the revolution that has invigorated the social system has not, as yet, refined it. Perhaps there is no greater criterion of the polish of a nation than the sociability of its men of letters: genius is not contagious, but its tastes are. It was not to Dukes and Princes that the old *regime* of France owed that refinement and brilliancy of manner which gave example and model to all the courts of Europe: it was to that close connexion between rank and genius, in which the first felt it necessary for conventional reputation to borrow some of the attributes of the last;—the graceful compliment—the pointed repartee—the vivacious impromptu—the delicate *persiflage*;—these were the offspring of literature, though they made the characteristics of a court. We do not say that it is best for genius itself to mix habitually with the professional

Digitized by Google

votaries of indolence and pleasure. It is often at some expense of its own dignity, and some prostitution of its own powers, that intellect refines the coarse, raises the low, or animates the dull. Nor do we mean in these general remarks to advance the doctrine that men of letters should be the necessary clients of men of rank; or that fine society is the atmosphere in which they should move, and breathe, and have their being. All that we advocate is this, that literature should endeavour to be social, and that society in every class should welcome literature,—not as an unfrequent guest, still less as an unwelcome interloper, but as a genial and beloved friend. Both gain by interchange; the one becomes more practical, the other more ideal. As long as the world lasts, men wholly absorbed in the business of the day will be too apt to look upon those who speculate on the subtler qualities of the mind, or the higher destinies of their species, as theorists and dreamers; while, in turn, the conductors of the 'working-'day-world' will be regarded by poets and philosophers as beings of limited views and prejudiced opinions. But the more each are brought in contact with the other,—the more undue prejudices and prepossessions will vanish; and the more chance is there of that compromise between both, in which true wisdom consists. We think that a dim understanding of this philosophy is already at work. Whilst some of our most eminent men of letters are devoting their capacities and attainments to practical ends and social purposes, there is growing up amongst the great masses of the Public a juster appreciation of the influences of literature upon political amelioration, and the daily progress of human destinies. The desire of the working classes for knowledge—the spread of Institutes and Book Clubs—the deepening attention towards the elegancies of public art—the common tendency to unite intellectual attainments with liberal opinions—are all lessening the ancient demarcation between the market-place and the closet. In proportion as that demarcation vanishes, shall we approach towards the perfection of that noblest of all national characters, which unites with a hardy and masculine understanding in practical affairs, an appreciation of whatever is noble in sentiment, or beautiful in art.

Digitized by Google

ART. III.—1. *Miscellaneous Works and Correspondence of the* Rev. JAMES BRADLEY, D.D., F.R.S., Astronomer-Royal, Savilian Professor of Astronomy in the University of Oxford. 4to. Oxford: 1832.*

2. *Supplement to Dr Bradley's Miscellaneous Works, with an account of Harriot's Astronomical Papers.* Oxford: 1833.

IT is a singular fact in the history of English science, and a striking proof of the national indifference to the higher efforts of scientific genius, that England has provided no place of record for an account of the lives and labours of her most distinguished philosophers. Those who have presided over our public institutions,—who have conducted their affairs with disinterested zeal,—or who have adorned their transactions with the finest researches and discoveries, are allowed to sink unnoticed into the grave, without any eulogium pronounced upon their name, and without any permanent memorial of their history or their achievements. Need we mention, in proof of this, the names of Newton and of Bradley, in the last century, or those of Herschel, of Maskelyne, and of Watt, in the present age? And must we add the painful counterpart, that a rival nation has paid to British genius the honours denied it at home? The biographers of Newton and Bradley have been obliged to resort for information to their *Eloges* in the 'Memoirs of the French Academy of Sciences;' while those of Herschel and Maskelyne and Watt, must have recourse to the 'Memoirs of the National Institute' of France!

In the popular departments of literature and science, or in those rare cases, such as that of Sir Humphry Davy, where a philosopher has been able to engraft upon an immortal name a popular and contemporary reputation, public curiosity demands and receives its gratification;—but in the abstract departments of historical and antiquarian research, as well as in the profound enquiries of mathematics and physics, where powerful minds are struggling unseen, the public take no interest, and the nation provides no remedy.†

---

* We ought to have given an earlier notice of this interesting work; but the delay has been attended with the advantage of placing the account of the Life and Discoveries of Bradley in its proper chronological order, after our articles on the Lives of Newton and Hampsteed.

† Among the improvements which have been introduced into the

Digitized by Google

These remarks have a peculiar application to the case of Bradley. This eminent individual,—the Astronomer-Royal of England,—the Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford,—the author of two of the grandest discoveries, and of many of the finest observations in modern astronomy, and one to whom Delambre assigns the most distinguished place, next to Hipparchus and Kepler, and whom he ranks above all the other astronomers of every age and of every country,—this great and good man has been allowed to lie *seventy* years in his grave without any suitable memorial of his life and discoveries!

The difficult task of performing, at the eleventh hour, this great duty to science, fortunately devolved upon Mr Rigaud, Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford. His profound acquaintance with the subject, his varied learning, his powers of unwearied research, and the opportunities which an extensive acquaintance afforded him of preserving from oblivion the traditionary materials for a Life of Bradley, have enabled him to produce a volume of deep interest; and one which will be perused with avidity wherever astronomical science is cultivated and esteemed. The 'Memoir' itself, which occupies more than one hundred closely-printed quarto pages, is written with great simplicity and perspicuity. It abounds with the most interesting details respecting the private as well as the professional life of Bradley, and is interspersed with instructive and agreeable notices of his scientific friends and contemporaries, and of the instruments and methods which he employed in his enquiries. His discoveries and observations are discussed with a peculiar talent; and the astronomical reader, without being sensible of any digression, feels that he is perusing the history of practical Astronomy in England during the earlier half of the eighteenth century.

Royal Society of London, it would have been desirable to have numbered that of enriching the *Philosophical Transactions* with biographical sketches of her more eminent Fellows. But while we express this wish, we are sufficiently aware of the difficulties which would be encountered in carrying such a plan into effect. The Secretaries, by whom alone this duty could be rightly performed, would require to unite a profound and varied knowledge of science with a taste for literary composition, and at the same time to be freed from all professional labour. Such a combination of qualifications, however, could only be expected in the office-bearers of an institution directly supported by the nation. Even under its present constitution, the Society might make a successful commencement; and though not carried to its fullest extent, the plan would prove a powerful stimulus to the cultivation of the more abstract departments of knowledge.

Digitized by Google

The history of Dr Bradley's manuscripts is contained in the following extract:

'Dr Bradley's manuscripts were given by his son-in-law, the Rev. Samuel Peak, to Lord North, who presented them to the University of Oxford, of which he was then Chancellor: they were placed in the hands of Dr Hornsby, Savilian Professor of Astronomy, with a view to publication; and the observations made with the new instruments at Greenwich, from 1750 to 1762, were printed at the University Press. The original books, containing these and the other Greenwich observations, were then deposited in the Bodleian Library, with a small number of loose papers (in one of them), from which some additions had been made to the original publication. Repeated enquiries have of late years been made for Bradley's other remains; but no traces of them could be found, until, by a combination of fortunate circumstances, it was discovered that very many were still extant among Dr Hornsby's own papers. A representation of the fact having been made to his family, they were readily restored to the University; and as I had been the means of recovering them, they were, in the summer of 1829, placed in my hands, with a request that I should prepare for the press whatever might be found fit for publication.'

The task which Professor Rigaud was thus led to undertake, turned out, from various causes, to be far from an easy one.

'In the examination,' says he, 'of Bradley's papers, many notices occurred of what was either entirely new, or only imperfectly known; there were several particulars likewise connected with them which were passing fast into oblivion. * * * Many of those notices were of such a nature, that, if introduced into the body of the publication, they would have required many notes of explanation, sometimes longer than themselves. Again, it was repeatedly found that papers, the whole of which did not require to be printed, admitted of extracts being made from them, that were well worth preserving. These were all connected more or less with Bradley's studies and pursuits, and they threw new light on the objects which engaged his attention. It appeared, therefore, that they could be presented to the world in no way which would make them more clear or more useful, than if they were connected with a narrative of his progress through life. * * * All this naturally led to an enquiry into his personal history, and it was found that there was hardly any thing generally known of it but what was contained in a few pages of the Supplement to the Biographical Dictionary (8vo, 1767), and in the Eloge which was pronounced on him by De Fouchy, before the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, in 1762.'

James Bradley, was the third son of William Bradley of Hampnet, near Northleach, and of Jane Pound, of Bishop's Canning, in Wiltshire. He was born in 1692 or 1693, and from the Grammar School of Northleach, he went to Baliol College, Oxford, where he was admitted a commoner, on the 15th March 1710-11. During his absence from the University, he seems to

Digitized by Google

have lived chiefly with his maternal uncle, the Reverend James Pound, who was then one of the best practical astronomers in England, and for whose observations both Newton* and Halley made frequent applications. Under his roof Bradley probably acquired that fondness for astronomy which formed the leading passion of his life; and so early as 1715, we find the uncle and the nephew pursuing in concert their favourite studies. Bradley's earliest communication to the Royal Society was made from Oxford in March 1716; and contained an account of the remarkable aurora borealis which appeared on the 6th of that month. Dr Halley proposed him as a Fellow of the Society on the 23d October 1718, at a meeting of the Council where Newton presided; and he was on the same day elected, alongst with Sanderson the celebrated blind mathematician.

In 1719 and 1722, Bradley made two remarkable observations on the double star *Castor*, to which he probably attached little value at the time, but which have led Sir John Herschel to a more accurate determination of the motion of that binary system.

Having been educated for the church, Bradley had the good fortune to be presented, in 1719, to the vicarage of Bridstow, near Ross, by Hoadly, Bishop of Hereford; and in the following year he was appointed by the Prince of Wales to the rectory of Llanddewi, through the influence of his friend Samuel Molyneux, his Royal Highness's secretary. During the intervals of his parochial duties, Bradley paid frequent visits to his uncle's observatory at Wansted; and we have no doubt that he felt a painful struggle between his sense of duty and his devotion to science. This, however, did not last long, for upon the death of Dr Keill in 1721, he was elected Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford; an appointment which laid him under the obligation of resigning his livings, while it gave full scope to his astronomical pursuits.

After the death of his uncle in 1724, Bradley continued to make many important observations with the same instruments; but these have now little interest compared with those which we shall proceed to describe.

---

* The generosity of Newton in patronising science is well known; but Mr Rigaud has discovered, in the account-books of Mr Pound, two striking examples of his liberality, as indicated by the following entries:—'1719, July 18, To a free gift received from Sir I. Newton, L.52, 10s. 1720, April 28, To a gift received of Sir I. Newton, L.52, 10s.' These sums, as Professor Rigaud observes, were, no doubt, acknowledgments of the assistance which Sir Isaac received from Pound.

Digitized by Google

His friend, the Hon. Samuel Molyneux, had commenced a series of observations, with the view of solving the great problem of the parallax of the fixed stars; or of determining whether these bodies changed their apparent place in the heavens when seen from the two extremities of the earth's annual orbit,—a distance of nearly 200 millions of miles. Dr Hooke had long before constructed an instrument for making these observations, and had fixed upon the star (viz., γ Draconis) which was suitable for the purpose. Mr Molyneux made choice of the same star, and had his instrument constructed on the same principles, by that celebrated artist Mr George Graham.

As soon as the apparatus was completed, it was erected, in November 1725, in Mr Molyneux's house; a large mansion at the western extremity of Kew Green, which belonged to his wife, Lady Elizabeth Capel, and which afterwards became the residence of George III. The first observation was made with it on γ Draconis on the 3d December 1725; and the observations were continued on the 5th, 11th, and 12th of the month, without any change of place being noticed in the star. On the 17th, however, Bradley observed that the star *passed a little more southerly than before.* Ascribing this result to the uncertainty of observation, the star was again observed on the 21st, when it was found to have passed *still more southerly*—a result which surprised them extremely, as it was in a direction opposite to what would have been produced by an annual parallax. Being now satisfied that this southerly motion of the star was not owing to inaccuracy of observation, it naturally occurred to them, that it might have been occasioned by some change in the materials, &c., of the instrument. This cause was soon excluded, not only by a determination of the great exactness of the instrument, but by the continued southerly motion of the star, which began to return northwards again about the middle of April, and returned to its original place in December 1726, after having described an apparent orbit about 39 seconds in diameter.

The cause of this singular motion now remained to be ascertained; and it is curious to observe the progress of Bradley's mind in this enquiry. He proceeds by the method of continued hypothesis, excluding, by new observations which the hypothesis indicates, each successive conjecture, till he arrives at the one which is consonant with the whole mass of his observation. This is not the Baconian method of investigation; but it is the method by which all original minds pursue truth through the mazes of error, till they at last surprise her in her strongholds.

Bradley himself informs us, that 'a nutation of the earth's axis 'was one of the first things that offered itself on this occasion,'

Digitized by Google

as the cause of the apparent motion of the star. This hypothesis was excluded by observing the motion in other stars; and particularly in a small one opposite, in R. Ascension, to γ Draconis, and nearly at the same distance from the North Pole of the Equator, which changed its declination only half as much as γ Draconis, whereas the changes should have been nearly equal, if they had been produced by nutation.

The next cause that suggested itself was an alteration in the direction of the plumb line, with which the instrument was constantly rectified; but Bradley himself observes, 'that this upon 'trial proved insufficient.'

Another, and certainly a most ingenious hypothesis, presented itself. 'He considered what refraction might do,'—not of course the ordinary refraction of the atmosphere—but a refraction arising from an alteration in the figure of the atmosphere, which it might be supposed to experience if the earth moved in a resisting medium. On this supposition, the upper surface of the atmosphere would assume the figure of an oblong spheroid, having its largest diameter in the direction of the earth's motion, and the earth being nearest to the advancing end of the spheroid. Hence it was inferred that γ Draconis would appear to describe nearly a circle round its true place; and it was considered, upon the whole, that the telescopic star in Auriga, and the star in the head of Perseus, had motions consonant with this hypothesis. Plausible, however, as it was, it rested on a hypothetical assumption by no means probable, and was speedily banished by new and more accurate observations.

Although no progress was yet made in discovering the true cause of the phenomenon, still, as Professor Rigaud observes, 'the observations to which they had had recourse, *as tests of the* '*hypotheses* which had occurred to them, had given a clue to fur-'ther investigation;' and they had found that the motion in declination was somehow connected with the latitude of the star. In this difficulty, Bradley resolved to erect a new zenith sector for himself at Wansted, in order that he might observe a greater number of stars than could be seen in Molyneux's instrument. It was completed in 1727, and he inferred, from some of his earliest observations, that the maximum apparent motion of different stars was proportional to the sine of their latitude, if not, as he had at first supposed, to the latitude itself. This new hypothesis was disproved by more numerous observations; and being thus baffled in all his attempts at generalization, he began to despair of success. An idea, however, occurred to him by the merest accident, which suggested that cause of which he had been so long in search. When he was sailing with a pleasure party on

Digitized by Google

the river Thames, he remarked that every time the boat put about, the vane at the top of the boat's mast shifted a little, as if the wind had slightly changed its direction. Upon expressing to the sailors his surprise at this regular change in the wind, they assured him that it was only apparent, and was owing to the change in the direction of the boat. From that moment he conjectured that all the phenomena which he observed, arose from the progressive motion of light, combined with the earth's motion in its orbit.

In order to convey some idea of this curious discovery, let us suppose a shower of hail to fall perpendicularly on a calm day, and from a small height in the atmosphere, so that the hailstones may descend with very little velocity. If a carriage with its front windows open is standing beneath such a shower, not a single hailstone will enter it. But if the carriage advances in any direction with great velocity, the hailstones will enter the front windows as if they fell obliquely. When a given hailstone has reached the top of the window, the carriage and the window will have advanced a certain distance before the hailstone reaches the bottom of the window; so that it must necessarily fall within it. Now, as this must take place whether the carriage moves north, south, east, or west, the person within would necessarily conclude that the hailstones did not fall perpendicularly, or from the zenith, but from a point on one side of it; and that this point would describe a small circle round the zenith of the carriage, moved in every possible direction.

Hence it is easy to understand how a star in the zenith must appear at a little distance from the zenith to a spectator who is carried along with the earth in its annual motion.

Roemer, the discoverer of the successive propagation of light, had computed that it moved from the sun to the earth in 11 minutes, while other astronomers had adopted 7 minutes as the most accurate result. Bradley found, from his observations, that if his theory was correct, light should move from the sun to the earth in 8 minutes and 12 seconds, a result intermediate between those above mentioned.

It is scarcely necessary to inform the reader, that the happy idea which Bradley had been so fortunate as to seize, furnished him with a complete explanation of all the varied phenomena which he had observed. The discovery of the *aberration of the stars* as it was called, established his reputation as the first astronomer of the age, and extended his fame throughout all Europe.

Among the conclusions which Bradley deduced from this discovery, we may mention two of considerable importance in

Digitized by Google

physics. He inferred, that in the same medium, light was propagated with the same velocity after it had been reflected as before it; and that the light of small as well as of great stars moved with the same velocity.

'All those computations,' says Professor Rigaud, speaking of the velocity assigned to light, 'must of course be founded on the supposition of the light reaching us with the same uniform velocity from all the heavenly bodies. Bradley considered this to be established, and so did Clairaut; but if a difference should be clearly ascertained in the maximum of aberration, as derived from the motions of different stars, some modification of this supposition will become necessary. This, however, is a question which requires all the resources of modern astronomy to determine it.'

The important question to which Professor Rigaud here refers, may be considered as determined, within certain limits, by a series of accurate experiments made by M. Fraunhofer and M. Soldner, at Munich. With an instrument of great delicacy, which required to be used simultaneously by two observers looking through different telescopes, they determined that the refractions of the light of different fixed stars did not differ from one another, nor from that of the planets. A difference, amounting to the $\frac{1}{9360}$th part of the whole refractions, could be distinctly perceived with this instrument; and this difference would not amount to the fourth part of a second in the horizontal refraction of the atmosphere. Fraunhofer intended to continue these observations with still nicer instruments; but a premature death has deprived science of his invaluable aid.

In the year 1729, Bradley undertook to deliver the Lectures on Experimental Philosophy at Oxford, a duty which he continued to discharge till April 1760. In 1731 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the office of Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum; and in 1732 he quitted Wansted, and took up his residence at Oxford.

During the next ten years of our author's life, he does not seem to have been much occupied with his favourite science; and Professor Rigaud has not been able to collect much information respecting his labours in this period. He communicated to the Royal Society in 1734, a paper on the vibrations of the pendulum in different latitudes, and on the figure of the earth which might be deduced from them; and in the year 1738 he transmitted to the same learned body his observations on the comet of 1737.

Bradley was now destined to reach the highest object of his ambition. After the death of Halley in 1742, he was, through the influence of George, Earl of Macclesfield, appointed Astro-

Digitized by Google

nomer-Royal of England. Upon his arrival at Greenwich, in June, he found the instruments in the Observatory in the most wretched condition, and his first cares were devoted to their repair and improvement. With an assistant, carefully trained by himself, he began his labours with a zeal and ardour which it is difficult to estimate. No fewer than 18,000 observations were made in the year 1743 by Bradley and his nephew. He made also a series of experiments on the length of the pendulum, between 1743 and 1749; and he observed with great care the comets of 1743, 1744, and 1748.

In his observations on the aberration of the stars, Bradley remarked that the stars near the equinoctial colure, changed their declination about two seconds more in a year, than they would do if the precession of the equinoxes was only fifty seconds; while those near the solstitial colure changed their declination less than they ought, if its precession were exactly that quantity. Satisfied of the accuracy of his instrument, he continued to observe these stars with the utmost care, with the view of discovering the cause of this apparent anomaly; and having completed his series of observations throughout a complete revolution of the moon's node, he succeeded, in 1747, in establishing his second great discovery of the nutation of the earth's axis. A motion in the earth's axis had been anticipated from theoretical considerations; but Bradley had the sole merit, not only of determining it by accurate observations, but of ascertaining that it arises from the action of the moon upon the equatorial parts of the earth. The radius of the small circle which the earth's axis thus describes during a revolution of the lunar node, was proved by Bradley to be $9\frac{1}{2}$ seconds; and Dr Brinkley, Bishop of Cloyne, from a great number of the finest observations, has, in our own day, proved it to be $9\frac{1}{4}$ seconds.

This remarkable discovery was communicated to the Royal Society of London, in a letter to George, Earl of Macclesfield, dated December 31st, 1747; and we owe it to the memory of that distinguished Astronomer and patron of science, to insert the introductory paragraphs of Dr Bradley's letter, which we can assure our readers are not written in the language of adulation.

'The advantages arising from different persons attempting to settle the same points of astronomy near the same time are so much the greater, as a concurrence in the result would remove all suspicion of incorrectness in the instruments made use of. For which reason I esteem the curious apparatus at Shirburn Castle (the seat of the Earl of Macclesfield), and the observations there taken, as a most valuable criterion, whereby I may judge of the accuracy of those that are made at the Royal Observatory; and, as a lover of science, I cannot but wish that

Digitized by Google

our nation abounded with more frequent examples of persons of like rank and ability with your Lordship, equally desirous of promoting this, as well as every other branch of natural knowledge, that tends to the honour and benefit of our country.

'But were the patrons of arts and sciences ever so numerous, the subject of my present letter is of such a nature, as must direct me to beg leave to address it to the Earl of Macclesfield; not only as a most competent judge of it, but as the sole person in this nation, that hath instruments proper to examine into the truths of the facts here related. And it is a particular satisfaction to me, that after so long an attendance upon these phenomena, I am allowed the honour of transmitting the account of them to the public through your Lordship's hands, as it gives me at the same time an opportunity of professing the grateful sense I shall ever retain, both of the signal favours which I formerly received from the noble Lord your father, and of the many recent obligations conferred by yourself.'

This letter was received by the Royal Society with peculiar favour. On the 14th December, 1730, when Bradley communicated to that body his discovery of the Aberration, it was unanimously resolved by the council 'to discharge him from future payments, 'and to give him liberty to take up his bond gratis, in considera-'tion of his useful and curious discoveries and inventions in As-'tronomy, which redounded greatly to the honour of the Society;' but as Bradley was now above the world, the council voted to him the Copley medal for his paper on Nutation, and in the vote of thanks which they recorded, they characterised his discoveries 'as a lasting honour to himself, to his country, and to the pre-'sent age.'

In the year 1726, an attempt was made by the Royal Society to obtain a small sum from Government to provide suitable instruments for the Royal Observatory; but the ignorant administrations which governed England at that period, spurned from them the claims of science. A petition of the same body in 1748, received more attention; and upon the recommendation of Lord Anson and the Lords of the Admiralty, L.1000 was given by the King, '*to be paid out of the money arising from the old* '*stores of the navy*, to buy some astronomical instruments for 'the use of the Royal Observatory.' This miserable donation, so miserably given, after twenty-four years of supplication, was laid out by Bradley with great judgment and economy; and with the assistance probably of the Board of Ordnance, the Observatory was put into a respectable state of repair.

Dr Bradley seems to have had a considerable share in the assimilation of the British Kalendar to that of other nations. Lord Chesterfield was the original promoter of this measure, which was supported by the Earl of Macclesfield, Lord Chancellor Hard-

Digitized by Google

wick, and Mr Pelham, and finally carried in 1751. Bradley composed the three tables at the end of the bill, the first of which is found in the English Prayer-Book; and Lord Macclesfield had the charge of the provisions of the bill, and supplied all the science which it required. The following curious anecdote happily illustrates the presumption and ignorance of the mob of those days:—

'Lord Chesterfield took pains, in the periodical journals of the day, to prepare the minds of the public for the change; but he found it much easier to prevail with the legislature, than to reconcile the great mass of the people to the abandonment of their inveterate habits. When Lord Macclesfield's eldest son stood the great contested election for Oxfordshire in 1754, one of the most vehement cries raised by the mob against him, was, "Give us back the eleven days we have been robbed of;" and even several years after, when Bradley, worn down by his labours in the cause of science, was sinking under the disease which closed his mortal career, many of the common people attributed his sufferings to a judgment from heaven, for his having been instrumental in what they considered to be so impious an undertaking.'

When Bradley accepted of the office of Astronomer-Royal in 1742, 'he became entitled,' as Professor Rigaud states, 'to no 'more than the L.100 per annum which had been originally as- 'signed to Flamstead, and *which was considerably reduced by the* '*fees deducted from it at the public offices.*' For nearly ten years he received only this miserable pittance; and though Mr Pelham offered him, in 1751, the Vicarage of Greenwich, yet he felt the incompatibility between the duties of an Astronomer-Royal and those of an officiating clergyman, and from the noblest motives he refused to accept of it. This generous and high-minded sacrifice met with an immediate reward. On the 15th February, 1752, the King granted him a pension of L.250 per annum, 'in 'consideration of his great skill and knowledge in the several 'branches of astronomy and the other parts of mathematics, 'which have proved so useful to the trade and navigation of the 'kingdom.'

With this new incentive to labour, Bradley continued his observations with unremitting ardour; and the reader may form some idea of his diligence from the fact, that the Greenwich observations between 1750 and 1762, which have been published, occupy 931 large folio pages, and contain about 60,000 observations.

Fatigued by his numerous duties, Bradley resigned in 1760 his office of Reader on Experimental Philosophy at Oxford; and the last scientific object to which he was able to attend, was the transit of Venus in 1761. The Royal Society had proposed to

Digitized by Google

send qualified persons to different parts of the globe to observe this rare phenomenon; and so contemptible were the means which they possessed for carrying this plan into execution, that 'Dr 'Bradley was requested to inform himself, against the next coun-'cil, upon what terms *the several instruments might be hired for* '*the occasion, the Society giving security for their restitution.*' On the day of the transit, Dr Bradley was so ill that Dr Bliss was obliged to take his place at the observatory.

'Our eye,' says Professor Rigaud, 'looks into the Greenwich Regis-ters with feelings of interest for traces of that hand which conveyed so much instruction to mankind, and catches occasionally the sight of it till 1st September, 1761, when the sun's transit was the last observation that Bradley ever entered, most probably that he ever made. His existence continued for a few months longer, but his scientific career was closed.'

For several years before his death he had felt strong symptoms of decay, which produced a melancholy depression of spirits. This distress arose from an apprehension that he would survive his reason; but his fears were groundless. He preserved his faculties unimpaired, and died of a chronic inflammation in the abdominal viscera, in the house of his father-in-law, Samuel Peach, Esq., at Chalford, in Gloucestershire, on the 13th July, 1762, in the 70th year of his age. He was buried at Minchin-hampton beside his mother and his wife, and an inscription to his memory, composed by Dr Blayney of Oxford, was engraven on a brass plate upon his tomb. He left an only daughter to bewail his death.

Such is a brief analysis of Professor Rigaud's valuable memoir. The practical astronomer must have recourse to the original, to obtain the gratification which he will not fail to receive from its perusal. To us it has all the charms of a romance; and we are convinced that those who, either as amateurs or as astronomers, have devoted any portion of their time to the construction and use of optical and astronomical instruments, will appreciate the sources of interest to which we refer.

The rest of this large volume consists of three portions, namely, those papers of Dr Bradley which appeared in previous publi-cations—the papers which are now printed for the first time—and his astronomical correspondence.

The *first* of these portions consists of papers chiefly taken from the Philosophical Transactions, and occupies 116 pages: The *second* portion, which occupies 275 pages, consists of the follow-ing papers:—

Digitized by Google

1. Description of Molyneux's instrument put up at Kew. By S. Molyneux.
2. Observations made at Kew, from the MSS. of Molyneux and Bradley.
3. Memoranda respecting Bradley's instrument at Wansted.*
4. Zenith observations at Wansted.
5. Demonstration of the rules for aberration.
6. Reduction of the Wansted observations.
7. Miscellaneous Astronomical observations.
8. State of the instruments at the Greenwich Observatory in 1742.
9. Experiments to determine the length of the pendulum at Greenwich.
10. Memoranda for observing the Transit of Venus.

Dr Bradley's correspondence, which forms the *third* part of the original papers, occupies 120 pages; and consists of letters from Clairaut, Lacaille, Pingré, Maupertuis, Lemonnier, De Lisle, P. Frisi, Gesner, Ferner, Grischow, Earl of Macclesfield, James Ferguson, G. Graham, Joseph Harris, James Stirling, S. Molyneux, J. Bevis, N. Bliss, Mat. Raper, T. Melvill, and C. Walmesly. Bradley's own letters are addressed to the Earl of Macclesfield, Dr Smith, James Stirling, G. Graham, Maupertuis, Dr Bevis, M. De Lisle, M. Lemonnier, Grischow, Barker, Hadley and Nash. These letters are of course interesting only to astronomers.

Professor Rigaud has added a very curious appendix, containing Harriot's observations, in 1607, upon Halley's comet. They had been so disfigured by Baron Zach, that a faithful reprint of them was necessary. The originals are at Petworth, among the Harriot papers, in the possession of the Earl of Egremont, to whom they descended from Henry, Earl of Northumberland.

In a copious supplement to this work, published by Mr Rigaud, in 1833, he has given a most elaborate and interesting account of these papers, along with *fac similes* of Harriot's observations on the satellites of Jupiter, and the spots upon the Sun; and he has shown, in opposition to Baron Zach, who had taken a most erroneous view of the contents of these MSS., that Harriot had not anticipated Galileo, either in the discovery of the solar spots, or of the satellites of Jupiter.

---

* This, and all the other articles are from Bradley's MSS. unless otherwise mentioned.

Digitized by Google

We cannot conclude this article without expressing to the University of Oxford the gratitude which every astronomer must feel for its liberality in publishing so expensive a work, and illustrating it with so many interesting embellishments. Distinguished as Oxford has been among the Universities of Europe, and as the seat of classical and ethical learning in England, it has not been wanting in its contributions to the mathematical and physical sciences. If it cannot boast of a Newton, it can yet marshal the names of Briggs, Wren, Halley, Ward, Gregory, Keill, and Bradley. Even now, when science has been gradually decaying in many of the other universities of Britain, it has been throwing out new and vigorous shoots on the banks of the Isis; and by the genius and learning of such men as Buckland, Rigaud, Kidd, Daubeny, Powell, and others, the tide of discovery, which, in obedience to its primordial law, has been quitting our eastern shores, may be arrested in its westward course, and bear to the 'city of palaces' some of its choicest and its proudest gifts.

ART. IV.—*Strafford; a Tragedy: in Five Acts.* By J. BROWNING, Esq. 8vo. London: 1837.

THIS is a play which, aided by the exertions of Mr Macready and one or two more of the most noted actors of the day, has had a considerable share of success on the London theatre this year. Low as the condition of our national stage at present is, this favourable run of a simple historical play, on an English subject, by an author little known, and unassisted, as far as we can discover, by any advantage of puffing, or green-room connexion, is a phenomenon to which we feel ourselves called upon to attend. We use our best exertions to keep *au courant* of the literature of the day; and yet, with the single exception of 'Ion,' we have scarcely had for years occasion to concern ourselves with the acting drama. If we might be permitted the use of so vainglorious an argument, we should say that this very circumstance proves how small a space the acting drama occupies in the thoughts of the literary world. This is a melancholy reflection to us, who are firm in the persuasion that high dramatic excellence, and popular interest in its exhibition, are at once causes and indications of a vigorous and healthy tone of public feeling. Nor is the prospect materially improved, when we find ourselves called upon to treat such productions as that before us with the respect

Digitized by Google

due to general favourites. To say that it has succeeded at all, amidst the difficulties which now beset the legitimate drama, is undoubtedly to say that it possesses merit and interest. But our commendations, we fear, can go little farther than this superficial syllogism, which deduces proof of excellence from popular applause. Nevertheless, we find fault less with Mr Browning than with the times on which he has fallen. If exaggerated, unnatural sentiments, far-fetched affectation of style, a kind of conceited poverty of language, much whine and occasional rant, and a sacrifice of all probability of plot, historical truth, and distinctness of character, for the purpose of dressing up one or two overdone parts full of points and situations, to suit reigning actors, are tolerated and enjoyed by the audience, the temptation to fall into these juvenile sins is too great for a young poet to resist. Our theatre does in fact seem approaching the last crisis of its long agony. The reading and critical part of the public have deserted it, chiefly because talent is growing more and more solitary and fastidious in its habits, and the lonely enjoyments of literature engross so much of its attention as to leave little time for the socialities of the stage. Fashionable people eschew it, because it interferes with fashionable hours, and because it brings them into unfashionable places and company. And of the more sober and simple class of society—in which perhaps, no longer ago than the later days of Garrick and the earlier ones of Kemble, the drama found its strongest support—prevalent religious scruples, it is said, now keep away a very large proportion. Theatrical writers have of course participated in this decay. The largest division of them consists, as it always did, of regular mercenaries—we mean no disrespect by the phrase—men who make that employment an exclusive or subsidiary profession. Many of them are of no common order of talent; but their object is merely to *sell*. Adaptations from the French farces, occasional pieces to suit the talents of particular actors, and those lowest specimens of what the human intellect can do, the *libretti* of comic operas—these are the commodities in which they chiefly deal. And, like men of sense, they make it their business to please the taste of the day, although they may occasionally be heard, at theatrical-fund dinners and on similar exciting occasions, to talk very big about guiding and purifying it. The other, or unprofessional class of dramatists (those on whom we chiefly depend for contributions to the regular drama, which requires too great an outlay of time and mind, the author's capital, to be taken up by the operatives), is unfortunately small in number and poor in names. How can it be otherwise, when, after all that Mr Bulwer's legislative labours have effected, both the fame and the profit of a well-puffed

Digitized by Google

fashionable novel are likely to exceed by far the utmost which can be attained in the labours of the higher drama? Ambition, in this line, seems to be generally regarded as at once more hopeless and less creditable than in any other. And, as far as tragedy is concerned, it appears to have been abandoned of late years almost exclusively to a peculiar set or *clique* of authors, mutually patronising and patronised by our few tragic actors—drawing their notions of external things from the scenery of the stage-painter, their characters and language from the green-room—and the stage thus produces the drama, instead of serving for its developement; and very seldom receives any accession of fresh thought or vigorous life from the world of man and nature without.

Mr Browning has done wisely in making the plot of his play simple, and as near the historical outline as possible. The opening scene presents us with the chiefs of the Roundhead party, met in private conclave to discuss the dissolution of the Scots Parliament, and the expected arrival of the apostate Wentworth from Ireland. Vane and the more eager Puritans, denounce him as the chief cause of the renovated strength of the King's affairs, and excite each other with denunciations against England's great enemy. Pym holds somewhat aloof, as anxious once more to put his former friend to the trial, before he finally devotes him as a sacrifice to his injured country. In the next, Lady Carlisle explains to Strafford, who has just arrived from Ireland at Whitehall, the posture of affairs; and tells him how Savill, Holland, Vane the elder, and the rest of the Queen's party, seek to disparage the services he has rendered to the royal cause—in her own choice phrase, how they

> 'Sneer, make light of, one may say
> *Nibble*, at what you do.'

The lady departs, leaving Wentworth harassed and indignant, and Pym breaks in upon his solitude. The two old friends bandy some sarcasms, and keep each other at a very stiff distance, until the taunts of the Roundhead, concerning Charles's rejection of Wentworth's repeated prayer for an earldom, rouse the pride of the royalist; who seems once more on the point of going back to his old party, when, by another of those opportune arrivals which abound in the play, King Charles enters. Wentworth lets fall Pym's hand, and is his Sovereign's devoted servant again. He prays the King to trust him for once—combats his irresolution by reasoning and entreaty—and induces him to promise the assembling of a Parliament in Ireland and in England, to assist in this juncture of the quarrel with the Scots. The King, though sorely shaken again by the taunts of his Queen, Henrietta, adheres for a while to this resolution; and, in the second Act, we

Digitized by Google

find that the two Parliaments have been called, and that Strafford (who has now obtained his earldom) has succeeded in rendering that of Ireland a serviceable tool for his master's purposes. He arrives at Whitehall, confident in anticipated triumph, only to find, in a long scene with the King, his plans altered, his counsel rejected, his enemies in full possession of power, and, finally, that his last sheet-anchor, the English Parliament, has been dissolved, after refusing Vane's ill-judged or treacherous demand of twelve subsidies for the Scottish war. He breaks out into the bitterest reproaches against his Sovereign, accuses him of having

> 'A hideous heart—
> A heart of stone—of smooth, cold, frightful stone.'

But on the entry of some of the Puritan leaders, he drops his violent attitude of accusation, and falls on his knee before the King, producing a good theatrical 'situation.' The next Act carries us rapidly forward. The new Parliament meets. Strafford is impeached, and arrives post-haste from the north to confront his enemies. Here the author's zeal for building up a hero has rather carried him beyond the limits of historical truth. Some writers have indeed imagined that Strafford's arrival at this crisis was an act of voluntary daring; but Whitelock and the best informed cotemporaries represent him as obeying, much against his will, the express mandate of the King, and deeply apprehensive of the result. However, Mr Browning's Strafford comes, in full boldness and daring, attended by a host of adherents, armed, as he informs Lady Carlisle, with proofs both against the Puritans and the Queen's courtiers of treasonable intrigues with the Scots, and resolved to seize them alike in the palace and in the two houses.

> 'Full proof—see, ample proof—does the Queen know
> I have such damning proof? Bedford and Essex,
> Broke, Warwick, Savile (did you notice Savile,
> The simper which I spoilt?) say, Mandeville,
> Sold to the Scots, body and soul, by Pym.
> . . . . From Savile and his lord, to Pym,
> I crush them, girl; Pym shall not ward the blow,
> Nor Savile crawl aside from it.'

Then follows that celebrated scene, so graphically described by the Scots deputy, Baillie—one of the most dramatic in our annals—when Strafford presented himself at the door of the House of Lords, surrounded by adherents, and 'advanced with a proud 'glooming look' to take his accustomed seat in despite of the pending impeachment; when, being met on all sides by cries of 'Void the house,' and general tumult among its members, his

Digitized by Google

heart failed him—his followers shrank from him—and Maxwell, usher of the house, laid his hand on his shoulder, and conducted him without resistance to his lodging as a prisoner. Mr Browning has appropriated the most remarkable features of this striking event—the best occurrence for his purpose which the whole life of Strafford furnishes. Unfortunately he has not been able to resist the temptation to overdo and exaggerate, instead of following the vivid descriptions of contemporary writers. It is true that Strafford did not figure to the greatest advantage at that crisis of his fate. The mortification of so utter a failure, in lieu of anticipated triumph, seems for a moment to have overawed his spirit, and benumbed his faculties. But there is no proof that he acted the bully and the madman, as he is here made to do. He 'staggers' out of the house—boxes the usher Maxwell's ears—flourishes his sword—surrenders it—begs his followers to kill him—then turns craven, and offers his services to Pym and the Presbyterians—tears off his George—and is carried out by his scandalized attendants in a sort of frenzy.

The fourth Act, according to its proverbial use, interposes some delay between the developement of the plot in the third, and its completion in the fifth. We have various intrigues in the court. Hollis endeavours unsuccessfully to prevail with the King to save Strafford by firmness.

> 'Eighteen days long he throws, one after one,
> Our charges back—a blind moth-eaten law!
> He'll break from us at last—and whom to thank?
> The mouse that gnawed the lion's net for him
> Got a good friend; but he, that other mouse,
> That looked on while the lion freed himself—
> Fared he so well, does any fable say?'

The Queen, however, counteracts the effects of Hollis's negotiation and Carlisle's entreaties on Charles's feeble temper. The trial proceeds. Strafford rebuts the impeachment triumphantly. The leaders of the hostile party meet, and Pym, now thoroughly steeled against his ancient ally, overcomes all their scruples and reluctance, and forces on them the great measure of the Bill of Attainder. It is carried: and Pym, by paying Charles an unexpected visit, easily frightens him into subscribing his assent to it. The last Act opens on Strafford in prison, playing with his children, as usual with theatrical captives under sentence of death. A scene of real power and much dramatic effect follows, between him, Hollis, and the King in disguise. Strafford, confident in the King's written and secret promise that he should take 'no hurt in life, honour, or estate,' receives Hollis's visit in

Digitized by Google

company with a muffled attendant, as an expected message from the King touching the mode of his deliverance. Little confident in the courage or honour of the King, his only fear is, lest the messenger should have come to propose an escape, which he is determined to refuse, and not expose himself and his children to the penalties of attainder. He relies on his own services and his necessity to his sovereign; and does not doubt that by taking this proud stand he shall force him to grant a public pardon at last. Hollis, all the while, is vainly endeavouring to prepare him for the fearful announcement, that the King dare not save him in either way, and that he must die. His warrant is signed. He lifts up his voice to curse the King, who throws aside his disguise, and falls at his feet imploring forgiveness! Strafford recovers himself to bestow it, with more of contempt than pity. The crowd without are heard howling for his blood: the King at last nerves himself to something like resolution, and declares that he and the Warden, Balfour, will open the prison doors, and lead him through the midst of them; but Strafford, with a returning gush of affection, refuses the offer, and blesses his unworthy master. Just then, however, Lady Carlisle enters with attendants; she, too, has laid her plan of escape; all is ready, the warders gained, the boat under the Tower walls; the King's prayers vanquish Strafford's reluctance, and he consents to fly; when all is broken up by the sudden and unannounced arrival of Pym, with half-a-dozen more of the Puritans. These gentlemen seem to come in this abrupt manner for no earthly purpose except to have an hour or two's conversation, *de omnibus rebus*, with the prisoner; whose keepers, like those of our distinguished murderers in the present times, appear to think no better way can be devised for passing a criminal's time agreeably before his execution. However, by this means the plot of the play, if such it may be called, is brought to an end; and it closes with a strange overstrained dialogue between the two chief actors, in which Pym expresses his hopes of meeting his friend Wentworth again, purged and renewed, in that other world to which he is sending him. Strafford replies by forgiving Pym, and endeavours to force from him a promise that in all the future storms of the political world he will spare the King's life. Pym sternly refuses to promise, and Strafford totters out, exclaiming,

'O God! I shall die *first!* I shall die *first!*'

It will be perceived from this slight sketch, that Mr Browning's enterprise is one of no ordinary boldness. Coleridge, as well as other authorities, seem to lay it down as an æsthetic rule, that the historical drama should confine itself to those parts of real

Digitized by Google

history which are least known. And the reason which he gives is undoubtedly a weighty one. 'After Henry VIII.' (says he, speaking of English history), 'the events are too well and distinctly known to be, without plump inverisimilitude, crowded together in one night's exhibition. Whereas, the history of our ancient kings—the events of their reigns, I mean—are like stars in the sky; whatever the real interspaces may be, and however great, they seem close to each other. The stars—the events—strike us and remain in our eye, little modified by the difference of dates.' Admitting all the force of this remark, we cannot but think that there are many portions of history familiar to us in detail, and yet well adapted for dramatic purposes; in which there is no need for violating probability by too great a huddling together of distant events. Coleridge's objection is indeed only valid against converting the reigns of modern kings into that form of dramatic chronicle which was employed by Shakspeare and his cotemporaries; not against selecting single events, or single personages, for this species of *idealization*. And it would be a pity if the dramatic muse were deterred by this difficulty from all resort to subjects of such high and ennobling interest as comparatively recent times may furnish. But the most serious obstacle to success in this department, and that which requires the greatest reach of taste as well as genius to surmount, lies not so much in the dramatizing well-known occurrences, as well-known characters.

Besides divers obvious reasons, which at once suggest themselves, why such should be the case, there are one or two which it may, perhaps, be worth while to point out more distinctly. The first of these is, that familiar historical personages are commonly better known to us from the minuter, than the broader traits of their character. All the smaller circumstances of their biography,—their habits, modes of life, sayings, and peculiarities taken together,—constitute their identity in our imagination. Their more elementary qualities,—the passions, and the motions which have actuated them, the real and deep springs of their nature,—all these are less within the scope of our conception. Nay, we find each other often taking the most opposite and discordant views of the substratum of a character, of which the surface is perfectly well known to all of us. It is not so much when the records left us of an individual are too meagre, as when they are too full, that we feel the difficulty of analyzing him in all his proportions. We then fully comprehend how great a problem the human spirit is, and how far, very far, beyond our ken, the mainsprings of action commonly lie. Hence the very great advantage which the novelist possesses over the dramatist, in

Digitized by Google

treating subjects familiar to our historical recollection. His concern is almost entirely with those superficial traits—that outward envelope—which we have all studied, and as to which we are all agreed. These, the dramatist is forced for the most part to disregard; the greater passions and emotions of humanity being alone within his proper province. We may form some conception of the comparative difficulty of the two modes, by representing to ourselves their respective effects in the delineation of some well-known modern hero—of Napoleon, for example. To introduce him as a figure in a historical novel, would be a matter of the easiest accomplishment to any one possessing tolerable taste and a lively talent for description. To dramatize him would defy the genius of a Shakspeare! Who can feel assured that he has analyzed to his own satisfaction the elements of such a character as Napoleon's; which is so frequently before his contemplation, and of which the existing world would so constantly remind him? There would inevitably be something unreal,—something abhorrent to the feelings, as disappointing our previous conceptions, in any attempt to do for us what we succeed so imperfectly in doing for ourselves.

Another cause is to be found in the truth to which dramatists are not always sufficiently alive, and which spectators, under the illusion of the theatre, are willingly made to forget,—that the nature of the drama is essentially ideal nature after all. Human passions and human motives are no doubt delineated there; but more unmixed, more rapid in their succession, more engrossing and exclusive, than they are ever found in actual life. It is an absurd mode of accounting, as many critics have thought proper to do, for the breadth and boldness of Shaksperian conceptions,—for love in Romeo and Juliet; the madness of betrayed affection in Othello; malice in Iago; jealousy in Leontes; by saying that these are true representations of nature, under peculiar circumstances; that the passion of the lovers is true to *Italian* nature; that Othello is a Moor, Iago a Venetian, and so forth. They are all only bold fulfilments of the one true dramatic law—they are genuine human nature, not modified by peculiarities of place or time; but stripped of the thousand conventional folds in which it is involved in the actual world. Its processes are curtailed, its gradual transitions converted into fierce and abrupt change; its grosser parts, as it were, subtilized by dramatic eloquence, and the naked essence alone subjected to the spectator. History does the very reverse of the drama—it presents the man, surrounded by opposing circumstances and petty agencies, his thoughts and purposes moving only by the slow gradations of real life,—and leaves the enquirer to abstract the essential man

Digitized by Google

within for himself. Who has not joined in the common admiration for what is called the developement of the character of Macbeth,—the dawn of ambition—the passage from innocence to irresolution—from irresolution to the desperate height of guilt? And yet no one's sense of dramatic truth is troubled by the reflection, that all this skilful transition is accomplished in the course of two brief conversations which hardly last a quarter of an hour! But suppose a dramatist were to deal in the same manner with a historical regicide—with Cromwell, or with Robespierre—should we not feel oppressed by a sense of the unreality of the representation? Such a change does not take place in the actual man,—whether the period of transition, measured in time only, be reckoned by years, or months, or days—without the passing of a thousand and a thousand conflicting thoughts through the mind. History only represents the result of these thoughts in action; the drama has to seize and concentrate the thoughts themselves.

The only conclusion which we deduce from all this is, that the poet who ventures on the bold essay of dramatizing men and events historically familiar, must not strive too eagerly after correctness of portraiture in his *dramatis personæ*. Too minute attention to their lesser details, will break the unity of his piece, and reduce it to antiquarian Mosaic: too elaborate analysis of their characters, will rarely satisfy the preconceived ideas of the reader. The old rule of—

> 'Sit Medea ferox invictaque, flebilis Ino,
> Perfidus Ixion, Io vaga, tristis Orestes,'

must be fundamentally observed, no doubt, but not reduced to too special application. He cannot expect to *make history*, as Shakspeare has done for the reign of the Plantagenets, and Schiller has almost done for the days of Wallenstein: let him, therefore, abstain from *counterfeiting* history, and present his characters boldly as ideals. He borrows from reality its power of producing emotion by appeals to our highest thoughts and recollections, and this is nearly all he has to do with it. If, therefore, dramatic characters be well and powerfully drawn, we, as critics, should not quarrel with the poet, because we conceived them imaginary. But Mr Browning repudiates any such indulgence. He piques himself not only on the colouring of his picture, but on the fidelity of his likeness. 'The portraits,' says he, 'are, I 'think, faithful;' and he refers us for authority to the memoirs of Elliot and Strafford, of Hampden, Pym, and Vane, in the 'Cabinet Cyclopædia.' We must confess that we have not yet read the lives here mentioned, and cannot therefore say what

Digitized by Google

foundation they may have given for Mr Browning's resemblances. But from such acquaintance as we have with some old, and some new books, on the same well-beaten topics, we think there would be little difficulty in showing how he has emasculated these vigorous characters—how what he affectedly calls 'the healthy 'natures of a great epoch,' have been rendered morbid, eccentric, *unnatural;* merely in order to produce those coarse effects of overstrained passion and sentiment which are necessary, we suppose, to please the historical taste of pit and gallery.

Strafford, we all know: however differently party politics may lead men to weigh his merits and defects, the general outlines of the character of that bold, heady, and sagacious leader, live as vividly in the imagination as the features of Vandyke's portraits in the mind's eye. It was indeed rather a dangerous experiment to burlesque *him* into a romantic hero. Yet this Mr Browning has done. Will it be believed that he has represented this haughty minister, with his 'cold brain and sound judgment' (as Sir P. Warwick describes him), as a sort of monomaniac—one whose every thought and hope are wrapped up in one engrossing feeling,—an infatuated 'belle passion' for the King,—not loyalty to the monarch, but a morbid personal attachment to the man? Thwarted at every turn by the King's treachery and the Queen's enmity, he goes about all the while hankering with the eagerness of a lover for any little mark of his attention; and raves about the personal and mental qualities of the divinity of his adoration—

'The man with the mild voice and mournful eyes,'

who treats him with the airs of a coquettish beauty. All the higher traits of his character are obliterated in this brainsick folly. For this, and not from his own ambition or through 'Conserva-'tive reaction,' he abandoned the popular party. For this, he bears for years with patience the hostility of the Queen, and the vexatious intrigues of the courtiers—for this, he braves his trial, and is content to die! And yet all the while he is perfectly convinced of the King's bad qualities—despises his weakness, loathes his falsehood, knows himself betrayed by the object of his devotion! This, we must say, independent of its historical unlikelihood, is a poor piece of dramatic painting. The struggles of the mind,

'Which doats, yet doubts; suspects, yet strongly loves;'

—which hopes against hope, and refuses to be persuaded of the hollowness of that to which it clings for support,—form a noble subject for the artist, whether the passion represented be that of friendship or of love. But where doubt is converted into certainty, and the lover is thoroughly convinced of the unrequited-

Digitized by Google

ness of his affection and worthlessness of his idol—love, in gentle natures, may waste in consuming regret—in fiercer ones, it may turn to hate; but to represent it as continuing the same intense, jealous, heart-absorbing impulse, is merely to represent it as a species of insanity, too remote from ordinary experience to produce general interest. Yet this is precisely the sort of exaggeration which is popular on the stage; and Strafford, knowing his master to be at once knave and fool, cold-hearted and unprincipled, yet continuing to long for a glance of his eye and a pressure of his hand, is just in a fit state to pour forth that alternate raving and whining which our modern chiefs of the buskin excel in exhibiting.

Pym is the true hero of the piece, and is rather better, as a dramatic conception; although not a whit more true to history, as far as our information goes. Here, however, the writer has somewhat less public ground to tread on. Miss Aikin, who has studied the individual portraiture of the chiefs of the Puritan party, in those memorials of them which we possess, with all the zeal of a surviving Roundhead, says truly, that we know less of Pym, as an individual, than of almost any of his eminent contemporaries. Considering the prominent part which he plays in the history of his time, it is rather remarkable how very scanty are the notices left us of his character. Even his birth and family are strangely misreported by the writers of his own time. It is altogether a gratuitous supposition to represent him, as Mr Browning has done, as united by the same bonds of youthful brotherhood which connected Hampden, Eliot, and Wentworth. Welwood's apocryphal story about the meeting at Greenwich, even were it better authenticated, would prove nothing of the kind. Pym was an older man by some years than any of them, and came into Parliament at a much earlier period; apparently as a friend and adherent of the Russell family, who furnished him also with a good place in the Exchequer. It was his power as a debater, and his skill in Parliamentary tactics, which recommended him as a leader to the country party, in the first and second Parliaments of 1640. Otherwise, he seems to have had little of character or sentiment in common either with the liberal reformers, Hampden, Selden, &c., or with the zealous religionists who formed the main strength of the party. Altogether, he is a personage of whom we may say, as a certain minister is reported to have said of a political adversary, "we respect his talents, but there our respect ends." He seems to have been an admirable party leader; but we never perceive in his language or conduct those glimpses through the thick atmosphere of party into a purer atmosphere beyond, which so often dignify the political views of his more

Digitized by Google

high-minded associates. His conduct of the impeachment against Strafford might be a great stroke of policy in the conception; but it was purely malignant and atrocious in the manner. It was a great point for the immediate interests of the Puritan party at that period, that a man could be found at once competent to the task from his ability, and not likely to shrink from its execution through any compunctious visitings. Better men would have made worse advocates on such an occasion. Yet this is the man whom Mr Browning has thought fit to invest with all the attributes of the hero of a political romance,—the most devoted friendship to an unworthy object, yielding at last to a stern conviction of the duty of a patriot. We do not, as we have said, wish to enforce very strict accuracy in adherence to historical character, on writers who are bold enough to adventure on dramatizing the stirring parts of our annals; the want of it is no doubt disappointing to the well-read spectator, but the greater part of a stage audience are not so learned; and Pym is not, like Strafford, a popularly known and familiar personage who will not endure to be travestied. Therefore we would allow Mr Browning, since the need of his tragedy requires it, full license to convert 'King 'Pym'. into a kind of combination of *Brutus* and *Pierre;* but when he is pleased gratuitously to inform the public that he has kept close to history in his portraits, we are really tempted to compare more closely their affected and distorted likenesses with their originals.

The remaining characters require little notice. Lady Carlisle, the famous court *intrigante* of the day, figures as a sort of political Viola—nourishing a concealed passion for Strafford, and whimpering about the stage after that hero, as he whimpers after the King. There is little of Queen Henrietta, and that little is a compound of meanness and vulgarity. As for King Charles, he is merely introduced as a foil to the principal characters; and for that purpose he is rendered as utterly contemptible as the poet can make him. Treacherous and cowardly—bullied by his wife—crouching to his courtiers—soundly rated by Strafford—taunted to his face by Denzil Hollis—going on his knees to Pym—if the public taste does not execute justice on Mr Browning for this atrocious caricature, Mr Charles Kemble, as a good and loyal censor, is really bound to interfere, and rescue royalty from such misrepresentation.

The worst peculiarity of Mr Browning's dramatic diction is one which he has in common with many popular writers of the day; and it may be easily discovered how much it is owing to the circumstance of writing for actors, and in that manner which they conceive best calculated to exhibit their powers. It is a

Digitized by Google

fashion of breaking up his language into fragments; conveying a meaning, as it were, by starts and jerks; rarely finishing a sentence at all; and, when he does, cutting it short with disagreeable abruptness. Tragic actors, among whom a power of harmonious declamation is very rare, and whose chief talent lies in giving an effect to isolated points, and passages in which half the meaning is suppressed, are naturally fond of this mode of writing *par saccades*, as the French call it; so much so, that when the poet does not indulge them in this propensity, they are very apt to grind down his verses for themselves by process of oral macadamization. We are the more justified in mentioning this defect, as it appears to us in the style of our author—who, we have little doubt, considers it a beauty—because he does, in fact, show abundant power of doing better, if a deference to false taste permitted. He is able to succeed admirably in the structure of a sustained dialogue; and, what is more difficult still, of sustained declamation. This being the case, we can the less tolerate from him such ragged and prosaic patchwork as the following soliloquy of Strafford—to take one example out of an hundred—

> 'Heartless... but all are heartless here... Go now,
> Forsake the people!... I did not forsake
> The people... they shall know it... when the King
> Will trust me... who trusts all beside at once,
> While I... have not spoke Vane and Savile fair,
> And am not trusted... have but saved the throne;
> Have not picked up the Queen's glove prettily,
> And am not trusted!
> But he'll see me now:
> And Weston's dead—and the Queen's English now—
> More English—oh, one earnest word will brush
> Those reptiles from... (*footsteps within*).
> The step I know so well!
> 'Tis Charles!—But now, to tell him—no—to ask him,
> What's in me to distrust?—or, best begin
> By proving that this frightful Scots affair
> Is just what I foretold: I'll say, "My liege,"...
> And I feel sick, now! and the time is come,
> And one false step no way to be repaired.
> You were revenged, Pym, could you look on me!'

The author of the 'Pickwick Papers,' with his usual acuteness, has made this fragmentary mode of speech the attribute of a strolling actor; and we really do not know where we could find a parallel to the language of Strafford so easily as in that of his inimitable Mr Alfred Jingle. 'Conquests! thousands, Don Bo-'laro—grandee—only daughter—Donna Christina—splendid 'creature—loved me to distraction—jealous father—handsome

Digitized by Google

'daughter—high-souled Englishman—Donna Christina in de-
'spair—prussic acid—stomach-pump in my portmanteau—ope-
'ration performed—old Bolaro in ecstasies—consents to our union
'—join hands, and floods of tears—romantic story—very.'

We cannot accuse Mr Browning of having run into the youthful extreme of high-wrought extravagance in his diction. On the contrary, he seems to have laboured very hard to render it as low and unornamented as possible. This affected poverty of language is also a fault of theatrical origin. Nature, on the stage, is too often thought to be best imitated by the use of phraseology which is only natural from its familiar and even vulgar effect. Actors are fond of such passages; they afford an opportunity for the deep impressive whisper, which is always regarded as one of their most taking clap-traps. Nor can it be denied that the occasional and abrupt recall from the majestic tone of the drama to the brief homeliness of common language, on some suitable emergency, is a very allowable artifice. But it requires to be sparingly employed. Mr Browning, on the contrary, seems to make it the rule rather than the exception. The best passages in his play are constantly disfigured either by some creeping vulgarity, or some startling piece of affectation.

Pym, on the first solemn meeting with Strafford after his apostasy, addresses him in the following exquisite vein of sarcasm:—

'Ah! Wentworth, one thing for acquaintance' sake,
Just to decide a question; have you, now,
Really felt well since you forsook us?'

To which Strafford replies with much dignity—

'Pym,
You're insolent!'

The dialogues between the King and his Minister are carried on with the same graceful simplicity.

'*Wentworth.* That you should trust me, now,
Oh! not for my sake—but 'tis sad, so sad,
That for distrusting me, you suffer—you,
Whom I would die to save: Sire, do you think
That I would die to save you?
Charles. But rise, Wentworth!
Wentworth. What shall convince you? what does Savile do
To... Ah! one can't tear out one's heart—one's heart,
And show it, how sincere a thing it is!'

In the course of this conversation, Charles very reluctantly yields his assent to Strafford's request of a Parliament—and the latter thus apostrophizes his Sovereign, like a good boy who has just resigned himself to a dose of physic:—

Digitized by Google

'*Wentworth.* My King!
But you will not so very much dislike
A Parliament? I'd serve you any way.
Charles. You said just now this was the only way.
Wentworth. Sire, I will serve you!
Charles. Strafford, spare yourself,
You are so sick, they tell me.'

To which considerate observation the Earl makes this elegant reply:

'*Wentworth.* 'Tis my soul
That's well and happy now!'

We never thought very amiably of Queen Henrietta; but certainly, if we had been asked to guess her first remark on seeing Strafford again after a long absence, we should hardly have hit upon the following:—

'(*As Strafford goes out the Queen enters*).
Charles. That man must love me!
Henrietta. Is it over then!
Why he looks yellower than ever!'

We are bound, however, to say, that our author has some justification, in a passage of Madame de Motteville's *Memoirs*. According to that lively Frenchwoman, the Queen was continually interrupting her and the other ladies in the royal box in the House of Lords during Strafford's defence, by calling on them to remark 'what white hands he had.'

Charles being obliged to explain to the Queen his concession of a Parliament, thus delivers himself of the awkward announcement:—

'We've hit on an expedient—he—that is—
I have advised—we have decided on—
The calling—in Ireland—of a Parliament!'

These beauties are all culled from the first Act. But similar gems abound. Lord Holland, having been hooted away from the gallery of the Commons during a speech of Pym, thus describes the event:—

'So in the twinkling of an eye, before
I settled in my mind what ugly brute
Was likest Pym just then, they yelled us out,
Locked the doors after us, and here are we!'

The Queen, afraid lest Strafford on his trial should let out some awkward secrets, thus expresses her feelings to Lady Carlisle:—

Digitized by Google

'One may well suppose
He'll *say* some overwhelming fact, Carlisle!'

Rudyard, one of the popular party, interceding with Pym for Strafford's life, beseeches him in this insinuating manner—

'Pym, *you would look so great!*'

The King, congratulating himself on Strafford's dexterous defence and expected acquittal, thus nobly soliloquizes—

'Strafford, you are a prince! Not to reward you
—Nothing does that—*but only for a whim!*'

Hollis, being affected with poor King Lear's *hysterica passio*, describes it somewhat literally:

'Tell him all—
I know my throat would thicken thus.'

Strafford, in the very last scene, breaks through all the interest which he has excited in a really touching speech about his affairs and his children, by these two unlucky lines—

'These tedious cares! Your Majesty could spare them;
But 'tis so awkward, dying in a hurry.'

In the general phraseology of the play,—even in the manner in which the rough old Puritans address each other,—there is a sort of affected, fondling tone, which perfectly disconcerts us. As for poor Lady Carlisle, seeing that she is desperately in love with Strafford from the beginning of the play, we can perhaps excuse his calling her 'girl,' and 'Lucy,' in every line; but really we do not think there was any thing in the character of the lady to justify him in supposing that Denzil Hollis would have taken the liberty of addressing her as 'girl' too.

All these, we must once more repeat it, are, chiefly, defects of taste. They are peculiarities belonging to that which (by the leave of Mr Landor) we must still take the liberty of calling, for want of a better name, the 'Cockney school' of dramatic authorship. And we have not been thus severe in our observations on the bad taste and affectation with which this play abounds, from any malice of criticism. But the author is a young man, and this essay exhibits powers which we can ill afford to see thrown away in the pursuit of false reputation. Had it been otherwise, we should not have taken the trouble to examine his claims to the distinction which he has earned. His defects are fostered by a corrupt taste in theatrical matters; and those defects in turn, meeting with applause instead of correction, tend to in-

Digitized by Google

crease and perpetuate the evil. For the rest, his success is a proof that his work affords striking situations and dramatic interest. He has developed his matter with breadth and simplicity of purpose, instead of breaking it up into highly-wrought details and insulated scenes; and this is the first great requisite in order to produce effect on miscellaneous readers and spectators. Even his style, of which we have thought it our duty to present a few singular specimens, is, on other occasions, wanting neither in power nor richness. When he lays aside affectation, and condescends to employ continuous dramatic dialogue, there is an energy about him not unworthy of the scenes and epochs which he has chosen to represent. 'Bating a little fantastic language, and the historical absurdity of making Vane intercede with Pym and Hampden for Strafford, we cannot give a fairer specimen than the following, from the fourth Act. The chiefs of the Puritans, foiled by Strafford's ready defence against the articles of impeachment, are in deliberation about changing their course of proceeding for a bill of attainder.

'*Rudyard.* Till now all hearts were with you. I withdrew
For one! Too horrible! O, we mistake
Your purpose, Pym; you cannot snatch away
The last spar from the drowning man.
Fiennes (*to the rest*). You'll join us? mind, we own he merits death:
But this new course is monstrous! Vane, take heart:
This bill of his attainder shall not have
One true man's hand to it!
Vane. But hear me, Pym!
Confront your bill—your own bill—what is it?
You cannot catch the Earl on any charge:
No man will say the law has hold on him
On any charge: and therefore you resolve
To take the general sense on his desert,
As though no law existed, and we met
To found one! You refer to every man
To speak his thought upon this hideous mass
Of half-borne-out assertions—dubious hints
Hereafter to be cleared—distortions—ay,
And wild inventions. Every man is saved
The task of fixing any single charge
On Strafford: he has but to see in him
The enemy of England!
Pym. A right scruple:
I have heard some called England's enemy
With less consideration.
Vane. Pity me!
Me—brought so low—who hoped to do so much

Digitized by Google

For England—her true servant. Pym your friend—
Indeed you made me think I was your friend!
But I have murdered Strafford! I have been
The instrument of this! who shall remove
That memory from me?
Pym. I absolve you, Vane:
Take you no care for aught that you have done.
Vane. Dear Hampden, not this bill! Reject this bill!
He staggers through the ordeal—let him go,
Strew no fresh fire before him. . . . .
Rudyard. Hampden, plead
For us! When Strafford spoke, your eyes were thick
With tears!—Save him, dear Hampden!
Hampden. England speaks
Louder than Strafford. Who are we, to play
The generous pardoner at her expense—
Magnanimously waive advantages—
And if he conquer us—applaud his skill?
Vane (*to Pym*). He was your friend. . .
Pym. I have heard that before.
Fiennes. But England trusts you. . .
Hampden. Shame be his, who turns
The opportunity of serving her
She trusts him with, to his own mean account—
Who would look nobly frank at her expense!
Fiennes. I never thought it could have come to this.
Pym (*turning from St John*). But I have made myself familiar, Fiennes,
With that one thought—have walked, and sat, and slept,
That thought before me! I have done such things,
Being the chosen man that should destroy
This Strafford! You have taken up that thought
To play with—for a gentle stimulant—
To give a dignity to idler life
By the dim prospect of this deed to come—
But ever with the softening, sure belief
That all would come some strange way right at last.
Fiennes. Had we made out some weightier charge. . . .
Pym. You say
That these are petty charges! Can we come
To the real charge at all? There he is safe,
In tyranny's stronghold. Apostasy
Is not a *crime*—Treachery not a *crime*—
The cheek burns, the blood tingles, when you name
Their names, but where's the power to take revenge
Upon them? We must make occasion serve:
The oversight pay for the giant sin
That mocks us!

Digitized by Google

Rudyard. But this unexampled course!
This Bill.....
Pym. By this, we roll the clouds away
Of precedent and custom, and at once
Bid the great light which God has set in all—
The conscience of each bosom—shine upon
The guilt of Strafford: each shall lay his hand
Upon his breast, and say if this one man
Deserve to die, or no, by those he sought
First to undo.
Fiennes. You—Vane—you answer him.
Vane. Pym, you see furthest! I can only see
Strafford—I'd not pass over that pale corse
For all beyond!' *

We would willingly add to this quotation, did our limits permit us, the whole of the first Scene of the fifth Act, which in our judgment displays the author's talent in a still more favourable light. But we should only injure its effect by making partial extracts; and must therefore conclude with an earnest request to Mr Browning, to try his own work by comparison with better standards than those which he appears to have proposed to himself, and to remember that without correctness of taste no writing can be permanently popular. He has sacrificed far too much to the seductions of theatrical clap-trap: a better and a manlier tone might win him fewer plaudits from green-room critics, but it would in the end secure him more solid triumphs. Let him remember Dryden's apologies for his own desertion of the standard of good taste to accommodate himself to the perverted relish of the town. 'I remember some 'verses of my *Maximin*,' says he in the preface to the 'Spanish 'Fryar,' 'which cry vengeance upon me for their extravagance. 'All I can say for those passages, which are, I hope, not many, 'is, that I knew they were bad when I wrote them. But I re-'pent of them amongst my sins; and, if any of their fellows 'intrude by chance into my present writings, I draw a stroke over 'all those Dalilahs of the theatre, and am resolved I will settle 'myself no reputation by the applause of fools. 'Tis not that 'I am mortified to all ambition; but I scorn as much to take it 'from half-witted judges, as I should to raise an estate by 'cheating of bubbles.' Dryden should have divided a little more fairly the sin and the scandal between his 'half-witted 'judges,' and such authors as himself, who pampered and pan-

* Act IV. Scene II.

Digitized by Google

dered to their perverse inclinations. It would be most erroneous to suppose, that the mixed audience of a theatre is unsusceptible of more refined and purer perceptions. On the contrary, although the less critical multitude is generally slow in acquiring correctness of taste, it is also the last to abandon the cause of good taste, when once acquired, and to follow the more mercurial leaders of the fashion into corrupt extravagance. The plays of the severely classical Alfieri afford at this day, if we may believe M. de Sismondi, the favourite amusement of the Tuscan peasantry, of whom but few can read or write. Racine and Voltaire still continue to be, or were until very lately, the delight of the French populace, though the 'intellectual classes' had gone wandering after the idolatries of the romantic school. The highest of all rewards, therefore, awaits those who may succeed in improving the theatrical spirit of their age, in the prospect of a permanency of fashion and fame. Those, on the contrary, who contribute to depreciate it, or who merely copy the bad models which it holds out to them for imitation, will soon see their own evanescent popularity eclipsed by that of successors as unworthy as themselves.

ART. V.—*Athens, its Rise and Fall; with Views of the Literature, Philosophy, and Social Life of the Athenian People.* By EDWARD LYTTON BULWER, ESQ., M.P. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1837.

THIS book has taken us somewhat by surprise. The Rise and Fall of Athens, from the pen of Mr Edward Bulwer, would present us, we expected, with a series of elaborate and brilliant scenes, chosen out from the Attic annals, concentrating on a few memorable points the interest of that unparalleled story, and finished with such minute attention to character, costume, colouring, and grouping, as the author of 'Rienzi' and 'Pompeii' knows so well how to bestow. The light of his quick and vivid intellect would rather seek, we thought, to touch and gild the most commanding heights, than to diffuse itself over a multiplicity of objects, scattered along a more uniform surface. And, with his work before us, we still believe, both that this plan would have been the most judicious in its design, and that the peculiar powers of Mr Bulwer would have appeared to the greatest advantage in its execution. What a theatre for scenes of this description does

Digitized by Google

Athens offer! what themes for the graphic narrator! and how strongly marked are the pauses and transitions in the action he is invited to record!

The curtain would rise on the PELASGIANS. More pains might be taken with the picture of that extraordinary race—the most illustrious branch of the great Japhetic family—than any of our historical writers has yet vouchsafed; and the results would amply recompense a diligent enquirer. Barbarians they were not, in any sense, classical or vulgar, of that indefinite term. One honest tradition, admitted even into the pages of Plato, contradicts the poetical theory of aboriginal savage life, and attests the existence of a primitive Greek civilisation. The Pelasgians of Greece, like the earliest inhabitants of many other lands, accommodated themselves to the varying features of the country. According to that patriarchal division of pursuits, dictated and maintained by the very aspect of the earth we dwell on, some were 'keepers of sheep,' and some were 'tillers of the ground.' They had the eye of the grazier for healthful pastures. They had the instinct of the farmer for rich plains. They had the political tact—as in the case of the settlers in Attica—sometimes to prefer those situations wherein local defects held forth a promise of unmolested possession, to regions of greater fertility, but therefore of greater insecurity;—the 'dinner of herbs' with peace, to the 'stalled ox' with danger. Their polygonal architecture was ingenious in its characteristic device, and has chronicled its own tale in traces that are still legible. They practised the art of navigation. They founded ancient thrones, and here and there,—if probable inferences may be drawn from words of Aristotle's,—struck out the rudiments of the representative system. Their language, involving in its structure the chief germs of the Hellenic and Latin tongues, exhibited those beautiful principles taught by the philosophy of nature, from which the best forms of modern speech have more or less degenerated. The charms of Song were not unknown to them: nor unknown were either the mystic rites of the oracular shrine, or the cheerful ceremonies of the religious festival. Strangers, it is true, at last are seen to mix with the Pelasgic population; but their figures must be kept to the back-ground of the stage. Even on the Athenian faith, and works of art, are stamped some traits of the Egyptian physiognomy. But slight—demonstrably slight—as was the impression made by foreigners on the Greek vocabulary, it was no deeper on the Greek manners. They might plant the olive on the soil of Attica; but assuredly they did not initiate her previous inhabitants in agriculture: they might extend the catalogue of gods and goddesses, but they did not teach the morality of marriage, or the worship of a deity.

Digitized by Google

Those clouds which, after all our researches, will continue to rest on certain portions of the Pelasgian epoch, melt away beneath the glories of the HEROIC TIMES. The Athenian type of those times is Theseus—uniting in himself the two great attributes which have commanded the veneration of true poets from Homer to Scott: ἀμφότερον, βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς, κρατερὸς τ' αἰχμητής.

'In council-halls a monarch sage,
A warrior bold in battle's rage.'

Mr Thirlwall calls him the Hercules of Attica: Mr Bulwer calls him the Athenian Alfred. Both are right. He deserved, as a chivalrous adventurer, the throne which he adorned as a politic King. As a knight-errant, he cleared the land of pests, and redeemed it from oppression. As a sovereign, he consolidated the strength of Attica, and confirmed his own title to the auspicious name of Regulator.* The catastrophe of Theseus is melancholy; yet even his usurping successor Menestheus must fill a goodly place on the platform of our second scene,—not as a popular intriguer—not as a notorious encroacher on the tenure and extent of the royal prerogatives—but as leader of the Athenian bands in the war of Troy. Then were that people dwellers in a 'fair-'built city'† for whose 'broad streets' Minerva was fain to quit the splendours of the island of Alcinous.‡ Then had their munificent devotion already honoured the guardian power and her hero-nursling ‖ with a 'sumptuous temple.' Bulls and Rams bled in their yearly sacrifices. Fifty 'dark gallies' sailed from their harbour to the Asiatic shore. And then, too, their chief, unlike the majority of later demagogues, was one

'With whom could cope no mortal wight
To marshal chariots for the fight,
And men who bore the shield!' §

Passing over a list of six succeeding princes, unarrested even by the singular tragedy of Codrus, 'more of an ancient Roman 'than a Greek'—passing over two centuries of hereditary *First Magistrates*, whose very title suggests the prevalence of a wish to limit the sovereign authority—passing over seventy years of decennial Archons, and other steps whereby aristocratic was gradually substituted for monarchical government—passing over the bloody laws of Draco, a mere attempt on the part of the oligarchy

---

* Θησεὺς from θίσται. † Hom. Il. B. 546. ‡ Hom. Od. H. 79.
‖ Erechtheus. Hom. Il. B. 547-551.
§ Τῷ δ' οὔπως τις ὁμοίης ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνὴρ
Κοσμῆσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας.—*Hom. B.* 553.

Digitized by Google

to check the growth of free principles—and the conspiracy of Cylon, which though fruitless to its author, was pregnant with consequences most important to his country,—we behold the central figure of the third great era in SOLON THE ARBITER. In that transcendent function we may be content to merge the character of the soldier and the poet, but not of the man. Honour be to him, especially in contrast with the elder reformer of a rival state—honour to him who esteemed not, like the Spartan Lycurgus, morals as subordinate to policy, but policy as subservient to good morals! Honour to him, who thought it a higher duty of the lawgiver to train his fellow-citizens to live in happiness than to die with constancy! Honour to him who, tempted on the one hand to self-aggrandizement, and goaded on the other by the sight of a tyrannous nobility and a tortured people, yet suffered the moderation of his personal character to dictate his whole code and political system! His constitution, but for the single blot of permitting the continuance of slavery, might be cited as the most felicitous compromise between power and right ever effected by the wisdom of an individual mind. But in what age or country has the course of innovation been stayed at that particular point which individual sagacity would recommend? The nicely balanced constitution of Solon could not long remain in equilibrium. The elective franchise and judicial function of his Popular Assembly provided a legitimate organ for the democratic tendency; and every subsequent event—the usurpation of the Pisistratidæ not excepted—helped on its ulterior developement.

'The next age shifts' into the grand spectacle of the PERSIAN INVASION. At the most terrible crisis of that soul-stirring time, 'the Athenians,' says Herodotus, 'were the preservers of 'Greece.' At the same crisis, adds Mr Bulwer, 'when even 'the deities themselves seemed doubtful, Athens was unshaken.' It was the epoch of her greatest men, and of incidents the most stupendous she was destined to witness. She was at the zenith of her true glory, whilst her buildings lay in ashes, and the vision of her future supremacy was still confined to the brain of Themistocles. From those ashes to the marbles of the Parthenon was only a descent on the scale of moral greatness. And, perhaps, it is not less a descent to pass from the contest of Themistocles and Aristides to that of Cimon and Pericles.

What a host of recollections gathers round the latter of those names, as the land-mark of the Fifth great period in Attic history!—the private virtues of Pericles, and the public vices of his administration—new weapons thrust into the hands of the democracy—the selfishness of Athenians as citizens predominating over their patriotism as Greeks—art triumphant—manners degraded—

Digitized by Google

morality debased! With Pericles, too, commences that fatal war, whose progress showed how inevitably the constitution of Athens, converted—and mainly by his means—into the will of a despotic majority, was too strong for the maxims by which he himself would have controlled its working. A noble subject for the hand of genius! were it only for the sake of transferring to fresh canvass the bold strokes of Thucydides, or of retouching the feebler pencillings of Xenophon.

The curtain which falls upon the humiliation of Athens must rise on her renewed ascendency. One generation has scarcely passed since she was groaning beneath the thirty tyrants and their reign of terror—her native energies prostrate, her external resources reft away. Seventy-five cities now hail her the head of their confederacy. Ægean isles are numbered among her foreign settlements. Lacedæmon recognises her dominion of the seas. She is confessedly, and without a rival, first of the Grecian communities.

Look at her half a century later! An enemy more deadly than Thebes or Sparta has fought his way to tyranny. Against the craft of Philip, and the valour of his son, the eloquent thunders of Demosthenes have pealed in vain. And if the last sparks of antique heroism do not expire with Phocion, yet the fitful gleams they throw out from time to time serve but to 'mock 'the ruins they adorn.'

Again, four hundred years have fled. The Athenians are creating a thirteenth tribe in honour of Adrian; and their city is receiving its latest embellishments from the bounty of Emperors and Sophists!

Century after century rolls on in merited obscurity. Athens is insulted by the name, without the substance of freedom, until her conquest by Omar. She is an appendage of the harem, and 'a pandar and eunuch governs her governor,' until the Greeks of our own time show something of their fathers' spirit. Then—

> "last scene of all
> That ends this strange, eventful history—"

a Bavarian prince builds his palace in the city of Theseus—his subjects address him in a jargon which mingles Turkish, French, Italian, and German with remnants of the lowest Hellenic dialect—and the traveller, who has been landed by a steam-boat at the mole of the Piræus, returns from a day's shooting in Bœotia to an English Hotel in Athens, kept by a native of Wapping!

On these signal epochs, or some such as these, separated indeed by very different intervals, but exhibiting the true stages of Athenian elevation and decline, Mr Bulwer might have lavished,

Digitized by Google

with admirable effect, the stores of his knowledge, and the shrewdness of his philosophy. At each of them it would have been an enviable task to trace out the effects of accumulated causes;—to portray successive states of manners, literature, art, and policy; and to call up, by a few magic touches, the images of statesmen and warriors, orators and poets. Here, too, would have been ample room for that tone of levity or sarcasm, to which Mr Bulwer occasionally inclines, and which does not so exactly harmonize with the regular march of historic narrative. And, that such isolated pictures would have been drawn by him with vigour and enthusiasm, may be proved at once by a few sketches, of a kindred nature, which these volumes supply, and which we quote with infinite pleasure, though the first of them is not exclusively Athenian. Its subject is the Olympic festival:—

'If warmed for a moment from the gravity of the historic muse, we might conjure up the picture of this festival, we would invoke the imagination of the reader to that sacred ground, decorated with the profusest triumphs of Grecian art,—all Greece assembled from her continent, her colonies, her isles,—war suspended,—a sabbath of solemnity and rejoicing,—the Spartan no longer grave, the Athenian forgetful of the forum,—the high-born Thessalian,—the gay Corinthian,—the lively gestures of the Asiatic Ionian;—suffering the various events of various times to confound themselves in one recollection of the past, he may see every eye turned from the combatants to one majestic figure—hear every lip murmuring a single name—glorious in greater fields; Olympia itself is forgotten. Who is the spectacle of the day? Themistocles, the conqueror of Salamis, and the saviour of Greece! Again, the huzzas of countless thousands following the chariot-wheels of the competitors,—whose name is shouted forth, the victor without a rival?—it is Alcibiades, the destroyer of Athens! Turn to the temple of the Olympian god, pass the brazen gates, proceed through the columned aisles,—what arrests the awe and wonder of the crowd? Seated on a throne of ebon and of ivory, of gold and gems—the olive crown on his head, in his right hand the statue of victory, in his left, wrought of all metals, the cloud-compelling sceptre—behold the colossal master-piece of Phidias, the Homeric dream embodied, the majesty of the Olympian Jove! Enter the banquet-room of the conquerors;—to whose verse, hymned in a solemn and mighty chorus, bends the listening Spartan?—it is the verse of the Dorian Pindar! In that motley and glittering space (the fair of Olympia, the mart of every commerce, the focus of all intellect) join the throng, earnest and breathless, gathered round that sunburnt traveller;—now drinking in the wild account of Babylonian gardens, or of temples whose awful deity no lip may name,—now, with clenched hands and glowing cheeks, tracking the march of Xerxes along exhausted rivers, and over bridges that spanned the sea;—what moves, what hushes that mighty audience? It is Herodotus reading his history!'*

* Vol. I. 185.

Digitized by Google

Or, take the reception of Aristagoras at Athens, after he has failed to obtain the aid of Sparta in the Ionian revolt:—

'The patient and plotting Milesian departed thence to Athens: he arrived there just at the moment when the Athenian ambassadors had returned from Sardis, charged with the haughty reply of Artaphernes to the mission concerning Hippias. The citizens were aroused, excited, inflamed; equally indignant at the insolence, and fearful of the power of the Satrap. It was a favourable occasion for Aristagoras!

'To the imagination of the reader this passage in history presents a striking picture. We may behold the great assembly of that lively, high-souled, sensitive, and inflammable people. There is the Agora;—there the half-built temple to Æacus;—above, the citadel, where yet hang the chains of the captive enemy;—still linger in the ears of the populace, already vain of their prowess, and haughty in their freedom, the menaces of the Persian—the words that threatened them with the restoration of the exiled tyrant; and at this moment, and in this concourse, we see the subtle Milesian, wise in the experience of mankind, popular with all free states, from having restored freedom to the colonies of Ionia—every advantage of foreign circumstance and intrinsic ability in his favour,—about to address the breathless and excited multitude. He rose: he painted, as he had done to Cleomenes, in lively colours, the wealth of Asia, the effeminate habits of its people—he described its armies fighting without spear or shield—he invoked the valour of a nation already successful in war against hardy and heroic foes—he appealed to old hereditary ties; the people of Miletus had been an Athenian colony—should not the parent protect the child in the greatest of all blessings—the right of liberty? Now he entreats—now he promises,—the sympathy of the free, the enthusiasm of the brave, are alike aroused. He succeeds: the people accede to his views. "It is easier," says the homely Herodotus, "to gain (or delude) a multitude than an individual; and the eloquence which had failed with Cleomenes enlisted thirty thousand Athenians."' *

The next extract must be longer. It paints the condition of Athens about the period of Cimon's death, thirty years after the battles of Platæa and Mycale,—eighteen years before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war:—

'A rapid glance over the events of the few years commemorated in the last book of this history, will suffice to show the eminence which Athens had attained over the other states of Greece. She was the head of the Ionian league—the mistress of the Grecian seas; with Sparta, the sole rival that could cope with her armies, and arrest her ambition, she had obtained a peace; Corinth was humbled—Ægina ruined—Megara had shrunk into her dependency and garrison. The states of Bœotia had received their very constitution from the hands of an Athenian general—

* Vol. I. 442.

Digitized by Google

the democracies planted by Athens served to make liberty itself subservient to her will, and involved in her safety. She had remedied the sterility of her own soil by securing the rich pastures of the neighbouring Eubœa. She had added the gold of Thasos to the silver of Laurion, and established a footing in Thessaly, which was at once a fortress against the Asiatic arms and a mart for Asiatic commerce. The fairest lands of the opposite coast—the most powerful islands of the Grecian seas, contributed to her treasury, or were almost legally subjected to her revenge. Her navy was rapidly increasing in skill, in number, and renown; at home the recall of Cimon had conciliated domestic contentions, and the death of Cimon dispirited for a while the foes to the established constitution. In all Greece, Myronides was perhaps the ablest general. Pericles (now rapidly rising to the sole administration of affairs) was undoubtedly the most highly educated, cautious, and commanding statesman.

'But a single act of successful daring had more than all else contributed to the Athenian power. Even in the lifetime of Aristides it had been proposed to transfer the common treasury from Delos to Athens. The motion failed—perhaps through the virtuous opposition of Aristides himself. But when, at the siege of Ithomë, the feud between the Athenians and Spartans broke out, the fairest pretext and the most favourable occasion conspired in favour of a measure so seductive to the national ambition. Under pretence of saving the treasury from the hazard of falling a prey to the Spartan rapacity or need, it was removed at once to Athens; and while the enfeebled power of Sparta, fully engrossed by the Messenian war, forbade all resistance to the transfer, from that, the most formidable quarter, the conquest of Naxos, and the recent reduction of Thasos, seem to have intimidated the spirit, and for a time even to have silenced the reproaches of the tributary states themselves. Thus, in actual possession of the tribute of her allies, Athens acquired a new right to its collection and its management, and while she devoted some of the treasures to the maintenance of her strength, she began early to uphold the prerogative of appropriating a part to the enhancement of her splendour. *

---

* 'For the transfer itself there were excuses yet more plausible than 'that assigned by Justin. First, in the year following the breach be- 'tween the Spartans and Athenians (B. C. 460), probably the same year 'in which the transfer was effected, the Athenians were again at war 'with the great king in Egypt, and there was therefore a show of justice 'in the argument noticed by Bœckh (though, in the source whence he 'derives it, the argument applies to the earlier time of Aristides), that 'the transfer provided a place of greater security against the barbarians. 'Secondly, Delos itself was already, and had long been, under Athenian 'influence. Pisistratus had made a purification of the island, Delian 'soothsayers had predicted to Athens the sovereignty of the seas, and 'the Athenians seem to have arrogated a right of interference with the 'temple. The transfer was probably therefore, in appearance, little

Digitized by Google

'As this most important measure occurred at the very period when the power of Cimon was weakened by the humiliating circumstances that attended his expedition to Ithomē, and by the vigorous and popular measures of the opposition, so there seems every reason to believe, that it was principally advised and effected by Pericles, who appears shortly afterwards presiding over the administration of the finances.

'Though the Athenian commerce had greatly increased, it was still principally confined to the Thracian coasts and the Black Sea. The desire of enterprises, too vast for a state whose power reverses might suddenly destroy, was not yet indulged to excess; nor had the turbulent spirits of the Pirœus yet poured in upon the various barriers of the social state and the political constitution, the rashness of sailors and the avarice of merchants. Agriculture, to which all classes in Athens were addicted, raised a healthful counteraction to the impetus given to trade. Nor was it till some years afterwards, when Pericles gathered all the citizens into the town, and left no safety-valve to the ferment and vices of the Agora—that the Athenian aristocracy gradually lost all patriotism and manhood, and an energetic democracy was corrupted into a vehement though educated mob. The spirit of faction, it is true, ran high, but a third party, headed by Myronides and Tolmides, checked the excesses of either extreme.

'Thus, at home and abroad, time and fortune, the concurrence of events, and the happy accident of great men, not only maintained the present eminence of Athens, but promised, to ordinary foresight, a long duration of her glory and her power. To deeper observers, the picture might have presented dim, but prophetic shadows. It was clear that the command Athens had obtained, was utterly disproportioned to her natural resources—that her greatness was altogether artificial, and rested partly upon moral, rather than physical causes, and partly upon the fears and the weakness of her neighbours. A sterile soil, a limited territory, a scanty population—all these—the drawbacks and disadvantages of nature—the wonderful energy and confident daring of a free state might conceal in prosperity; but the first calamity could not fail to expose them to jealous and hostile eyes; the empire delegated to the Athenians, they must naturally desire to retain and to increase; and there was every reason to forebode that their ambition would soon exceed their capacities to sustain it. As the state became accustomed to its power, it would learn to abuse it. Increasing civilisation, luxury, and art, brought with them new expenses, and Athens had already been permitted to indulge with impunity the dangerous passion of exacting tribute from her neighbours. Dependence upon other resources than those of the native population has ever been a main cause of the destruction of despotisms, and it cannot fail, sooner or later, to be equally pernicious to the republics that trust to it. The resources of taxation confined to freemen

---

'more than a transfer from a place under the power of Athens to Athens 'itself. Thirdly, it seems that when the question was first agitated, 'during the life of Aristides, it was at the desire of one of the allies 'themselves (the Samians).'

Digitized by Google

and natives, are almost incalculable; the resources of tribute wrung from foreigners and dependents, are sternly limited, and terribly precarious—they rot away the true spirit of industry in the people that demand the impost—they plant ineradicable hatred in the states that concede it.' *

Once more—the character of Cimon will show the author's talent as a portrait-drawer:—

'Cimon was now at the height of his fame and popularity. His share of the booty, and the recovery of the Chersonese, rendered him by far the wealthiest citizen of Athens; and he continued to use his wealth to cement his power. His intercourse with other nations, his familiarity with the Oriental polish and magnificence, served to elevate his manners from their early rudeness, and to give splendour to his tastes. If he had spent his youth amongst the wild soldiers of Miltiades, the leisure of his maturer years was cultivated by an intercourse with sages and poets. His passion for the sex, which even in its excesses tends to refine and to soften, made his only vice. He was the friend of every genius, and every art; and, the link between the lavish ostentation of Themistocles, and the intellectual grace of Pericles, he conducted as it were the insensible transition from the age of warlike glory, to that of civil pre-eminence. He may be said to have greatly contributed to diffuse that atmosphere of poetry and of pleasure, which even the meanest of the free Athenians afterwards delighted to respire. He led the citizens more and more from the recesses of private life; and carried out that social policy commenced by Pisistratus, according to which all individual habits became merged into one animated, complex, and excited public. Thus, himself gay and convivial, addicted to company, wine, and women, he encouraged shows and spectacles, and invested them with new magnificence; he embellished the city with public buildings, and was the first to erect at Athens those long colonnades—beneath the shade of which, sheltered from the western suns, that graceful people were accustomed to assemble and converse. The Agora, that universal home of the citizens, was planted by him with the Oriental planes; and the groves of Academe, the immortal haunt of Plato, were his work. That celebrated garden, associated with the grateful and bright remembrances of all which poetry can lend to wisdom, was, before the time of Cimon, a waste and uncultivated spot. It was his hand that intersected it with walks and alleys, and that poured through its green retreats the ornamental waters, so refreshing in those climes, and not common in the dry Attic soil, which now meandered in living streams, and now sparkled into fountains. Besides these works to embellish, he formed others to fortify the city. He completed the citadel, hitherto unguarded on the south side; and it was from the Barbarian spoils deposited in the treasury, that the expenses of founding the long walls, afterwards completed, were defrayed.' †

* Vol. II. 382. † Ibid. p. 310.

Digitized by Google

These specimens, and other passages which combine a warm feeling of the great or the beautiful, with a wakeful sagacity, ever throwing out abundance of new and fine observations, convince us that Mr Bulwer might have supplied a grand desideratum, in a book jealously devoted to Athens; just as easily as he has produced something more resembling a general history of Greece. It is but fair to add, that one or two of the very scenes, whose scope we have presumed to mark, have been brought out prominently and powerfully, in the volumes before us. But the author has not filled up the outline of these scenes with all the care and copiousness of detail, which, in his hands, might have given birth to a most fascinating and finished performance. How could he, while the exigencies of a much broader plan were sure to seduce him into extraneous discussions on such topics as the Homeric question, the Constitution of Sparta, and the Pythagorean philosophy? Herodotus, so warmly and righteously admired by the sound taste of Mr Bulwer—Herodotus, almost the only writer whose digressions are uniformly delightful—has an excuse to plead for them, which few other authors can urge. He was an explorer of various and distant regions,—an amasser of foreign curiosities,—and naturally eager to display his intellectual opulence before the gaze of his countrymen. For a modern narrator of the rise and fall of Athens there was, indeed, still much of what is rich and rare to gather and exhibit; but it was to be gotten rather by digging deep than by travelling wide, and under the impulse of a wish to condense rather than to expatiate.

Assuredly there was nothing in our own literature to deter from the attempt. Only two domestic efforts to disentangle the Athenian history from that of Greece—and both most abortive—occur to our recollection.

One is the 'History of Athens,' by Sir William Young, published towards the close of the last century, and 'corrected and 'enlarged' in the third edition, of date 1804. We should have supposed it forgotten long ago, did we not still find the author puffed as 'the strongest advocate for the republican system, 'that modern times have produced;' and even referred to by such an authority as Heeren.* This worthy baronet proposes to himself to cope with Machiavel and Montesquieu. His work, he informs us, is 'no light effusion of mere leisure and 'literary amusement;'—it 'hath engaged him in laborious 'studies; and in the intense application of whatever powers of 'enquiry and inference his mind hath at any time possessed:'—

* Manual of Ancient History, p. 136.

Digitized by Google

it 'hath engrossed many hours of the best of his days; and, 'having first occupied his thoughts and pen in the outset and 'prime of life,—finally, it is the result of his mature judgment, 'exercised in a patient and impartial reconsideration of all that 'he has read, of all that he has observed, and of all that he has 'heretofore thought.' Accept, with gratitude, some of the choicest fruits of these intense thinkings and doings. 'Draco,' says the accurate Sir William, 'by his *Thesmoi*, for a while 'gave *quiet and harmony* to the republic.' 'About the same 'time,' says this exact chronologer, 'that Pisistratus became 'tyrant at Athens, Panætius usurped at Leontium, Cypselus at 'Corinth, and Dionysius at Syracuse!' Aristagoras, according to the same profound enquirer, 'declaimed to the *iron assembly* 'at Lacedæmon;' and Zacynthus is an 'isle of *Ægean.*' So much for the unintermitted labour of thirty years,—a thirty years' war against sense, taste, and the principles of composition.

The other is the second part of what the late Sir William Drummond called his 'Review of the Governments of Sparta 'and Athens,'—a youthful essay; and therefore, perhaps, entitled to more indulgence than the work of his mature compeer. With the puerile ecstasies of the first part about the virtue, honesty, and morality of the Spartans, we have here nothing to do. Nor did we discover any thing to glean from the Attic lucubrations of one who says of Plutarch—'There are few 'authors with whom I am acquainted, upon whose assertions I 'should sooner rely, than upon those of the biographer of Che-'ronæa;' who rates Cicero, 'as a philosopher equal to Aris-'totle;' and who speaks of the Athenian orators as employing 'different *dialects*, as their subject was grave or trivial.' 'It ap-'pears,' Sir William Drummond concludes, 'from the forego-'ing investigation, that the leading principles of the Athenian 'constitution were *patriotism*, *justice*, *prudence*, *honour*, and '*moderation*.' Whoever compares this sweeping sentence with the so-called *investigation* that precedes it, will be at no loss for a companion to that famous sermon, in 'Jonathan Wild,' by the Newgate-Ordinary—the chosen model of so many of our most popular preachers.

We should have liked to see the memory of such rubbish entirely swept away by the advanced learning and improved judgment of the present generation. Mean-while, let us glance at what Mr Bulwer has done.

His work breaks, of itself, into two parts—one historical, and the other literary. Throughout the historic portion—notwithstanding that there is no doubt of the author's political bias—we

Digitized by Google

cannot too much applaud the general tone of moderation and candour. Theories, perhaps, are incidentally hinted at, which envious or ill-natured criticism might seize on as a pretext for wrangling. But there is nothing of that predetermined and most vicious purpose, so conspicuous in the writings of Landor and certain other contemporaries, on both sides of controverted questions, to press classical history into the service of partisan warfare. 'Nowhere,' to quote Mr Bulwer's own just boast, does he 'pervert the lessons of the past to fugitive inte-'rests and party purposes.' There is little even of that natural leaning, which the most stoical writer is apt to be beguiled into, towards the best view of his subject, in ambiguous cases, that facts will in any degree warrant. His avowed intent is 'to vindicate the memory of the Athenian people, without dis-'guising the errors of Athenian institutions.' And if, now and then, his construction of those institutions is just tinged with partiality, Heaven knows the manifold endeavours made by Mitford, and men more able than Mitford, to blacken the memory of ancient Athens, and gloss over the semi-barbarism of her chief competitor, may well excuse the judge for sometimes warming into the advocate. The calm flow of our own critical blood has been occasionally quickened by this argument; and yet, upon the whole, we claim to have held the balance pretty even, and seldom to have cast the weight of private predilections into a trembling scale. Mr Bulwer is fully entitled to the same praise.

In his opening chapter, the sketch of the Pelasgians is too slight for our liking. We do not subscribe to the remark, that 'no erudition and no speculation can succeed in proving 'their existence in any part of the world *prior* to their ap-'pearance in Greece.' On the contrary, we believe that their march out of the East can be satisfactorily demonstrated; and the very line and stages of its progress traced by infallible tokens. We have often delighted to pursue their *trail* along the banks of the Euphrates, through the regions of Armenia and Colchis, by the fertile plains of Asia Minor, the stepping-stones of the Ægean waters, and the rugged mountains of Thrace. Still less can we acquiesce in that hasty sentence on the Pelasgian character, repeatedly pronounced by Mr Bulwer. There is no reason—as we have already hinted—to believe this glorious race, at least in their Attic settlement, to have been 'sava-'ges,' leading 'a wandering and unprovidential life,' and 'sub-'sisting on the spontaneous produce of no abundant soil.' The author, it appears to us, ascribes a great deal too much effect to the civilizing influence of foreigners, and too little to the in-

Digitized by Google

ternal developement of native powers and tendencies. Lessons, no doubt, were imparted to the Attic Pelasgians, from time to time, by visitors from beyond the seas. Nor can we discern any 'striking mystery' in social improvements so communicated. Suppose one tribe from the Eastern cradle of nations longer established than another in its ultimate seat, and surrounded with the advantages of a fortunate locality, why should not the straggling emigrants of such a tribe carry with them new inventions, in art or policy, to the tenants of a less favoured shore, without any right to the improbable merit of introducing religion, or the practice of wedlock, or the habit of preferring grain to acorns? With regard to one species of foreign influence—that exerted by Egypt—Mr Bulwer properly characterises it as 'faint and evanescent.' Yet the early intrusion of Egyptian settlers on the Attic soil must, we think, be admitted as a fact—not upon the direct testimony of Greek writers, but upon the much stronger, though more oblique evidence of some remarkable traces in Athenian religion, policy, and art. On this head we agree with Frederick Thiersch, Dr Arnold, and Mr Bulwer himself, rather than with Mr Keightley, Mr Thirlwall, and the Germans whom they follow.

The same chapter contains a very judicious theory of the Greek mythological system; or, rather, the opinions there professed, recommend themselves by the absence of theory. Most writers on this topic have rushed post-haste into one absurdity or another, by getting resolutely astride of a favourite dogma. With some the Grecian *myths* are all allegory; with others all symbolical; with others all direct plagiarism or distorted tradition. Mr Bulwer sees clearly that, in their mythology, the Greeks blended discordant elements into an apparent uniformity—that the sources and substance of their creed were 'various, yet individualized.' One reason of its composite and comprehensive character he sets in a true light: 'The absence 'of a priestly caste had considerable effect upon the flexile 'and familiar nature of the Grecian creed, because there were 'none professionally interested in guarding the purity of the 'religion, in preserving to what it had borrowed, symbolical 'allusions, and in forbidding the admixture of new gods and 'heterogeneous creeds.' Here too, however, we have to urge objections. Why not frankly admit the identity of *Posidonian* (i. e. *imported*) Athenë with the Neith of Sais? And why 'pass 'over as palpably absurd' the essential oneness of their names? We wish that etymology never moved on ground less sure than this. Our next objection is much graver. Mr Bulwer seems utterly to discard a disguised representation of Patriarchal truths

Digitized by Google

as one fountain of the legendary wonders in the Hellenic Pantheon. This he does, we hope, from no fixed principle of scepticism. But he may rest assured that his notes on Serpent-worship,* and on the progenital humidity,† will call down some ecclesiastical thunders—not altogether unmerited. And we ourselves—in a more charitable spirit—must beg to put it to him, Whether many features of Greek faith and practice in sacred matters—the observance of sacrifice—the reverence paid to the serpent—the great mystery of the tale of Prometheus—the very names of things and persons which the older legends abound with—may not be more reasonably and philosophically derived from a dim recollection of patriarchal history, than by the aid of any other hypothesis?

We cannot review, with equal minuteness, every one of twenty-five chapters, belonging to the historical division of Mr Bulwer's subject. We should be inclined to say, generally, that he is not so happy in continuous narrative, as in grasping the prominent circumstances of any particular crisis, and throwing upon them the illumination of an intuitive acuteness. Thus, in the first volume, even the story of Theseus, full as it is of those romantic incidents that were likely to kindle the imagination of a novelist, is not told with much skill or fervour; whereas, the emergencies which called forth the powers of Solon, and both the merits and defects of his legislation, are very forcibly delineated. The concluding observations are strikingly correct:—

'Solon, himself a merchant, appears to have given to aliens encouragements in trade and manufacture, not usual in that age; and most of their disabilities were probably rather moral or imaginary than real and daily causes of grievance. The great and paramount distinction was between the freeman and the slave. No slave could be admitted as a witness *except by torture;* as for him there was no voice in the state, so for him there was no tenderness in the law. But though the slave might not avenge himself on the master, the system of slavery avenged itself on the state. The advantages to the intellect of the free citizens resulting from the existence of a class maintained to relieve them from the drudgeries of life, were dearly purchased by the constant insecurity of their political repose. The capital of the rich could never be directed to the most productive of all channels—the labour of free competition. The noble did not employ citizens—he purchased slaves. Thus the commonwealth derived the least possible advantage from his wealth; it did not flow through the heart of the republic, employing the idle, and feeding the poor. As a necessary consequence, the inequalities of fortune were sternly visible and deeply felt. The rich man had no connec-

* Vol. I., p. 61, 62. † Vol. I., p. 303.

Digitized by Google

tion with the poor man—the poor man hated him for a wealth of which he did not (as in states where slavery does not exist) share the blessings—purchasing by labour the advantages of fortune. Hence the distinction of classes defied the harmonizing effects of popular legislation. The rich were exposed to unjust and constant exactions; and society was ever liable to be disorganized by attacks upon property. There was an eternal struggle between the jealousies of the populace and the fears of the wealthy; and many of the disorders which modern historians inconsiderately ascribe to the institutions of freedom, were in reality the growth of the existence of slavery.'

So, likewise, in the second volume, the passages most creditable to the author are those in which he sketches the position of Themistocles, at the period of his flight to Persia, and depicts the age of Pericles. The latter opens with great vigour:—

'In the age of Pericles there is that which seems to excite, in order to disappoint, curiosity. We are fully impressed with the brilliant variety of his gifts—with the influence he exercised over his times. He stands in the midst of great and immortal names, at the close of a heroic, and yet in the sudden meridian of a civilized age. And scarcely does he recede from our gaze ere all the evils which only his genius could keep aloof, gather and close around the city which it was the object of his life, not less to adorn as for festival, than to crown as for command. It is almost as if, with Pericles, her very youth departed from Athens. Yet, so scanty are our details and historical materials, that the life of this surprising man is rather illustrated by the general light of the times than by the blaze of his own genius. His military achievements are not dazzling. No relics, save a few bold expressions, remain of the eloquence which awed or soothed, excited or restrained, the most difficult audience in the world. It is partly by analyzing the works of his contemporaries—partly by noting the rise of the whole people—and partly by bringing together, and moulding into a whole, the scattered masses of his ambitious and thoughtful policy, that we alone can gauge and measure the proportions of the master-spirit of the time. The age of Pericles is the sole historian of Pericles.'

Equity, perhaps, demands that we should refer to some examples of Mr Bulwer's propensity, slight as it is, to deal a little too tenderly with the people of Athens. Preceded by the redoubtable knight, Sir William Young, and with the concurrence, in part, of Mr Thirlwall, he defends the conduct of the Athenians to their series of great deliverers,—Miltiades, Aristides, Themistocles, and Cimon. We believe, however, that no sophistry of ingenious advocates will ever counteract the spontaneous, and all but universal, emotion of educated men with regard to those signal instances of public ingratitude. Let us confess that we are possibly unacquainted with the whole secret history of the transactions which issued in the successive banishment of these

Digitized by Google

benefactors to their country. Yet we surely see enough to satisfy us that, under a republican government, the blind and envious folly of the multitude will usually rather face the chance of danger, and cut off the best sources of strength, than endure the contact of individual superiority, founded upon whatever grounds of genius or virtue. The same feeling is alive, at this day, in the only country where education is decried as a privilege, and knowledge hated as a badge of aristocracy. Moreover, any assistance to his reasoning, derived by Mr Bulwer from the uncertainty that hangs about single cases, fails him when he approaches an abstract principle. With some ancient and some modern precursors—Sir William Young again making one of them—he seeks to extenuate the shabby policy of Ostracism. But this policy, wherever enforced—at Athens, Argos, Megara, Miletus, or Syracuse—was nothing better than the craven trick of a mere numerical majority. If directed against solitary eminence, it was, at best, a blunt confession of the weakness inherent in democracies. If employed for the removal of one of two conspicuous rivals, what was it but an imperfect sagacity, or a defective constitution, compelled to the rude expedient of crushing one party, instead of turning both to the advantage of the commonwealth? We cannot agree with Mr Bulwer that a practice, probably introduced at Athens by the artful Clisthenes, grew out of 'the excesses of the tyrannical principle.' Nor do we deem it a fair statement that 'as the republic *strengthened*, and the popular 'power increased, the custom of Ostracism was superseded.' Thucydides couples an allusion to its last victim with a specification of the 'depravity and baseness'* of the state. At the time when Ostracism went out of fashion the people were as ripe as ever for such mischief. They changed their mode of dealing with great men, but not the tenor of their dealings. Ostracism really received its final blow from the adroit hand of Alcibiades. It was only too much honoured in its executioner; but he afterwards discovered, to his cost, that the spirit of the thing could survive its externals.

Mr Bulwer's narrative, as far as the volumes now published carry it, closes with the return of Pericles from the Siege of Samos, B. C. 440. We shall dismiss it with a short list of passages which may deserve the author's reconsideration.

Should it not have been marked that Lobeck had no right to construe the words of Herodotus (I. 30) into an assertion of hostilities between the inhabitants of Athens and those of

* Thucyd. viii., c. 73.

Digitized by Google

Eleusis? Herodotus speaks of a battle *at Eleusis*, but not *against the Eleusinians*.—(Bulwer, I. 57).

The Athenians can hardly be said to have 'passed existence 'in an almost perpetual circle of festivals and holidays.' They had about 300 business-days in the year.—(*Ibid.* 78).

The term *Pan*hellenes, in the Iliad, is just tantamount to the term Hellenes (compare παναχαιῶν, Il. H. 327). And we do not perceive that 'in the Odyssey the Hellenic name is no 'longer limited to the dominion of Achilles.'—(*Ibid.* 103).

Does Mr Bulwer express a well-weighed opinion when he says,*—'If under the exordium of the Iliad there lurk no *typi-* 'cal signification, the exordium is scarce appropriate to the sub- 'ject. For the wrath of Achilles did not bring upon the Greeks 'woes more mighty than the ordinary course of war would have 'destined them to endure?' In Homeric commentaries, to flee to a typical meaning has commonly been the last refuge of imbecility. Nor—happily for the cause of wholesome criticism—will the present plea for so hazardous a procedure hold good. The woes resulting from the wrath of Achilles were not *ordinary*, according to previous Greek experience in the Trojan War. It was his secession that gave scope and energy to the arms of Troy.† A mere chronicler, with no license of poetical fancy, might well have affirmed that it

> 'Hurl'd to Pluto's gloomy reign
> The souls of mighty chiefs untimely slain;
> Whose limbs unburied on that fatal shore
> Devouring dogs and hungry vultures tore.'

At p. 337 of volume first, for 'a phratry contained *three* genea 'or clans,' read *thirty*. Again, εἰσαγγελία does not signify *offence*, but *accusation*.—(*Ibid.* 350). Not *four* periodical meetings of the public assembly bore the name of *Curia*, but only the *first* of them.—(*Ibid.* 351). *Frigid* appears to us a strange epithet to couple with the grace of Horace.—(*Ibid.* 386). Crœsus was allied by *marriage*, not by *blood*, with Astyages.—(*Ibid.* 417). On the other hand, Darius was not 'a stranger to the blood' of Cyrus the Great, being his *third cousin once removed*—a degree of consanguinity quite intelligible to the north of the Tweed.—(*Ibid.* 421). It was not the temple of 'the great *Persian* deity' that perished in the conflagration of Sardis, and could not have been so, though the goddess Cybele, whose temple it was, was revered by the Persians as well as the Lydians.—(*Ibid.* 457).

---

* Vol. I. p. 262. † Il. I. 352.

Digitized by Google

Pausanias did not obtain *a tenth* of the produce in each article of plunder after the battle of Platæa, but *ten samples* of each article.—(Vol. II. 225). And Thucydides, to whom Mr Bulwer appeals, nowhere says of that commander that he was on a first trial 'acquitted of treason with the Persians, *not so much from 'the deficiency as from the abundance of proof,*' but the precise contrary.—(*Ibid.* 265). Finally, we wonder that the author should give up to 'modern scepticism' as 'a fable' the lashing and fettering of the Hellespont by Xerxes.* Why should Herodotus not find credit for a story so perfectly in keeping with the character of a passionate barbarian? It was a matter of course that Mitford should reject such naughty anecdotes of a crowned head. *That* need not prevent Mr Bulwer, and eke Mr Thirlwall, from collating with the account of the Greek annalist the following morsel of Sir Walter Scott's Diary on board a Lighthouse yacht:—'The placid state of the sea (in the Sound 'of Mull) is very different from what I have seen it, when six 'stout rowers could scarce give a boat headway through the con-'flicting tides. These fits of violence so much surprised and 'offended a body of the Camerons, who were bound upon some 'expedition to Mull, and had been accustomed to the quietness 'of lake-navigation, *that they drew their dirks and began to stab 'the waves;*'† unconscious, we dare affirm, that they were at that moment illustrating the text of Herodotus the Halicarnassian.

Proceed we now to the four or five chapters on the more congenial topics of art, philosophy, and literature, which the author has scattered among his political and historic lucubrations. Within the literary portion of this survey, which more immediately attracts us, and is in itself finished with most care, are comprehended Homer, Hesiod, Sappho, Herodotus, and other names not intimately connected with Athens. Our notice shall be confined to the account given of dramatic poetry—as a subject preeminently Attic.

The grand steps in the rise and progress of tragedy are tracked out, on the whole, with laudable precision. Thus, it is well observed, that the organic shape of the drama sprang from a successful attempt to combine the properties of epic and of lyric song. Equally just is the remark that 'THESPIS did much to 'create *a stage*, little to create *tragedy*, in the proper acceptation 'of the word.' And the claims of his disciple PHRYNICHUS, who 'was a *poet*,'—who 'saw, though perhaps dimly and imper-

* Vol. II. p. 115.

† Lockhart's Life of Scott, Vol. III. c. 256.

Digitized by Google

'fectly, the new career opened to his art, and may be said to 'have breathed the immortal spirit into the mere mechanical 'forms,'—who 'took tragedy from the Satyr and placed it under 'the protection of the Muse, when, forsaking the humours of the 'rustic farce, he selected a solemn subject from the serious 'legends of the most vivid of all mythologies, breathed into the 'familiar measures of the chorus the grandeur and sweetness of 'the lyric ode, and borrowed his tale from Homer and his melody 'from Anacreon;'—the claims of this marvellous improver are boldly vindicated. Peradventure it had not been amiss expressly to combat, under this head, the preposterous fancies of Bishop Bloomfield,* and to adduce from Herodotus, Aristophanes, Aristotle, and even Plutarch and Suidas, convincing proofs of the genius of Phrynichus. On one or two other points a greater plenitude or exactness of detail would have been no bad exchange for the pains Mr Bulwer has bestowed on certain non-attic speculations. Thus he seems inclined to disconnect all the Dionysian festivals of Attica, in their actual occurrence, from the vintage-season.† But the month Poseideon (December), in which the rural feast of Bacchus was celebrated, was a time of vintage in that region,—as at this hour the Tokay grapes are allowed to hang ungathered until they are frozen, and often covered with snow. Even in the month Gamelion (January), the true date of the Lenæan festival, some reserved vines were stripped of their bunches, whose spirited *must*, improved by the breath of winter, was called *ambrosia* by the ancients. The perusal of one of Bœckh's recent Dissertations would likewise have prevented the repetition of a common error as to the number‡ (in reality *four*) and time of the Bacchanalian feasts; and would have supplied some curious particulars as to the dramatic entertainments peculiar to each of them.

And would it not have been right to investigate more closely, and to chronicle more fully, than the author has done, the growth of the famous and prolific DITHYRAMB? We are not aware of any thing more interesting in the whole compass of literary antiquities. At first it is a generic name of Dionysian song, borrowed from an epithet of the god himself, and embracing all the Iobacchic, Phallic, Ithyphallic, and other varieties. The country population, dressed in rude masks and skins—a disguise furnished by the goats and rams they sacrifice—extol their favourite divinity with shouts and rugged strains. Then, as the Baccha-

---

* In his Preface to the Persæ of Æschylus. † Vol. II. p. 17.
‡ Vol. II. p. 28.

Digitized by Google

nalian ritual becomes more solemn and august, the Dithyramb assumes a more regular and lofty character. It breaks off from the Phallic riot and is adopted into great towns. It is performed by a select chorus, moving in a circle round the altar. In the Ionian and Æolic cities, however, there still adhere to it insignia of its origin. The deeds and gifts of Bacchus are still chanted. There are ancient mummings and satyr-masks, emblematic at once of a revelling people and of mythic deities. A leader (Ἐξάρχων) invokes the Genius of the Vine, and relates a tale of his adventures. The chorus interrupt him with jubilant verse and imitative dances. The metre is trochaic tetrameter; the music bursts in Phrygian measures from the pipe.

The citizens of Doric towns, drawing a broad line between themselves and the surrounding villagers, express their natural temperament in a graver strain. They drop the rustic masks, and the chorus of satyrs is converted into a chorus of men. Frolic is thrown into the background, and high exploits are celebrated. Thus might such places as Corinth, Phlius, and Sicyon, boast of having early exhibited some rudiments of tragedy. It was easy for them, with this tendency, even to forget Bacchus and to introduce other heroes. Hence the *tragic choruses* of Sicyon mentioned in the fifth book of Herodotus. These were strikingly distinguished from the other species of the Dithyramb by the want of satyrs; and from the ordinary class of lyric choral effusions by the presence of an *Exarchon*, discharging his independent function amid the voices and steps of the inferior persons of the band.

Arion the Methymnæan regulated the choric dance and gave it the antistrophic movement. But he did much more. He blended the two forms of Dithyrambic exhibition. He kept the man-chorus, but either relieved them with an accompaniment of satyrs, or contrived that they should change into that appearance at the conclusion of each piece. Earnestness and gravity were thus mixed up with the mirth of festal orgies. Perhaps the sombre side of the character of Bacchus, the Oriental idea of a suffering god, imprinted itself upon his conceptions. Hence he found admission at once for the grotesque satyrs into Doric cities, and for the seriousness of some of his representations into seats of the Ionic and Æolian tribes. In the Dorian Corinth, for example, he first established this new and complex kind of Dithyramb, and baptized it with the old name. Herodotus means nothing more by an expression to which some have objected.* Hellanicus,

* Herod. I. c. 23.

Digitized by Google

Dicæarchus, the Scholiast on Pindar, and Suidas, also bear testimony to his improvements. The greatness of his influence is proved by the subsequent prevalence of the Doric dialect, as used by him, in the Dithyramb of all places, and down to the latest times.

After this eminent minstrel the task of Thespis was easy. To the primitive Attic Dithyramb he gave the shape invented by Arion. Out of the Leader or Exarchon,* belonging to the chorus, he fashioned an actor, separate from the chorus, to recite and gesticulate a mythic tale. Thus *dialogue*—in so far as an interchange of words between the solitary actor and the detached chorus can be called so—took its rise. And at this point the history of Dithyrambic and of tragic poetry, which has thus far been united, divides. Then came Phrynichus with his improved plots—then Æschylus, with real stage dialogue; and all the other additions, external and internal, that originated in his wonderful genius.

Æschylus fares well in the hands of Mr Bulwer. He is even too favourable to that mighty poet when he represents him as introducing 'the dark doctrine of fatality.'† Homer—to whom Æschylus owed so much in other matters—seems also to have given him the hint of that tremendous creed. Remember, among a hundred passages, the wailing ghost of Patroclus:—

ἐμὲ μὲν κὴρ
ἀμφέχανε στυγερὴ, ἥπερ λάχε γεινόμενόν περ. ‡
'Round me has yawn'd the dismal fate
That reckons from my birth its date!'

Delighted, however, we were to find Mr Bulwer recognising the occasional *softness* which has been so often overlooked in the first great tragedian; and quoting, in illustration of this attribute, that exquisite portrait of bereaved Menelaus, after the flight of Helen,§ which we have constantly cited for the same purpose. We wish he had added, and translated, the sacrifice of Iphigenia.‖

Æschylus and his immediate successor are finely contrasted in the following sentences:—

'A great error has been committed by those who class Æschylus and Sophocles together as belonging to the same era, and refer both to the age of Pericles, because each was living while Pericles was in power. * * * The Athenian rivals were formed under the influences of

* See Aristot. Poet. cap. 4. † Vol. II. p. 33.
‡ Il. ϒ. 78. § Æsch. Agam. 400. ‖ Ibid. 185.

Digitized by Google

very different generations, and if Æschylus lived through a considerable portion of the career of the younger Sophocles, the accident of longevity by no means warrants us to consider them the children of the same age —the creatures of the same influences. Æschylus belonged to the race and the period from which emerged Themistocles and Aristides—Sophocles to those which produced Phidias and Pericles. Sophocles indeed, in the calmness of his disposition, and the symmetry and stateliness of his genius, might almost be entitled the Pericles of poetry. And as the statesman was called the Olympian, not from the headlong vehemence, but the serene majesty of his strength; so of Sophocles also it may be said that his power is visible in his repose, and his thunders roll from the depth of a clear sky.'† * * *

'A drawback to our admiration of the Philoctetes of Sophocles is the comparison it involuntarily courts with the Prometheus of Æschylus. Both are examples of fortitude under suffering—of the mind's conflict with its fate. In either play a dreary waste, a savage solitude, constitute the scene. But the towering sublimity of the Prometheus dwarfs into littleness every image of hero or demi-god with which we contrast it. What are the chorus of mariners, and the astute Ulysses, and the boyish generosity of Neoptolemus?—what is the lonely cave on the shores of Lemnos?—what the high-hearted old warrior, with his torturing wound, and his sacred bow?—what are all these to the vast Titan whom the fiends chain to the rock beneath which roll the rivers of hell, for whom the daughters of Ocean are ministers, to whose primeval birth the gods of Olympus are the upstarts of a day, whose soul is the treasure-house of a secret which threatens the realm of Heaven, and for whose unimaginable doom Earth reels to its base, all the might of Divinity is put forth, and Hades itself trembles as it receives its indomitable and awful guest! * * * In the contrast between the *Philoctetes* and the *Prometheus* is condensed the contrast between Æschylus and Sophocles. They are both poets of the highest conceivable order; but the one seems almost above appeal to our affections—his tempestuous gloom appals the imagination, the vivid glare of his thoughts pierces the innermost recesses of the intellect, but it is only by accident that he strikes upon the heart. The other, in his grandest flights, remembers that men make his audience, and seems to feel as if art lost the breath of its life when aspiring beyond the atmosphere of human intellect and human passions. The difference between the creations of Æschylus and Sophocles is like the difference between the Satan of Milton and the Macbeth of Shakspeare.'‡

The whole existing plays of Æschylus and Sophocles—for Euripides does not make his appearance in the present volumes —are analyzed at greater or less length by Mr Bulwer. We like best his skeleton of that inimitable drama—on which no one could write tamely—the 'Œdipus Tyrannus.' It is gracefully

† Vol. II. p. 521. ‡ Ibid. 587.

Digitized by Google

bedecked with a few poetical versions; and those yearnings of fatherly tenderness, towards the close, never equalled except by Shakspeare, have not been forgotten:—

'αλλ' ἡ μὲν ἡμῶν μοῖρ', ὁπηπερ εἶσ', ἴτω· κ. τ. λ.

'For *my* fate, let it pass! My children, Creon!
My sons—nay, they the bitter wants of life
May master—*they* are MEN!—my *girls*—my darlings—
Why, never sate I at my household board
Without their blessed looks—our very bread
We brake together;—thou'lt be kind to them
For my sake, Creon—and (O latest prayer!)
Let me but touch them—feel them with these hands,
And pour such sorrow as may speak farewell
O'er ills that must be theirs! By thy pure line—
For thine is pure—do this, sweet prince. Methinks
I should not miss these eyes, could I but touch them.
What shall I say to move thee?
Sobs!—And do I,
Oh, do I hear my sweet ones? Hast thou sent,
In mercy sent, my children to my arms?
Speak—speak—I do not dream!
Creon. They are thy children,
I would not shut thee from the dear delight
In the old time they gave thee.
Œdipus. Blessings on thee!
For this one mercy mayst thou find above
A kinder God than I have! Ye—where are ye?
My children—come!—nearer and nearer yet!'

There is also a good criticism, and a good translation (here and there a little overdone), of the great scene in another Sophoclean tragedy:—

'Ajax appears again. His passions are now calm and concentrated, but they lead him on to death. He has been shamed, dishonoured,—he has made himself a mockery to his foes. Nobly to live or nobly to die is the sole choice of a brave man. It is characteristic of the Greek temperament, that the personages of the Greek poetry ever bid a last, lingering, and half-reluctant farewell to the sun. There is a magnificent fulness of life in those children of the beautiful Hellas: the sun is to them as a familiar friend—the affliction or the terror of Hades is in the thought that its fields are sunless. The orb which animated their temperate heaven, which ripened their fertile earth, in which they saw the type of eternal youth, of surpassing beauty, of incarnate poetry—human in its associations, and yet divine in its nature—is equally beloved and equally to be mourned by the maiden tenderness of Antigone, or the sullen majesty of Ajax. In a Chaldæan poem the hero would have bid farewell to the stars.

Digitized by Google

'It is thus that Ajax concludes his celebrated soliloquy :—

'And thou that mak'st high heaven thy chariot-course,
O sun!—when gazing on my father-land,
Draw back thy golden rein, and tell my woes
To the old man, my father—and to her
Who nursed me at her bosom, my poor mother!
There will be wailing through the echoing walls
When—but away with thoughts like these!—the hour
Brings on the ripening deed. Death, death, look on me,
Did I say death? it was a waste of words;
We shall be friends hereafter.
'Tis the DAY,
Present and breathing round me, and the car
Of the sweet sun, that never shall again
Receive my greeting! henceforth time is sunless,
And day a thing that is not!—Beautiful light,
My Salamis—my country—and the floor
Of my dear household-hearth—and thou, bright Athens,
Thou—for thy sons and I were boys together—
Fountains and rivers, and ye Trojan plains,
I loved ye as my fosterers—fare ye well!
Take in these words, the last earth hears from Ajax—
All else unspoken, in a spectre land
I'll whisper to the dead!'

We cannot resist the pleasure of annexing another specimen of criticism on a well-known stroke of art in the Electra :—

'At length the pretended Phocians enter, bearing the supposed ashes of Orestes; the chief of the train addresses himself to Electra, and this is the most dramatic and touching scene in the whole tragedy. When the urn containing, as she believes, the dust of her brother, is placed in the hands of Electra, we can well overleap time and space, and see before us the great actor who brought the relics of his own son upon the stage, and shed no mimic sorrows—we can well picture the emotions that circle round the vast audience—pity itself being mingled with the consciousness to which the audience alone are admitted, that lamentation will soon be replaced by joy, and that the living Orestes is before his sister. It is by a most subtle and delicate art that Sophocles permits this struggle between present pain and anticipated pleasure, and carries on the passion of the spectators to wait breathlessly the moment when Orestes shall be discovered. We now perceive why the poet at once, in the opening of the play, announced to us the existence and return of Orestes—why he disdained the vulgar source of interest, the gross suspense we should have felt, if we had shared the ignorance of Electra, and not been admitted to the secret we impatiently long to be communicated to her. In this scene, our superiority to Electra, in the knowledge we possess, refines and softens our compassion, blending it with hope. And most beautifully here does Sophocles remove far from us the thought of the hard hatred that hitherto animates the

Digitized by Google

mourner—the strong, proud spirit is melted away—the woman and the sister alone appear. He whom she had loved more dearly than a mother—whom she had nursed, and saved, and prayed for, is "a nothing" in her hands; and the last rites it had not been hers to pay. He had been

"By strangers honoured, and by strangers mourned."

All things had vanished with him—"vanished in a day"—"vanished as by a hurricane"—she is left with her foes alone. "Admit me" (she cries) "to thy refuge—make room for me in thy home."

'In these lamentations, the cold, classic drama seems to warm into actual life. Art, exquisite because invisible, unites us at once with imperishable nature—we are no longer delighted with poetry—we are weeping with Truth.'

Agreeable it is to know, that one who sees and shows, with such clear vision, the subtle charms of poesy, intends to touch on *Love*, as an element of the Grecian female character. We have our own notions on that theme, and shall wait to compare them hereafter with Mr Bulwer's. Mean-while we shall suggest, as before, a few points for reconsideration.

In the trial of Orestes,* we hold with Müller, that the votes are equal *before* the presiding goddess gives her ballot for acquittal. Compare the future προσθήσομαι (v. 705) with v. 723. This, indeed, is the right significance of the *calculus Minervæ*. It means—when judgments are balanced, mercy is wisdom.

Sophocles, as reported by Athenæus, seems to us to insinuate most correctly that Æschylus was not so great an *artist* as himself. We cannot concede to Mr Bulwer that this is the 'criticism 'of ignorance.'† Says Mr Bulwer:—'Æschylus is artful as a 'dramatist *to be read*, Sophocles as a dramatist *to be acted*.' On this very principle, Æschylus was an inferior artist. He wrote, as he was perfectly aware, for a non-reading public.

'Longinus,' says the author, 'rightly considers *pathos* a part 'of the sublime, for *pity ought to elevate us*.'‡ The *pathos* of Longinus is *passion*, and should not be confounded with *pity*, as one source of the interest awakened by the tragic Muse.

Comedy still demands some words. But since Aristophanes is merely approached by Mr Bulwer, in the part of his work now published, we must tarry for the promised sequel.

The accomplished author will pardon us for closing the present paper with a protest against certain peculiarities of idiom, which we were sorry to find countenanced by so popular a pen. A few of these may plead in their behalf the rare authority of old writers

---

* Æsch. Eumen. 722. † Vol. II. 588. ‡ Ibid. 586.

Digitized by Google

in our tongue. They belong, however, in actual usage, either to the North American dialect, or to such assassins of her Majesty's English at home, as a master of composition must regret to have upon his side. We complain, for instance, of expressions like these:—*Irregulated*—*in stealth*—*reverent* for *reverend*—*to neighbour*—*to concentre*, as a verb active—*to prodigalize*—*to border*, for to *border on*. We think that *impatient of conquest* cannot mean *impatient to conquer*. We don't like *arriving to* the things we have been in the habit of *arriving at*. The adverbs *both* and *only* are now and then misplaced. False antithesis is too frequently admitted. *Cause* is once at least put for *effect*.* A verb of one number is often forced to do duty with a nominative of another.† Mr Bulwer is not yet *talented*—a pseudo-participle which no one will use who is not ripe for any atrocity—but he *progresses* at a fearful rate. These are, it is true, slight matters in themselves; but at a time when purity of taste is not in the ascendant—at a time when a single class of readers is able to push 'Poems' into the fourteenth edition, and 'Prize Essays' into the ninth or tenth thousand, which are not more repulsive from the impudent extravagance of their doctrine than from the base tinsel of their style—at such a time, the man of real genius should be more than ever on his guard against sanctioning, by his negligence, the adulteration of our noble language.

---

* Vol. II. 310.

† In such sentences as 'the air *is* serene, the climate healthful, the '*seasons temperate*,' and a hundred of the same cast. This fault is fast spreading in modern composition, though the very sensible Grammar of Cobbett, if we recollect aright, strongly condemns it.

Digitized by Google

ART. VI.—*A Letter to Lord John Russell, M.P., on the Abolition of Church-Rates, the Cost of Parliamentary Bishops, and the Appropriation of Cathedral and Episcopal Property.* By RICHARD MOORSOM, Esq. 8vo. London: 1837.

We have placed the title of Mr Moorsom's pamphlet at the head of this article, because he appears to have been the person who suggested the plan brought forward by the Government, for settling the question of Church-Rates, by providing another fund from which the expense of keeping in repair the churches of the Establishment might be supplied. He states his proposal very distinctly, and urges it with much ability. In some of his opinions we may not concur, but whoever approved of the Ministerial plan must give a general assent to his doctrine; for the two schemes differ not at all in principle, although there is a considerable diversity in the extent to which the principle should be carried. We shall afterwards give the outline of his plan in his own words.

Few questions, certainly, have occurred of late years more calculated to engage the feelings of the country than this of church-rates. Independently of its bearing upon the political contests of the day, and the consequent interest which it excited among the different parties that divide the people, it connected itself with the great question of an Established Church, and could hardly be discussed without bringing into the field almost all the principles upon which that question must be decided. Indeed, considered in one point of view, the two questions are identical. Whoever denies that the State ought to support one sect in preference to all others, must deny that any portion of the public revenue, in whatever way raised—any portion of public property, from whatever source derived—ought to be applied towards repairing churches, or defraying the expense of church service. But it does not necessarily follow that he who maintains the expediency of a church establishment must also hold that those expenses should be defrayed by the State; because he may think it sufficient for the State to support the ministers, and leave the congregations to repair the churches. If, indeed, he argues that the provision already set apart for supporting the ministers is sufficient to repair the churches, we shall presently find that this view resolves itself into the support of the Church out of the public funds; and therefore he is plainly arguing as the advocate of an Establishment: but, on the other hand, by throwing any portion of the charge upon the members of the Established Church

Digitized by Google

exclusively, he is taking the opposite side of the question; and thus he cannot be said to hold as consistently by either doctrine as those do who, on the one side, maintain that the whole costs of the Establishment should be provided by the whole community, and, on the other side, hold that each sect should support its own church service. It is necessary that we should first state the facts connected with this subject, some of which are matter of dispute; but others, and those the most important, cannot be questioned at all.

The sum raised yearly by church-rates amounts to near L.600,000. This is expended in the repair of the fabric, in providing books, vestments, and other things necessary for the performance of the service, and in some things which are matters of accommodation and comfort, and some which are mere ornament and luxury, for those who frequent the church. It is not estimated that above L.250,000 a-year would be required for defraying all that part of the expenditure which is necessary—that is, for keeping the churches in repair, and decently performing the service. At present much of the expense is unnecessary, and that in two ways. *First*, there are many things paid for which ought not to be paid for at all, as ornaments of different kinds, and music beyond what is needful; *secondly*, there is so little control over the expenditure, so imperfect an audit of accounts, that much more is paid than the price of what is got for the money. Those great abuses are almost entirely confined to the towns; but they have been unquestionably the principal causes of the resistance to the rates.

Having mentioned Church Music, we must be allowed, in passing, to say a word or two on that subject. In this Presbyterian country there are objections to all instrumental music as part of the church service—objections of a religious nature, and into these we do not enter. But we think one consideration deserves the attention of our southern neighbours, and that in reforming their Establishment they would do well to bear it in mind. The great object is usually to make the congregation join in singing to the praise of God. This, indeed, is not only the thing in view upon religious grounds, but as a matter of taste and feeling; for nothing can be more sweet, or more touching, than the chant of a whole assembled congregation. Even when they do not sing in parts, but all sound the same notes, there is an effect produced by the concert which the finest singing of a few voices never can reach. Now, there is no more certain way of preventing the congregation from joining than to have a Band or Choir. All else become mere listeners: the artists only are the perform-

Digitized by Google

ers. But an organ alone has this effect, unless it is a very small and feeble one,—little more than enough to give the pitch, or to be a slight accompaniment; and then it is really useless, not to say somewhat ridiculous. There are obvious reasons, however, why it will always keep its place in the cathedrals and large churches of England. There are none to make us in Scotland regret having expelled it. The improvement of our sacred music deserves and has often received the attention of those intrusted with the superintendence of ecclesiastical matters amongst us. But they are not likely—even they who have of late become so fond of imitating the hierarchy across the Tweed, for which some appear to sigh—are not likely to risk the destruction of our simple vocal system by any attempt at restoring the organ.

The sums levied for these expenses of church repair and service, are raised in each parish by the votes of the parishioners, in vestry assembled. When a rate is thus voted, it may be collected by the parish officers, and the law will compel payment: of this there is no doubt. But whether or not the parish can be compelled to *make* a rate, is a question at present in dispute among the lawyers of Westminster Hall. Into this controversy it is quite unnecessary to enter; because it is admitted on all hands that the remedy is so doubtful, and so full of difficulty, as to have deterred those interested from having recourse to it. Rates have been repeatedly refused; and no application has been made to any of the courts in order to coerce the vestry, or to arm the church-wardens with power to levy at once. This indicates a full persuasion on the part of those interested, and of their legal advisers, either that such an application to the courts would be in vain, or that if it were granted, and the process issued, the resistance would be insuperable. This, in fact, is the practical consideration—what are the kind of places where the rate is refused? Not country parishes, but large and populous towns. Take one instance. In Manchester a rate was refused, after five days' poll, by a majority of 11,000 to about 4000 of the vestry. A scrutiny was demanded, and the majority was found to be in favour of the rate. But no attempt was made to levy it, although there is no question at all that the law would have compelled the inhabitants to pay. This happened in 1834, and the same thing took place the year before. Now, if the church-wardens did not venture to enforce the rate laid by the vestry when the law was clearly with them, and its process was at their service, it is quite clear that had the majority been against them, they never would have dreamt of applying to the courts; because, after undergoing all the expense of the litigation, and running all the risk of failing, they would only have been in the position of obtaining a remedy

Digitized by Google

which they could not venture to use. No one, indeed, doubts that, were any attempt made to enforce a rate to which there was a general repugnance, so many persons would suffer their goods to be seized that no sale could be effected, and the whole operation would become impracticable.

We may, therefore, assume that some change in the law is absolutely necessary, in order to enforce the payment of the rate; and it seems equally clear, that unless all men's minds are brought to regard the subject with more favour than it now generally finds, no law can be executed, even were it possible for any to be passed, which shall force those to pay for the repair and the service of the churches, who do not agree with the Establishment in their religious opinions. The question has become one of conscience among all, or nearly all, the Dissenters. They care not for the amount demanded, be it ever so trifling; they regard the payment as a violence done to their religious principles and feelings; as such, they seek to be protected against it; and, as such, they are prepared to offer it the passive resistance of suffering payment to be enforced by a process which cannot, in most cases, be executed with effect.

This is so decisive that there hardly seems any occasion for entering into further details upon this part of the question. Yet it may be well to mention one or two particulars in illustration of the necessity for some other change in the law, than merely removing the doubts which exist, whether or not church-rates may be compulsorily levied. No one has been bold enough to recommend that the vestry should be passed by entirely, and the church-wardens authorized to lay a rate at once, and levy it without any interposition of the parishioners. Then yearly contention is quite inevitable, and scenes of necessity take place utterly destructive of all harmony in the community; nay, grossly outraging the religious feelings of its members. It appears that in Sheffield this contention began twenty years ago. Attempts were made annually to obtain a vote of the vestry. As often as the meeting was called, a violent struggle ensued, and an adjournment was carried. In 1822 there was a scene of personal violence, occasioned by the contest which party should occupy the chair of the meeting, and the rate was refused. In 1824, tired of only postponing the question, and thus getting rid of it rather than deciding it, the opponents of the rate carried a resolution against it, 'on the ground of its injustice.' Since that time no attempt has been made to obtain the rate; and thus all this violence, and all these unseemly conflicts, have ended in its extinction. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who stated this fact in the House of Commons, mentioned also the case of a parish in Yorkshire, where a rate of 2s. 9d. being laid, a gentleman

Digitized by Google

disputed its legality, carried the question into court, had a decision against him, and paid L.250 costs; but no rate has ever been granted in that parish since. It is, however, from Lord Stanley, rather than from Mr Rice, that we choose to borrow the language in which such things may fitly be described:—'Suppose' (said that noble Lord, in 1834, with equal eloquence and truth) 'that 'year after year the Church should be triumphant in maintain-'ing the payment of these rates to the uttermost farthing, and 'in maintaining every abuse connected with their collection and 'distribution, do you think that such a course of proceeding 'would be advantageous to the interests of the Church, or lead to 'the promotion of true religion? Consider the heart-burnings, the 'acrimonious revilings, the constant quarrels, the jealousies, the 'recrimination, the profanation of the church itself, where these 'meetings take place, by which, year after year, the cause of 'true religion is violated and profaned, the house of God dese-'crated, and the very worst possible feelings excited among the 'majority of the people at large. I say that such a state of things 'imperatively calls for relief.' (*Mirror of Parliament*, II. 1167.)

Something else must therefore be done than enabling the existing law to be enforced; and something in a very different direction. Let us consider the objection to the rate, and see on what it is grounded, and how any other method of providing for the expense can be devised, so as to be free from that objection.

The Dissenters are not certainly the only persons who object to the rate. All who deny that there should be any preference given by the state to one sect over others, of course object to any public provision for the repair or service of churches. But the Dissenters, whether they object to an Establishment or not, hold that they may consistently object to the rate; because they are thereby compelled, say they, to support a Church of whose doctrines they disapprove. Thus, an attempt has been made to show that a Dissenter may be friendly to the existence of an Establishment, and yet hold it a violation of his religious liberty to make him pay for maintaining it. This, we own, does appear to us extremely absurd. That any one, Dissenter or Churchman, may most consistently agree in favour of an Establishment, and yet contend that its expenses should be paid otherwise than by rates, is quite indisputable. But that the Dissenter stands in a different relation to this question from the Churchman, unless he denies the right of the State to patronise one sect more than another, and holds it a grievance to him that any preference should be given to the Church, appears quite incomprehensible. His grievance is, that having to pay one for his own worship, of which he approves, and by which he profits, he has to pay over again

Digitized by Google

for the worship of others from which he dissents, and by which he can profit nothing. He pays twice over: once voluntarily, because he must have religious instruction from his own teachers; and once compulsorily, that others may be instructed who bear no part in the expense of his instruction. That this is a great hardship upon him no one can doubt. It forms the principal argument against an Establishment; nor is it any answer at all to urge, as some inconsiderately do, that the Dissenters have an interest in the Church, because it teaches the people at large, improves their morals, and so increases the security of the whole community, Dissenters as well as Churchmen. No doubt it does; but this advantage the Churchmen enjoy, as well as the Dissenters, and they (the Churchmen) enjoy it along with the benefits of religious instruction to themselves, for one payment—whereas the Dissenters have to pay a second time for their own religious instruction. The hardship, then, is indisputable, and there is no benefit whatever to be set off against it. But then, if the Dissenter approves of having an Establishment, it seems impossible that there should be one without his suffering this hardship; unless, indeed, some fund existed wholly independent of the State—some fund over which the State had no control—something in the nature of private property, and sufficient to defray the whole expense of supporting the Established Church. If any portion of that expense falls upon the funds of the State, whether local or general —whether raised by rates in parishes, or by taxes on the community at large, or in any way whatever constituting the public purse, the Dissenter must be burdened to support the Established Church, unless a tax were specially levied upon Churchmen and no others, which would be utterly contrary to the very principle of an Establishment.

It seems to us evident that those Dissenters who profess to approve of an Established Church, and yet complain of paying rates, are led away by an indistinct conception of the nature of the funds by which the Establishment is maintained. Let us for a moment consider how this maintenance must of necessity be provided. It can only be in one of two ways—either by some property, some fund having been set apart for the use of the Church, and placed wholly beyond the control of the State; or by taxation, whether directly or indirectly. In order that there may be a particular fund set apart, there must be some body to whom that fund belongs—some corporation in whom the property is vested. But suppose for the present that the Church is such a body (we shall afterwards show the contrary, but admit this difficulty, for argument's sake, to be got over), and that there is a separate fund. It must be one wholly beyond reach of the State, in order to make

Digitized by Google

it a fund in which the Dissenter has no interest. Moreover, it must be adequate to supply the whole wants of the Church, in order to support the Church without any aid from the community; that is, from the Dissenters, who form part of the community. If a shilling be required from the general fund of the State, the Dissenter contributes, and is aggrieved. Again—if the property said to be set apart for church uses is under the control of the State, it is public property, and may be used as the State thinks fit. If so, the Dissenter has exactly the same interest in it with the Churchman. He has precisely the same right to have it applied for the support of his worship that the Churchman has. It belongs to the public as much as the consolidated fund, or any other branch of the revenue. If it is used wholly for the maintenance of the Church, the Dissenter has to pay for his own religious instruction, while the Churchman receives his for nothing. Whether the latter receives this instruction at the joint expense of himself and the Dissenter, or from the fund which the Dissenter never can profit by, makes no difference whatever in the relative situations and treatment of the two parties. Suppose (to simplify the matter) that there are two Churchmen and two Dissenters, each requiring a hundred a-year to be paid for the support of their respective ministers; and suppose the Dissenters have to pay as much as the Churchmen for the support of the Church minister, while the Churchmen have to pay nothing for the support of the Dissenting minister. Each of the Churchmen will pay fifty pounds a-year, and each of the Dissenters a hundred, or fifty pounds more than the Churchmen. Suppose now that the separate fund pays the hundred for the Church minister, then the Churchmen pay nothing, and the Dissenters pay fifty pounds each—that is, they pay fifty pounds more than the Churchmen, as before—so that the Church expenses being defrayed out of the separate fund, makes no difference whatever in the *relative* payments of the parties.

The whole question then comes to this—whether or not the fund is really separate?—whether it is one in which the community has no share, or one which belongs to the community, and is applied at its pleasure? If it is of the former description, the Dissenter has no right to complain; because his neighbour, having obtained by the bounty of some third party the means of worshipping cost-free, makes himself no worse off. But is the fund called Church property of this description? Is it really something belonging to the Church, and beyond the power of the State?

In one sense, it plainly is not beyond the control of the State, because the supreme power in the community may dispose of

Digitized by Google

this property as it may of every individual's and every corporate body's property. But this is only by an act of power; it is an interference with the proprietor's right. Has the State no other authority over the property of the Church than it has over the property of individuals?—that is to say, no right to touch it, unless in order to accomplish some object necessary, or in the highest degree expedient for the community at large, and then only upon making the most ample compensation. Surely there can be no doubt that the State *has* a right to deal with it in a very different manner, and that it has at all times exercised this right. All that has been done with tithe at various times,—all that has been done respecting Church lands,—shows that the property of the Church stands on a very different foundation from that of individuals. But in the very nature of the thing there is an essential difference. *First*, the proprietor is wanting in the case of the Church; and, *secondly*, if you admit that there is a proprietor, he holds by a quite different tenure,—a tenure inconsistent with the supposition of ordinary property.

First, The proprietor is wanting. There is no such thing as a church considered apart from the community. Men argue on this subject as if the Clergy were the Church, and formed a corporate body. Having assumed this, they suppose the property to be vested in it as a body. It is, however, perfectly well known that the clergy are no corporation,—that they have not one of the qualities or incidents of a corporation,—and that the Church is what the Thirty-nine Articles define it to be, 'a congregation of faithful men, in which the word of God is preached' (*Article* 19). The laity form just as much a part of this congregation as the clergy; and no one certainly has ever gone so far as to maintain that tithe and church-lands belong to the lay and clerical members of the Establishment jointly. Corporations indeed there are of the clergy. Each bishop and each parson is a corporation *sole*, and each chapter a corporation *corporate* or aggregate. Then, can it be said that the property is vested in those numerous corporations? This proposition is much more easily maintained than the other; but, unfortunately, it has been wholly disregarded at all times by the legislature, which has acted on the assumption that no such proposition could be supported. For if the property of each bishop, chapter, and parson be at all similar to that of lay corporations, or of individuals, how can it be said that the legislature is entitled to take from one bishop or one chapter and give to another, or from all bishops and chapters rateably, in order to increase the income of poor clergymen,—that is, to transfer the property from one corporation to another? And yet this is the thing in part done, and in part recommended

Digitized by Google

by the very men who hold the highest doctrines on the inviolable nature of ecclesiastical property. Four years ago, the legislature abolished ten Irish bishoprics, threw the revenues of those sees into a fund for increasing other incomes, and reduced the revenues of the remaining sees in order to increase the same fund. Did any one ever hear of a bill for the more effectually equalising the incomes of *corporate towns?* Or, did any one ever dream of abolishing ten rich peerages, and seizing on their estates, in order to diminish the number of the poor nobility? Those who are the most indignant at any portion of what is termed the Church property being taken for purposes not immediately connected with the Establishment, think that they have solved the difficulty, and preserved their consistency by taking a distinction between *diverting* and *distributing*. They deny that there is any right to apply the property beyond the Establishment, but hold that within the Establishment it may rightfully be parcelled out at the pleasure of the State. This is clearly another form of the fallacy which supposes the Church to be one corporate body. Even if it were, the interfering with its property, and compelling it to apply that property in a particular way, though among its own members, would be a dealing with corporate rights wholly unknown in the case of real corporations, with property admitted to be such. But as the Church is only a number of corporations, it is clear that to interfere and distribute the property, is, in reality, not to parcel out the property among the different members of one body; but to take from a certain number of corporate bodies, in order to bestow upon another set of corporate bodies. Nothing, therefore, can be more certain than that this distinction is wholly untenable, and that there is nothing in the case like a proprietor.

But so, *secondly*, is there also nothing like property. The mode in which we have just observed it to be dealt with shows this sufficiently; but there is another peculiarity which at once destroys all resemblance to property, in the ordinary sense of the word,—namely, the conditions upon which it is possessed. It is inherent in, and essential to, the very nature of property, that the enjoyment of it should be the main object. It is property, chiefly because it is for the use of the owner. But the funds which are enjoyed by the clergy are a remuneration for *services* performed by them. The main object is the service; and the revenue is a stipend in consideration for the service performed. It is not merely that a property is given and enjoyed, subject to the condition of performing a service; but the service is the principal matter; and a fund is established out of which a provision is made for supporting those who do that service.

Digitized by Google

We therefore may perceive that there is in reality no possibility of avoiding the position, that Church property is, to all intents and purposes, public property;—a portion of the funds belonging to the State, and over which the legislature has the undoubted right of distribution and of division; and has the duty of applying it so as best to answer the ends for which all public property is placed under the control of the legislature—namely, to promote the civil and religious interests of the community. If it is better for these interests that the whole or a portion of this fund should be applied to maintain a Church Establishment, to that it should be devoted. If any other mode of applying it is more advantageous, that mode should be preferred. But no distinction can be drawn between this and all the other funds of the State; and the Church is no more a corporation within the State, having a right to the exclusive possession and management of the funds hitherto destined for its support, than the army or the revenue departments of the public service, are corporate bodies, entitled to the portion of the public income hitherto appropriated to their sustentation. We are very far from putting the Church and these departments on the same footing in other respects. But upon the question of having a corporate existence, and a separate property—an existence apart from the other orders of men, and the other public functionaries—a property exempt from the control of the State—they all stand in the same position.

It becomes the more necessary to keep these principles steadily in view, because they form the only possible ground upon which the fund proposed by the Government as a substitute for Church-rates, can be rightfully appropriated to that use.

The plan was this: the lands possessed by the bishops and chapters are now let upon leases of twenty-one years, in general renewable every seven years for a fine, which may be varied by agreement between the lessor and lessee; or they are let upon lives paying a fine on replacing each that drops. Take the case of leases for twenty-one years, because the same reasoning will apply to those on lives. For the most part, a very small rent is reserved, but the fine bears a proportion to the real yearly value. It is most usually two, or two and a-half years of that real value. But if the parties cannot agree, it is at the option of either to terminate the contract; that is, the tenant, if he does not choose to pay the fine demanded, may continue to occupy, without paying either that or the next fine at the end of the fourteenth year; and, at the end of twenty-one years from his last renewal, his lease will expire. The bishop, or chapter, in like manner, if they prefer letting the lease run out to receiving the fines, may do so; and, at the expiration of the twenty-one years, take pos-

Digitized by Google

session of the land, houses, tithes, or mines, and let them for their real yearly value. There are, however, certain statutes, made two centuries and a-half ago, which prevent any leases being let of those lands or tithes for a longer period; and much more is it impossible to sell the land, how profitable soever such transfer might be to the possessor. Those statutes were made to preserve the property from being wasted, and prevent incumbents from sacrificing, to their own profit, the permanent interests of the sees or chapters. The consequence of the restraints thus imposed is obvious. The most cannot be made of the property. In agricultural districts, this is comparatively of little moment, because a term of fourteen or twenty-one years is sufficiently long for a farm lease; though even here the *mesne* landlord (that is, the lessee under the Church) is not so likely to improve his land as if he had a more secure title and were certain of not being turned out by the bishop or the chapter changing the plan of management; that is, foregoing the fines, and allowing the lease to expire. But in lands situated in, or near to a town, the effects of the restriction are very serious. No one, of course, will build upon ground which can only be let for one-and-twenty years; and, accordingly, unless where private Acts of Parliament have been obtained, such property is deprived of nearly its whole value. Now, what the Government proposed was, that the whole management of the Church lands should be vested in a Board of eleven Commissioners; six of them Clerical, or named by clerical persons, and five Ministers of the Crown, or their nominees. These Commissioners, it was said, were not to have the property vested in them, but this was a mere nominal distinction; for they were to have the entire and uncontrolled management of it, under the provisions and directions of the Act. The present restrictions upon leasing and alienating were of course to cease; and every lessee of Church lands was to receive a fee-simple title to his land, upon payment of a certain sum, or, if he preferred it, a corn rent, calculated upon that sum. The sum was to be twenty-five years' purchase on the real annual value, deducting the present value of the residue of his term. Thus, suppose he had fourteen years to run, and the yearly value was L.100; from L.2500 there would be deducted the present value of L.100 for fourteen years; and the remainder, say L.900, or L.1000, or whatever it might be, would be the sum to be paid, or to be commuted into a corn rent, and charged on the land. The lessees would thus be enabled to get the real value of the land in farming, and still more in building, where it was situated near large towns. The yearly revenue obtained by those means was to be applied, after paying over to the bishops and chapters the amount now received by fines and rents, first to the repairs of

Digitized by Google

the churches in place of the rates intended to be abolished, and next to augment small livings.

There were serious objections to this plan as regarded its *details;* but none of any weight to its fundamental *principles.* No difference was made between houses and land in the number of years' purchase required from the lessees; and no difference between the terms imposed upon one who held land, the value of which could be little improved by the improvement of the title, and one whose land would be trebled or quadrupled in value by the change. A person who held land in a country district, worth L.100 a-year, would have to pay L.900 or L.1000 to convert his leasehold into a fee—a change for which he would not, unless forced, have given above two or three hundred pounds; whilst a person who held land at present of the same yearly value, but close to a town, would, for the same sum, be put in possession of a large estate, by the new power of letting it on building-leases. To the one it would have been a measure of hardship; to the other a most valuable boon. It is true that the former had the less right to complain, because the Church might at any time have let his lease run out, or forced him to pay the full value;—an event now exceedingly likely to happen in consequence of the discussion which has taken place, and has made all ecclesiastical bodies better aware of the value of their lands. But the public had reason to complain of the improvidence with which the plan was framed in favour of those whose land was to be so largely increased in value, and who would have received the addition, without paying any thing like an adequate price for it. These, and other defects of a like description, mainly contributed to the unfavourable treatment of the measure in the House of Commons, as soon as its details came to be examined. But, excepting among those who were resolved to obstruct all reformation of the existing abuse, and to regard the Church lands as a domain from which the foot of the legislature was for ever fenced out, no serious objection could be raised against the sound and indisputable principle of the plan.

That principle, however, is the one which we have stated in this paper, and by no means the one laid down as its groundwork by those who propounded the measure. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, with great ability, defended it as no interference with Church property. He ingeniously urged the right of Parliament to appropriate whatever value it *added* to the Church estates. He contended with much acuteness, that as this new value was something created by the legislature, and which did not exist before, the Church could not be said to have any property in it, but that it belonged to the legislature which called it into existence. Nothing, however, can be more unsound, nothing more easily re-

Digitized by Google

futed than this argument. Once admit that the Church is a *proprietor*, as distinguished from the State—that the Church lands are private property—and there must of necessity be an end of the question. Parliament can have no conceivable right to take the additional value any more than the original estate. Nay, admit that these lands are separate property, and Parliament can have no conceivable right to meddle with the management of it at all. Even, if the intended Act had been able by some magical operation to alter the nature of the soil, and increase its fertility tenfold, that would give no one but the owner a right to the increase. The very operation of increasing the value by any such means, unless the owner consents, and upon his own terms, is utterly repugnant to the idea of property, and subversive of its rights. But all that the Act could pretend to do, was to remove the restraints which former statutes had imposed; and imposed for the purpose of protecting the property, and preserving it to the use of the Church, say the advocates of ecclesiastical rights—to the use of the State, say those who take a sounder view of the subject. In like manner, the law refuses to persons under one-and-twenty the right of conveying or leasing their estates, and to heirs of entail, or rather tenants in tail, the right to lease for more than 21 years. If an Act were passed, enabling all proprietors, and all tenants in tail, to grant 99 years' leases, could it be said that Parliament would have a right to step in and appropriate the additional value thus bestowed upon the land, by making it grantable on building-leases? It is perfectly manifest that there is but one ground upon which the measure can be rested; that is, the right of the State to deal with Church lands as public property;—a right which has been exercised with respect to every possession of the Church, both in England and Ireland, and which it is more for the true interests of the Church than of any other party to recognize in the present instance; when the object is to remove a grievance more injurious to the peace and security of the Establishment than even tithe itself.

If this plan had been so improved in its details that the objections above stated might be removed, and the full benefit of the property secured to the State, Church-rates would have been wholly extinguished, and a considerable surplus in all probability left for augmenting small livings. By giving too favourable terms to the lessees of town lands, only enough to pay the current rates, those levied for current expenses, were expected to be raised. There was a large amount, between a forth and fifth of the whole rates, left unprovided for, and which must have continued to be collected; those, namely, which went to pay the interest and extinguish the principal of the Church debt contracted under the

Digitized by Google

powers of various local Acts and charged upon the rates. For these the legal remedy is certain; it not being disputed that the levying of all this portion of the rates can be enforced by law, and no attempt being ever made to resist it. For many years to come, therefore, notwithstanding the new measure, rates would have been collected in all those parishes, and they were for the most part town parishes, where Dissenters are chiefly to be found. Nothing more is required to show the absolute necessity of so modifying the plan, before it is again brought forward, as to gain the full benefit of the change made in the Church property, and to effect the entire abolition of the rates.

Suppose, now, that the plan so improved and rendered effectual shall be carried, a great good will undoubtedly be done both to the Church and to the Dissenters. But it must not be supposed, by the one party, either that the least deviation will have been made from the principle of supporting an Establishment, or by the other, that they no longer contribute to support the Church. A portion of the public property will have been employed in maintaining the fabric, and providing for the service of all churches belonging to the Establishment. No part of that property will have been given to any other churches, and the Dissenters will still have to pay for supporting their own. In the course of the discussion and excitement that attended the progress of the measure, there was nothing on which the Dissenters insisted more than the evil of throwing the expense in question on the Consolidated Fund, according to Lord Althorp's plan of 1834; and Mr Rice argued at great length, and with much ingenuity, against that plan. Yet in principle it differs not at all from the new plan, and on no ground can the one be supported which does not also support the other. Mr Rice's first objection was, that Lord Althorp's plan deprived the parishioners in vestry assembled of the power they now possess of refusing a rate. 'They could no longer say Ay, or No, to any proposition for 'a rate. They would be deprived of the power they now possess.' Does the new plan give them any such negative—any such control over the expenditure? The Commissioners in London, and the churchwardens, or the archdeacon, or whoever looks after the affairs of the Church, without any kind of interference on the part of the parish, are to order the work and spend the money. The difference only is, that they take it from one public fund instead of another—from the land revenue fund instead of the consolidated fund. The other argument urged by Mr Rice has more plausibility, though in substance it is not at all more sound. He says that in a great number of parishes there are no rates. Indeed, he seems to think that there are 5000 parishes, where, from particular charitable funds having been provided by

Digitized by Google

benefactors in former times, no rates are required to be levied; and he contends that it is unfair to make the inhabitants of those parishes contribute towards the service of the Church in other parishes, which they would do indirectly by paying the taxes which go to the consolidated fund. But where would this kind of reasoning end? Does it not apply to every one instance in which any money is expended by the public upon local objects? There is scarce an item in the yearly votes for 'miscellaneous 'services,' which is not liable to the self same 'decisive 'objection.' It goes, in fact, almost to the destruction of all government, and all social union; and would reduce all administration of the public funds and all raising of the taxes to a system of parochial polity—nay, it would justify or rather require still further subdivisions of authorities where interests were still more subdivided; because in the larger parishes, and in the more populous manufacturing towns, one district and one street might justly complain that they were made to pay for the service of other districts and streets in which they had no direct interest. We should be entitled to conclude that Mr Rice can never have sanctioned any vote for schools (to take a case quite identical with the one in question), because there are many parishes where schools are not wanted, and where not a farthing of the grant can ever be received; and yet those parishes pay to the consolidated fund from which the grant is taken. Every one must perceive that if there is to be an Established Church, in one way or another its support must come from the country at large; and whether the land revenue, or the revenue raised by taxes is taken for the purpose, cannot, in point of principle, make the least difference.

But it is said that the Dissenters would feel aggrieved by paying money which they knew went into a general fund, out of which a portion was taken to repair the Established churches. We have shown that the Church land is public property; and if its revenues were not expended in repairing the churches, they would be expended in relief of the public burdens, and thus lessen the taxes now levied. Consequently, the Dissenter pays indirectly to the Establishment by the new plan, just as certainly as he would have paid had the charge been thrown on the consolidated fund. He does not indeed pay so much, but the Church does not receive more; because if the sums wanted had been provided out of that fund without altering the present management of Church lands, those lands would either not have yielded the sums required, or if they had, the lessees would probably have received nearly the whole value. Upon the point of conscience, however, the amount is immaterial.

But another observation must strike every one who hears it

Digitized by Google

alleged as a grievance to Dissenters that they should pay taxes if any part goes to the Church. We freely admit the great grievance to them of an Establishment; we can easily comprehend how every Dissenter should, for the reasons already stated, object to all establishments whatever; but we are now upon the conscientious objection to paying money into a fund, part of which is to support the Church—an objection used as something peculiar and not falling within the scope of the general argument against an Establishment. Surely this is a groundless distinction. The whole government of the country, in all its branches, protects, maintains, supports the Church. Whoever pays taxes contributes to the support of the Church. This is necessarily involved in the very idea of an Establishment; and this is the very reason why the Dissenters have a right to oppose an Establishment. Thus the taxes which support the administration of justice and the police pay for the power which the parson has to enforce payment of tithe. But no Dissenter objects to the money he pays being so expended. The Quakers conscientiously object to tithe, and suffer their goods to be taken rather than pay. They have quite as strong an objection to war. But all the expenses of war are paid out of the taxes, and yet the Quakers never object to payment of all taxes during war. Why, while they know that part of every tax goes to warlike purposes, should they not make the same objection to the payment of any tax which the Dissenters generally now make to charging the Church-rates on the consolidated fund? A Dissenter, by paying taxes, would no more pay for repairing churches than a Quaker pays for equipping expeditions, the objects of which he utterly abhors.

The more the matter is considered, therefore, the more clearly will it appear that, in as far as regards the principle, there is no kind of difference between charging the expense of repairing churches upon the consolidated fund and upon the land revenue. But there is a material difference between either of these methods of settling the question and leaving it in its present state; for the grievance is much greater to the Dissenter of being assessed to pay the Church service and repairs in his own parish, where a majority, who, by the supposition, are members of the Establishment, provide partly at his cost for their own accommodation, in which he cannot share. The bulk of the objections to rates certainly is the objection which may be made to an Established Church generally; but part of the objection is peculiar to this method of making provision for the Church, and it is by much the most offensive and vexatious form in which the burden is cast upon those who do not conform to the Establishment. The transfer of this burden to the consolidated fund is objectionable, but not on

Digitized by Google

principle more objectionable than transferring it to the Church lands. It is true that so much is saved to the public revenue by the latter plan, and to this extent it deserves the preference. But if after using the Church lands for the purpose, there is found to be a manifest necessity for more than the surplus can afford, in order to make the livings of the poorer clergy sufficient for their decent maintenance, and if after every thing shall be done which a better distribution of the other property of the Church can effect towards accomplishing this object, the public revenue must in the end bear the burden; for as long as an Established Church shall be the settled policy of the country, there must be a decent maintenance provided for its clergy. Whether or not the whole property, as it is called, of the Church, is sufficient for this purpose, in whatever way distributed, has long been a question involved in great controversy. It is at least plain that all things must be tried to make the distribution, before any recourse is had to the ordinary revenues of the State,—those raised by taxations; and it is precisely because the measure lately propounded consists of a fair attempt to make this distribution, as far as the surplus is concerned, and because it casts the burden of the repairs upon the Church funds, that its principle has received such unqualified approbation from all who feel the necessity of reforming, and thus repairing and strengthening the Establishment.

The whole body of the Dissenters throughout England and Wales warmly approved of the plan. In this sentiment they were heartily joined by the greater part of those belonging to the Established Church who favour liberal opinions. By some oversight, the errors in the details of the measure were not corrected when the sense of the House of Commons was first taken upon the merits of the plan. This alarmed the lessees, and many steady reformers joined in their dislike to the proposition. A majority of twenty-three was all that could be persuaded to support it; and this on the subsequent division dwindled down to a majority of five, which sealed the fate of the measure for the present. There can be little doubt that the efforts which the Church party had made, and the misconception of the nature of the plan which had spread through the country during the long time allowed to intervene between the two stages of the proceeding, tended to influence many members who would otherwise have been most averse to withdrawing their support from the Government. Their conduct is, however, not the less to be lamented. They have given a serious blow to the cause of liberal opinions; they have made it appear that narrow, bigoted, and intolerant views bear a sway in Parliament, and have a vogue in the country far beyond what we can hav

Digitized by Google

any reason to believe is the case. The party to whom such views are dear, have, in consequence, become more sanguine, more active, and more daring. The doctrines, not merely of those who object to all Establishments, but of those who are friendly to the Church, yet anxious, both for its own safety and the interests of the community at large, to see it reformed, have received a check sufficient to arrest the progress they were making in the country. The stability of the Reform Government has been for a time endangered; and nothing but the successful issue of the approaching election can restore the cause of reform and of good government to the position which it occupied before the untoward occurrence happened. It is fit that these things should be distinctly stated, in order that lukewarm and timid, though well-intentioned supporters of liberal opinions, may be aware of the mischief which ensues from suffering themselves to be alarmed by the clamour so easily raised upon questions of this description; while their merits are imperfectly understood by one part of the community, and industriously misrepresented by another. That sufficient pains were not taken to make the plan better understood, as well as to meet the first objections urged against it, and remove the occasion of those objections which were well founded, is equally to be lamented and blamed. The lesson which this experience is fitted to convey, will not, we may confidently hope, be thrown away; and a new Parliament may be expected to settle satisfactorily for all parties a question, in the final arrangement of which all have a very deep interest.

We commenced this article by rendering justice to the author of the tract, the title of which is placed at its head. It was published in January, and contains, with some remarks and some opinions in which we do not concur, a distinct outline of the plan brought forward in March by the Government. For the details, especially as relating to lessees, he is of course not answerable, because he does not enter into them. We subjoin the statement in his own words; premising that although he speaks of impropriate tithes only, and the Government plan regards Church lands, there is no difference whatever in principle, in the modes of dealing with these two kinds of Cathedral property:—

'1. That the power of leasing these impropriate tithes should be taken from the bishops and dignitaries of the Church altogether, and vested in commissioners.

'2. That a return be made to the commissioners of the amount of fines received on the leasing of such tithes, for a period of time sufficiently long to afford a fair yearly average.

'3. That the value of the tithes of such impropriations, levied by the

Digitized by Google

lessees, during the same period of time, be as far as possible ascertained; in aid of which enquiry, the overseers of the poor, in parishes where such lessees are assessed to the poor's-rate, might be applied to.

'4. That, on compensation being awarded to the lessees, for the surrender of their leases, or as those leases expire, the commissioners levy such impropriate tithes on the public account.

'5. That, from the tithes thus levied by the commissioners, be paid, yearly, to the bishops and dignitaries of the Church, a sum equal to the yearly proportion of the fines received by them, during the time taken for fixing the average.

'6. That the surplus be appropriated to provide for the CHURCH-RATES, the AUGMENTATION OF SMALL LIVINGS, and to any other PUBLIC SERVICES.'

ART. VII.—*England under Seven Administrations*. By ALBANY FONBLANQUE, Esq. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1837.

THE most favourable point of view in which modern civilisation can be regarded is its diffusive spirit, and the fact that its principal productions, almost of every kind, are readily distributed and capable of being generally enjoyed. In the earlier periods of history human nature seems to rise to a greater height here and there in individual instances; and this or that particular order and profession stand out in more picturesque relief. But men, as social beings and members of a community, have been infinite gainers by the character which the last two centuries have decisively impressed upon modern Europe. Here, as in other cases, first appearances are so far deceitful, that the effect of the progress of society in this respect is as easily, as it is frequently, misrepresented. If nature has but few favourites, and those individuals rather than classes, civilisation tends to reduce the value even of these exceptions, and to equalize the rights and enjoyments of the family of mankind. In proportion as a people is prudent enough to take advantage of the opportunities which civilisation presents at its several stages, the laws by which a well-constituted society will be regulated and move onward, are found to be as clear and comprehensive as the most uniform laws of nature. In this manner the conveniences of life, and the resources of art and science, may gradually become accessible to all, in the same sense, at least, and to the same extent as natural blessings. It is very evident that even our literature is taking this turn at present.

Digitized by Google

Voltaire has drawn a brilliant picture of a single day of Athenian greatness, when some favoured citizen, after listening to Pericles in the Assembly, and worshipping with Phidias in the Parthenon, could adjourn from a play of Sophocles to a supper with Aspasia. The genius of antiquity in its most triumphant combinations was the privilege only of a few, and that for a single generation. It could neither perpetuate itself nor spread. How different in this from the universal empire to which modern civilisation seems advancing; especially under the marvels and the influence of our own age and country! The English picture, it is true, is a great deal less poetical; but it makes up for that inferiority by the substantial nature of its subject; and in the numbers who can share the advantages which it bodies forth. What a time it would take to make a Roman Emperor or a Feudal Baron understand the facilities and comforts, the cultivation, independence, and self-respect, which may now be realized in the daily life of every skilful and provident mechanic. The cheap and rapid journey by railroad or steam-boat, the warm glass-windowed home, the clean shirt and cotton stockings, the far-brought luxuries of the tea-table and the pipe, his small shelf of well-adapted knowledge, and, above all, his newspaper. How has the last, with its hundred eyes and hundred hands, been searching and ransacking the world in his behalf, and collecting for him, from every quarter, tidings of whatever has happened, great or small, instructive or amusing, the week that he has been away! The rich and great seem now often hard put to it to find exclusive distinctions for themselves. The physical wellbeing of a community is, we admit, an indispensable basis for every thing else. Without it, all the rest is fearfully insecure. Political economy has charge of that. But on that basis, when its conditions are once thoroughly understood and complied with, a higher average of virtue, learning, and accomplishment—of moral and intellectual pleasures—must, under existing circumstances, necessarily follow, than, we believe, the body of a people ever before attained.

In the future, which we are anticipating, newspapers will have to perform an important part. They are already an essential element and symbol of the peculiar spirit and tendency which characterise our civilisation. There is no place to which they do not penetrate; no object which they may not serve; no description of person to whom they are not welcome. The readers of the 'Task' gratefully remember how much they contributed to enliven the winter evenings of a retirement as profound as Cowper's. Paley, whose wisdom is always shown in making the most of every pleasure, dwells upon a newspaper as one of the grave advan-

Digitized by Google

tages of a free government. Its necessity in the present times is singularly exemplified in the case of the 'Liberia Gazette,' which has been successfully started and conducted from the first by a colony of emancipated negroes on the coast of Africa. It would be curious to compare it with the first manifestation of the kind in England, which Elizabeth, with the instinct and in the policy of the great cause she headed, called into being, to be the moral antagonist of the Armada. As often as some particular emergency, still more where the general nature of the constitution requires that the opinions and wishes of the public at large should be consulted, an instrument must be provided by which the opinions and feelings of the people may be, as far as is practicable, guided and developed, as well as communicated and ascertained. Whatever is the assistance to be got from other sources, and by other means, and although newspapers may be better qualified to distribute knowledge than to create it, nevertheless, for the real political education of the majority of a numerous population—for the bringing them into counsel and into action, it is clear that it is on publications of the nature and form of newspapers, that we must principally depend.

Heeren observes that Homer formed the character of the Greek nation; and that in Greece itself, lawgivers and rulers were the persons who were the most active in making his poems known, and in saving them from perishing. The connexion between their employments, as politicians and editors of Homer, is apparent from the manner in which the subject is introduced in the laws of Solon. 'In one respect,' Heeren adds, 'those lawgi-'vers were unquestionably in the right: a nation whose civilisa-'tion rested on the Iliad and Odyssey could not easily become a 'nation of slaves.' The philosophy of legislating by means of Minstrels, is akin to a saying which sober people have been much surprised to find attributed to a statesman. According to it, Lord Chatham did not care who made the Laws, provided that he was to have the making of the Ballads. Looking to the prosaic character of our times, newspapers hold a place at present between what ballads perhaps once were, and laws some time or other may be. As far as our contemporary civilisation rests upon them, their immediate influence in favour of the sublime and excellent, may fall short of the flight attempted by epic poems; but they will probably prove, in their humbler way (and we are sure we speak of it with all due reverence for poets), as good securities for freedom.

It is worse than folly to undervalue the use and influence of newspapers, or ungraciously to withhold from their conductors the rank and honours of society, which the duty required of them,

Digitized by Google

if it is to be properly discharged, implies. The world knows as yet but little of the limit of the circulation which writings of this kind can reach; and still less of the benefits which they may confer, or of the talent which may be invested in them. The daily press of the United States is some evidence upon the first point. The *Examiner*, under the charge of Mr Fonblanque, is our best English example of the last.

Unless the 'Beauties of Cobbett' is to be considered an exception, a collection, in three volumes, of the principal leading articles of the *Examiner* is the first occasion on which the 'happy pages 'which no critics criticise,' have been brought regularly within our province. It is natural that their author should wish to preserve them in a more lasting form. The correspondents and intelligencers who gleaned political and personal gossip for the edification of their contemporaries in former days, followed a much meaner calling. The difference is immense between their meagre communications and the finished essays in which Mr Fonblanque disposes, by argument or satire, in irony or in stories, of the principal topic of the week. However, the difference between writing politics for the week and for posterity, is still greater. So much so, that we do not apprehend the present experiment will be successful enough to tempt the editors of other journals to reprint, either for gain or glory, their favourite productions. It may be long before another opportunity occurs. We will therefore refrain from following Mr Fonblanque to the field, in the ten years' war which he for the most part has carried on against the 'seven administrations' which have represented, in quick succession, the fluctuating and nearly-balanced interests of that critical period. Nobody can have thought at all seriously of the condition and prospects of the daily press without perceiving the disadvantages and temptations to which this species of authorship is exposed. Whether these difficulties are capable of being, or likely to be at all removed—or how far, and in what manner—are questions worth enquiring into. An imperfect answer to these questions is all that we can be helped to by the present volumes. But the answer, as far as it goes, is greatly to Mr Fonblanque's credit, and is, we would fain hope, on the whole, encouraging.

The disadvantages alluded to, are, in part, general and inherent in the nature of the case. They are, in part, occasional and special, varying with the nature of that portion of the public which is more particularly addressed, and with the character of the writers who address it.

From the first of these disadvantages, of course, there is no escape. The interest of news is that it is news; and a journalist

Digitized by Google

can no more retain or recall the charm of novelty for his subjects than the milliner can prolong the charm of youth. It is not only news, properly so called, which will not keep longer than mackarel: nine-tenths of the other things out of which a newspaper is composed, are merely a kind of surrounding-atmosphere, necessary indeed to carry on respiration, and to 'paint the 'clouds which beautify our days,' but fit for nothing farther. Classical works will be made from such materials when lasting statues are made from ice that melts in the sculptor's hands. The experiment has been tried by as great artists in this line as the world will probably ever see. But to create a permanent interest in temporary topics has surpassed the logic and pleasantry of Pascal, Paul Courier, and Swift. It is a humbling reflection for politicians to think how soon affairs and persons, once the absorbing object of national excitement, pass away—and how often pass away to be utterly forgotten! A few sands fall from the hour-glass which Time is holding in that stern motionless hand, and all is over!

> 'Hi motus animorum atque hæc certamina tanta
> Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescunt.'

Different styles of composition are best adapted for different purposes. That which a newspaper writer will find most popular and effective, may be perhaps an additional obstacle in the way of his ultimate reputation. He has to debate in writing. What is wanted of him are the ready arts and talents which that intellectual wrestling-match requires. To be close, personal, and contentious,—to be quick, antithetical, and dramatic,—is on this occasion worth all the refined philosophy and generalized wisdom in the world. When Burke rose in the House of Commons, members crept away to dine. When Pitt or Fox got up, they rushed back from their dinners to their seats. Yet before the generation which so treated them was in its grave, the speeches of Burke had already a thousand readers where the best reported speeches of Pitt or Fox had one! These intellectual distinctions are grounded originally, no doubt, in nature; but they are also undoubtedly multiplied and confirmed by the narrow habits which grow out of the division of labour and favourite pursuits exclusively indulged. The great object of forensic eloquence is the *verdict*; of Parliamentary eloquence, the *vote*; of newspaper eloquence, the *morning's sale*. In comparison, wider views of contemporary celebrity and influence are little thought of; posthumous immortality, not at all. It often happens that a more striking effect may be produced for a short time by cheap and coarse colours. When the work to be done consists of a

Digitized by Google

rapid succession of electrical effects, and where the canvass may have to be painted over again before the colours are well dry, we may easily guess what the colours are which will usually be laid on. If the matter in hand can be as well done, not to say better, in this light and fugitive manner, critical spectators are not entitled to complain, either for themselves or for posterity. The most that can be expected of persons engaged in the practical business of life is, that when they can reconcile the wants of the present and the future, they will attend to both. When that is impossible, every successive day of course works up its own materials in the way that best may suit itself. And reason requires all who come after, to be satisfied with their share in the practical result of the labours of their predecessors; although they should not be able to derive either instruction or pleasure from a literary study of the means which have been used.

Whatever are the unavoidable conditions in manner as well as matter to which a writer for the daily press is subjected, the public have no choice but to submit. Besides this, there is a farther allowance to be made on account of the circumstances in which he is obliged to execute his task. He is under a constant engagement to write against time; and has to be prepared every four-and-twenty hours with a decisive judgment upon almost all subjects. In as many subjects as demand leisure to collect one's thoughts,—patience to master their details, study to comprehend their principles, removal to a little distance in order to take a full view of the whole case, and to get free from the passions and prejudices which surround it,—such a writer is very unfavourably situated for truth. If at all times it is more easy and agreeable to amuse or to excite than to instruct in this profession, frequently room is scarcely left for the alternative. The circumstances are so imperative and controlling, that the character which could always retain its superiority over them is probably nowhere to be found; and certainly is one which will have got into this literary engagement by accident only, and will take the earliest opportunity to get out. We give the youthful editor of a newspaper full credit for beginning with the resolution of being a prudent guide. He must soon find it all but impossible to resist the painful necessity of his position; he will probably end by becoming, in spite of himself, a caricaturist, a dogmatist, or a declaimer. These instances are, to this extent, instances of necessary victims, carrying on an unwholesome occupation, to gratify the wants of a luxurious society. There are books on the maladies, moral and intellectual, incident to authors. This peculiar species of authorship has, in addition, from the very nature of the case, peculiar infirmities of its own. Arising out of the case itself, they can never be entirely

Digitized by Google

overcome. The more credit, therefore, is due to those who succeed in reducing their number within the smallest compass, and in mitigating their severity.

Among the external characteristics of occasional literature, and of newspapers more than any other, inasmuch as they are more slight and transitory than any other, the most striking is its complete dependence upon its contemporary public. It is not only that its influence is bounded by it,—that it looks to it alone for praise or censure, that it depends on it for its existence, according to the principle by which the nature of the supply is determined by the nature of the demand. In its substance and spirit a newspaper strictly represents the population to which it belongs. Its being and life-blood are derived from them, and were originally and previously theirs. Indeed, its whole life is only (except by accident and for a short period) an anticipation of the opinions and feelings of the classes among which it circulates; and an off-hand application, with more or less success, of their own doctrines and persuasions to this or that occasion as it arises. It is the prerogative of genius to stand upon the mountain-tops, to foretell and salute the coming dawn. It can do more. It creates the light by which it is itself to be in due time beheld, and understood and worshipped. On the contrary, the working talents of a country which are derived out of, and identified with its immediate interests, rise but little, if at all, above the surrounding level. They have no light of their own; but reflect what they borrow. They pay back the advantages of which they have had the use, with legal interest, and nothing more. What means or inducement has the proprietor of a newspaper to consult the next generation, more than the proprietor of a theatre? The productions of the market gardener are not so completely 'annuals.' Besides, they only follow the taste and fancy of the consumer. They are not, as it were, a part of himself. In this case, therefore, the first thing to be done towards raising the character of the periodical press of any nation is, to raise the moral and intellectual character of the nation itself. For this we must rely upon a system of national education, going, both in extent and quality, much farther than any thing which we have yet attempted. Mr Hume is right in saying, that, with a better educated people, the journals of the Tory-Radicals would never have succeeded in inflaming any respectable portion of the lower orders against the new poor-law. He might have said more. With a well-educated people they would never have dared to make the wicked experiment how far the understandings of the poor can be mystified upon their best interests, and their passions excited against their most faithful friends. We have a consolation in knowing, that,

Digitized by Google

to judge by the sale, the maintenance by a newspaper of extravagant opinions is in general far from being a recommendation with any, the lowest class.

Under a free and cheap press, newspapers are perhaps the best representative, at any given time, of the real moral and intellectual state of the greater part of a population. They may have much, to be sure, among themselves, that never gets there; but all that gets there they will have. It is not on a few classical works that the reputation of a country in literature, any more than in architecture, ought to stand. These may represent a glory which has entirely passed away; or the accomplishments and enjoyments of so small a minority of its inhabitants as to be scarce worth mentioning in comparison of the whole. In both cases, the only adequate standard, at any given period, would be the style of its popular writings, and of its domestic buildings. Madame de Stael was paradoxical enough to imagine that a coarse drama and a pure audience was a natural combination. It is a mistake which neither she nor any one else could have committed, when reasoning from the comparative sense, honesty, and decency of newspapers, to the comparative sense, honesty, and decency to be found in their respective readers. Newspapers there must be, and more and more of them. As long as the community is broken up and banded into parties, the black stripe of party prejudice must be stamped upon nearly all their borders. But the vices of party writings, like all other offences of the public press, admit of every variety of degree. The question whether Government will contribute its part towards their reformation, is, in other words, the same question as whether the general standard of education is to be improved. This is the only superintendence to which a government should aspire. It is worth all the licensing and stamp-duties in the world. To complain that any considerable portion of the public press is below what it ought to be,—that scandal and slander are attractive qualities in a journal, with too many of the rich,—exaggeration and violence, with too many of the poor,—is to complain, that the tastes and propensities of too many of their fellow-citizens have been left in a condition of which the respectable members of the community have good reason to be ashamed.

The peculiarities by which this description of literature is distinguished from others must be taken into consideration, and equitably and charitably allowed for, before we come to that part of the case, for which the writers themselves are in any way personally responsible. The causes by which the matter and the manner, as well as the occasion and the circumstances of their publications are determined, are independent of them, and are for

Digitized by Google

the most part beyond their control. Whatever influence newspapers may ultimately exercise, the journalists of any single year have full as little power over the moral and intellectual character of their contemporary public. All that the guardians of civilisation are entitled thus far to expect from them is this—that they do not make these evils worse than they necessarily are. On the contrary, they should keep every disadvantage down to its lowest term; and avail themselves of all reasonable opportunities to justify, by the nature of their writings, and by their individual qualifications, the splendid titles so freely promised to them by others, and by themselves. They are already considered by many public instructors as a new power to the state. The claim thus set up in their behalf is countenanced to a great degree by appearances, and, to some degree, by the fact. But it is to the 'all hail hereafter' that their more judicious friends are looking. If, however, there be only a shadow of truth in the supposition, it will equally follow, that the talents and character of the individuals by whom our pulpits are to be superseded, and our legislatures to be led, should bear, if possible, some proportion to the dignity of the office. Romantic recommendations are very unlikely to be tried, and if tried, are quite as unlikely to succeed. Not a defect would be removed, not a deficiency supplied, by suggestions inconsistent with the nature of the occupation, or the interests of the parties. Of that we are fully conscious. To take similar cases: We have never blamed the managers of theatres because they did not ruin themselves in endeavouring to elevate the taste of the play-going part of the public. They ought to possess liberal views of their calling, and conceptions of their art above, not behind, their age. But in their practice, we would require of them no other course than to watch for favourable occasions, in the conflict betwixt good taste and bad, to give good taste the casting vote, and in all that they actually attempt, to do nothing to corrupt, every thing to raise and to reform. All persons brought by their profession into close and constant contact with the public are justified in claiming, not as an indulgence, but as a right, the benefit of the considerations which Shakspeare so sweetly puts forward in his double character of dramatist and actor in his own excuse:

> 'Oh, for my sake, do you with fortune chide,
> The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
> That did not better for my life provide,
> Than public means, which public manners breeds.
> Thence comes it that my name receives a brand,
> And almost thence my nature is subdued
> To what it works in, like the dyer's hand:
> Pity me then, and wish I were renewed.'

Digitized by Google

So in the administration of justice. A bar, freedom of speech, and the examination of witnesses *viva voce* in open court, are found to be excellent means for the discharge of the duties with which courts of justice are intrusted. Not that the system is not open to many real objections; but because its evils, when they are compared with the opposite ones, have been proved by experience to be the least mischievous of the two. The best way of improving the system is, not on the one hand to set up an impracticable standard of professional perfection; nor, on the other, to deny to advocates a single privilege necessary for the due protection of their clients. Still less would a rational friend to truth and justice seek to cover them with the indiscriminate ridicule and vituperation to which Mr Bentham had recourse whenever he mentioned lawyers. An advocate is bound to restrain himself within those privileges; he is not to mis-state facts in behalf of his client; he is not to supply want of merits or want of argument by abuse of the opposite party; he is not to browbeat and confuse a witness, whose evidence he cannot otherwise contradict. On these occasions, the actual injustice of the immediate proceeding is the least part of the evil. Its tendency to weaken and discredit the best means which have been yet devised for the administration of justice, is a still greater injury to society. When once a profession rises up as a necessary part of a necessary institution, every power which can be wanted for the efficient discharge of its duty should be openly and liberally given it. On the other hand, these powers are the very cases where it is most important that every clear abuse of them should be instantly discountenanced and peremptorily repressed. After all, there are a thousand niceties which neither legal sanction nor the supremacy of judicial revision can ever reach. In these, the chief and best security against abuse is individual honour. A profession is a trust in which a man will not acquit himself honourably and usefully unless he learns to think highly of it, and is enabled to respect himself as a member of it. And herein, of this we may be certain, the good opinion and sympathy of the public are indispensable conditions. For this purpose they are not only the rewards, they are the means.

There is a close analogy between the press and the instances which we have prayed in aid, for the sake of a more extended inference and illustration. The amusement, of which the theatre had formerly the monopoly, is now very much supplied by light literature under every variety of form; especially under that of periodical publications. Political science is near akin to jurisprudence; and it happens that the professional writer upon temporary politics, and the professional practiser of the law, stand in almost

Digitized by Google

similar positions, and are exposed to similar temptations. They both owe a kind of divided allegiance. But it is the duty of both alike, not to sell themselves out and out to the prejudices and passions of the party they may represent. The interests of their respective *clientelas* cannot be honestly maintained by them, except in subordination to the interests of the community at large. To seek under a professional disguise the gratification of any purely personal object, whether of emolument, feeling, or ambition, at the risk of the public tranquillity or public service, is to be guilty, of course, of a still more unpardonable offence. Before a political writer can pretend to class himself amongst public instructors, we must have proof of some sort, or at least presumption that he is morally and intellectually superior to so much of the public as he is to instruct. In the absence of such qualifications, it is the office only of trumpeter which he is filling, not of guide. Among these qualifications are a love of truth and justice; the power of holding the scales steadily while the advantages and disadvantages of every question are fairly weighed; that proportion in the faculties, and that moderation in the temper, which are the more usual groundworks of good sense and good humour than of eloquence or wit. Our catalogue, we fear, is scarcely such as will be thought, under our existing habits, to contain the most suitable elements for the leading articles of popular journals. Honest writers, we reply, must approach it as near as their several circles will admit. The reproach is, in wilfully stopping short of the approximations which might be reached with ease and safety.

The prudish moralist who should try to tie down the spirit of journalism too tight, would make as great a mistake, we are aware, as the statesman who should attempt to conjure it into a bottle. All that we want is, evidence in their proceedings of that superiority to their average readers, that the office on which they have entered assuredly assumes. The difficulty of obtaining the professional character and conduct which we are requiring, is the greatest in the most popular states, and at periods of political excitement. The newspapers of the United States, soon got terribly wrong in one of the worst, though commonest errors—violence and exaggeration. Jefferson, who ought to have had the hide, as he had the tastes of a rhinoceros, winced under their attacks. He declares, in his correspondence, that from the effect which he had seen produced on Washington by the misrepresentations and injustice of a comparatively reasonable press, he is convinced that the intemperance and calumnies of a later period would have driven that pure and virtuous patriot from public life. We have seen a French engraving, entitled *L'Ecrivain Politique*.

Digitized by Google

To judge by it, our neighbours are equally unfortunate in the temperament of this class of their public instructors. The sketch might have been taken from the political ward in Bedlam; or from the perturbed features by which Milton supposes Satan to have been discovered, on arriving in Paradise, notwithstanding his disguise. English statesmen are not sensitive enough to withdraw from public life from the dread of being abused. Party-writing has been carried to a length that defeats itself. The principle on which it paints, either black or white, is thoroughly understood by the parties and by the public. No man in his senses would ever think of taking a prominent part in politics who did not feel that he knew the value of both; and was proof alike to the censures of hostile newspapers, and the panegyrics of admiring ones. It is no small evil if the press, by hardening the best and wisest of our public men against the accredited organs of public opinion, has so far a tendency to disturb its course and criterions, and to lower its estimation. The exchange of the calm and grateful approbation of his fellow-citizens for the huzzas of a faction is, to a man of generous ambition, a losing bargain. While this perverseness and confusion lasts, he may look for his standard and his consolation to other quarters. The public also is pretty well aware of the effects, for the producing of which this kind of scene-painting is got up. Still some unlucky people are misled by it; while we have known others change their paper from sheer dislike at seeing the opinions, in which they agreed, made so disagreeable by the manner in which they were expressed. The injustice and unfairness of which we are speaking, is the worst point of view from which our periodical literature can be regarded. Before newspapers can be said to have entered systematically and designedly on the course of usefulness and happiness, which we would willingly believe is open to them, the representatives of opposite opinions must be able to believe that political differences may exist, without the persons who differ being necessarily, one of them, either rogue or fool. Extreme violence is part of the loose political morality still so common. The real fanaticism of ignorance differs from the counterfeited zeal of base trafficking speculation more in cause than in effect. While either one or the other continues to be received with favour, what is to be expected? Can a due proportion of judgment, integrity, and candour, possibly dedicate itself to this service, unless it is generally understood, not merely that political questions are capable of being treated with the same reason and charity as any other questions, but that they ought to be so? Is the prolonged existence of a candid newspaper a phenomenon which the Critical Faculty must declare

Digitized by Google

impossible? Is the general discouragement of a dishonest one, by all honest men of all parties, a dream out of Utopia?

Cobbett, in his day, was the most distinguished writer in this department. He was equally successful in raising its intellectual, and lowering its moral reputation. In his own case, he became a warning (of what writers who are to appear constantly before the public cannot be too constantly reminded), that there is a want of principle for which no degree of talent and assurance can make up. He did all he could to establish against his contemporaries a partnership in this disgrace. One of his favourite topics was abusing the London press. We remember his once suggesting a novel kind of censorship, which was to consist in setting out the editors in a line in Hyde Park, in order that their comparative merits and general title to consideration might be determined upon view. The sneer, in proportion to its probability of truth with respect to the parties principally concerned in it, is a much severer satire on the folly of the public. Gross misconduct on the part of the public, in leaving the class in question in what is called a false position, can alone have given a plausible handle to such a jest. No large body of men can be wisely left so. This is true of every kind of occupation, and of every kind of talent unworthily degraded. But the stronger the temptations which are to be withstood by any class, the greater the dependence of society upon their honour and discretion, the more visible their power—the higher of course ought to be their personal reputation; and the more liberal the terms on which society should endeavour to secure their loyal fidelity to its interests. The profession of letters deserves in this respect a more careful superintendence and judicious encouragement, than professions which are employed upon matters of taste and amusement only. It is among the surest ways by which writers of the required character, and of a suitable station and attainment, can be attracted to it. Yet it was not the least of Garrick's merits that he succeeded in withdrawing performers on the stage from their old statutory classification among rogues and vagabonds; and that he made the first circles in London seek the company of a player as an honour. The English public have benefited as much as English artists by the gracious welcome in society which the arts first received there in the person of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Among the labourers in the literary vineyard, there are none whom, as a class, it is more desirable to raise, by due sympathy and favour, from the obscurity and discontent of a life of neglected literary adventure, than those who devote their talents to the service of the public press. Good feeling and good policy are equally violated by an opposite

Digitized by Google

course. The evil of which the fastidious, and people who are far from being so, complain is, that newspapers are frequently wanting in the self-respect, good faith, and courtesy which belong to good society. To this, it would be a proper answer to ask, whether scornful exclusion from good society is the appropriate remedy for this specific evil? But one example will go farther than fifty lectures. There is nobody who need feel ashamed of a profession of which Mr Fonblanque is a member. He may well be expected to do for his profession what Garrick and Reynolds did for theirs.

Mr Fonblanque has shown, by the present publication, a proper confidence in himself. It lays before the reader, as in a map, the weekly course of the *Examiner* for the last ten years. We often differ from him in his judgments, both on generals and particulars,—on men and measures. To be so bad a judge of character as to delight in sneering at *honest* Lord Althorp, is to neutralize as far as in his power any sarcastic delineation of *Mephistopheles* and *Joseph Surface*. We perceive, in the republication before us, repetitions, and evidences of a mannerism and sameness, which had escaped us from week to week. Articles which had thrown a pleasant sunshine, one by one, on our breakfast table, when they are transferred to a successive and continuous perusal in our study, through three octavo volumes, have wearied us by their fragmentary nature, and their scattered lights. In the same manner, Mr Fonblanque's greatest fault, a tone of habitual contempt, becomes more painful when it meets us—not as the morning's jest, to be laughed over and forgotten, but — embodied in a classical and standard form. Bitters are more agreeable in drops than in spoonfuls. Notwithstanding these differences, and although they had been more and greater than they really are, we feel very grateful to Mr Fonblanque for the instruction and pleasure his writings have afforded us. This, however, we do not know that we should have stopped to tell him. But we could not resist the opportunity of expressing our sense of the obligation conferred by him upon as many of his countrymen as concur with us in our opinion on the capabilities and destinies of the daily press.

The example which Mr Fonblanque has set is a merit of the very highest order. To have begun by combating from the outset the characteristic difficulties by which this species of authorship is surrounded, was an enterprise of great integrity and courage. To have succeeded in overcoming them to the extent that he has succeeded, could have been the triumph only of talents equal — whether similar or dissimilar — to his own. He has written on certain principles systematically and fearlessly. He

Digitized by Google

has done as much as was, perhaps, practicably advisable, with the least prospect of success, in the attempt to give a permanent interest to temporary subjects,—in the presumption that he was always addressing readers of accomplishment and taste,—and in the resolution to have no distinction between his public and private character, but to make them and keep them one. By these means he has kept his pages clear of the brigand airs of a literary adventurer; and has stamped upon his professional life the impress of personal rectitude and spirit. It is clear that but a small circle could be expected to unite the necessary qualifications for admiring such a writer, as he deserves. But Mr Fonblanque did not wait, on that account, till a higher standard of public morals, or a more extended cultivation of political and literary enquiries had raised for him a class of readers. Still less did he condescend to lower his principles or his style. He has gone on writing in advance; and venturing as far as an author in this department can rationally venture in the nice experiment of forming by degrees a little public of his own. We have heard of a Cambridge under-graduate who apologized for the defects of his prize-poem by observing, that he had written it for the prize. We make no question but that the circulation of the *Examiner* would at the present moment have been much greater, in case Mr Fonblanque could have brought himself to pander to mere prejudices, and to write with less delicacy and finish. The invidious name of 'Trimmer' (which he himself has at times too wantonly affixed to more cautious politicians) has not deterred him from now discharging what he considered to be his duty by the public; and he has lately, with his usual manliness and candour, given Lord Melbourne's Government all the credit to which he has thought it to be entitled,—relying on his superiority to the insinuations which extravagant zealots are always so free to lavish, and honourably indifferent to the crafty policy of coarser rivals.

The particular point of view in which we have been looking at Mr Fonblanque's political essays, is quite independent of their general excellences or defects as compositions. He has done much to redeem newspapers from the charge of vulgarizing our language. The writing is admirable as writing—always elegant and polished. We do not wonder that Mr Savage Landor places him higher than at the head of his contemporaries. His style is as clear as Swift's, and sometimes as graceful as Addison's, whilst it is more figurative in expression, and much richer in anecdote and allusion. The only fault is, that, for the sake of a tricksy word, he is sometimes tempted to defy the matter. He is too often seen leaving the main body of the argument to shift for

Digitized by Google

itself, whilst he is running a metaphor or a story out of breath for his amusement. We have met with little or no philosophy in morals or legislation scattered over his pages but what is transferred bodily and in the gross from Bentham. If Bacon is occasionally quoted, it is just as plays and farces are—by way of illustration. Indeed such a happy and continuous application was never before made of the literature of half-price at Drury Lane to serious subjects. The old despotism of France was said to be tempered by epigrams. Mr Fonblanque might expect that the empire of Radicalism was to be established by means of stories. The reasoning faculty here exhibited, is, as it appears to us, more mathematical and logical than philosophical. The power of vision is direct rather than broad: excellent in following out the deductions of a single line—failing if other segments of the circle are to be embraced, and their radii brought down and applied to the common centre. Wherever the question was to depend upon one point only, we should feel it to be almost a certainty that Mr Fonblanque would be right; where it depended on more than one, we should begin to feel doubtful; where it depended on many, we apprehend the probabilities are in favour of his being wrong. We are disposed to place to the same account, another defect, of which his adversaries have too frequent reason to complain. It is a sophism which, in morals and politics, can lead only to error, to take an extreme case, and to proceed dropping from out of the argument all the conditions, compromises, and degrees by which it would have been limited and guarded in your adversary's hand. In assigning to Mr Fonblanque his literary rank, we should class him among the men of wit, rather than among the masters of eloquence. He charms us by his talents, but does not rouse us by his energy or feeling. He presents us with the surface of a bright and lively sea, not with the swell of a mighty ocean. We never feel that it is one deep calling to another.

The principal question which we have been examining has little or nothing to do with the correctness of the peculiar articles of faith held by Mr Fonblanque, and other members of his Communion. We will not conclude, however, without observing, that, as political reasoners, they have, in our opinion, far too little confidence in the present British constitution. But most of all are we convinced that, as political observers, they grievously underrate the opposition which the people of England (reckoned according to any possible form of franchise) would as yet offer to speculative reconstructions of the House of Lords. We say *as yet*. For the fate of the House of Lords will not depend upon lectures on the principles of human nature, or upon metaphors from mechanics.

Digitized by Google

It will depend entirely on the nature and extent of its differences with the more popular assembly. The differences may, in their causes and in their limits, be of the very kind in which Paley, in his observations upon the House of Lords, recognises the principal use of such an institution. In this case, the Peers are safe. On the other hand, the differences may go the length of implying that the Sabbath was not made for man, but man for the Sabbath. In this case, the Peers are ruined. We shall see. In the mean-time, this is a problem not to be settled by the result of a single question, or on the evidence of a single year.

Of the points connected with the elective franchise, the ballot is that which Mr Fonblanque has mainly laboured. Both sides, we think, attach a great deal too much importance to it—the one, in what they apprehend; the other, in what they expect. We are far from being satisfied that the ballot would attain its immediate object—concealment. We see still less reason for presuming that concealment is the most appropriate security that an elector will be influenced by no other consideration than the merits of the candidate. A legislator, before he adopts machinery of this description, owes it to common sense to ascertain that the means are adequate to the end. In the next place, suppose the efficiency of the ballot to be made out on better grounds than we yet have ever seen, it is allowed that there are some indirect advantages on the side of open voting. It remains to be shown that its direct disadvantages are so preponderating as to render them comparatively of less account. The direct disadvantages of the present system are represented by the amount of undue temptation, in the shape of fear or favour, prevailing under it; and which the argument supposes the ballot would remove. Instances of intimidation and corruption are revolting to all men of humanity and spirit, whose political morality has not been debauched by bad example. The first impulse in this case, as in that of the pension list, is to set about abating it on any terms. It requires an effort to look farther. The partial popularity of the ballot is honourably accounted for. Ardent men, indignant at abuses, are ready to accept any measure of plausible protection against tyranny and vice. They do not wait to examine very strictly how far the measure is likely to be successful; or care to strike a balance between the public inconveniences which it promises to obviate, and the public inconveniences which it may introduce.

The political independence which we long to procure for an elector, is something different from being made independent of public opinion, and of the other moral influences of which publicity is one of the strongest guarantees. The end itself is as dear

Digitized by Google

to us as it can possibly be either to Mr Fonblanque or Mr Grote. It is from our very worship of it that we are unwilling, prematurely as it seems to us, to recognise and sanction, by enactment, our absolute despair of accomplishing the end by higher means. Under the high franchise and low morality which exist at present, the ballot is not viewed with suspicion, only by parties meaning to misuse the powers which publicity confers. Mr Fonblanque must be well aware how unpopular it is with the chief advocates of universal suffrage. Regarding the electoral privilege, in the hands of limited constituencies, as a public trust, they insist upon their right to have the means kept open to them by which they can know and judge the conduct of their trustees. We agree with them in thinking, that in political arrangements every thing may at times depend upon the order in which the several steps are taken. While, therefore, we are far from wishing to *taboo* any subject from its claim to be duly considered in its turn, we feel that the proper season for discussing, to most advantage, the extension of the suffrage—triennial parliaments—or even ballot, has not yet arrived. If our superstructure is to be firm, we must lay our foundations lower. In doing this, it will be far the best to at once begin with the beginning. At our present stage of civilisation, there can be no security for liberty and order but in a proportional and adequate NATIONAL EDUCATION. By it alone the people can learn their true position; can learn, on the one hand, what they are entitled to expect shall be done for them by laws; on the other, what are the things which lie beyond the power of individuals or governments, and in which the body of the people must depend almost entirely on themselves. In looking forward to the improvements, by which our system of Education is to become worthy of the name of National, the nature and application of the funds provided for it, is in England, and especially in Ireland, a very important feature. In this point of view, the imperfect manner in which, from the change of times, ecclesiastical revenues are at present fulfilling their original destination, will appear in a new and striking light. It is a question which no collateral difficulties attending the discussion of it can much longer keep from being discussed. The state of things is unknown in as much of the rest of Europe as pretends to civilisation. It belongs to that great chapter of complete Religious Toleration, in which we are far behind the moral and intellectual standard which we have reached on most other subjects. Its time, however, we trust, is at hand. For it is a state of things, which to discuss, is to overturn.

Digitized by Google

ART. VIII.—1. *First Report from his Majesty's Commissioners on Criminal Law. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 30th July,* 1834. Folio.

2. *Second Report from his Majesty's Commissioners on Criminal Law. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 20th June,* 1836. Folio.

ALL that we propose, in the present short article, is to give a general statement of the objects of the Criminal Law Commission, and an outline of the results of its labours; in the hope that such an introduction may be of use in preparing the reader for any after enquiries in which we may engage, and for the discussions now prevailing upon the measures which the Commissioners have recommended, and the Government has introduced.

The object of the Criminal Law Commission has been frequently misunderstood. It has been supposed that the Commissioners* were appointed to frame a *new Code of the Criminal Law*, and give their views thereon; whereas they were merely directed 'to digest into one statute all the enactments concerning 'crimes, their trial and punishment; and to digest into another 'statute all the provisions of the Common Law touching the same; 'and to enquire and report how far it might be expedient to 'combine both those statutes into one body of the Criminal Law, 'repealing all other statutory provisions; or how far it might be 'expedient to pass into a law the first-mentioned only of those 'two statutes.' To this, the main object of their enquiry, was added another, not unnaturally arising out of it, though foreign to the Criminal Law. They were to enquire how far it might be expedient to consolidate the other branches of the existing Statute Law, or any of them.

The First Report of the Commissioners was made in June, 1834; the Commission having been issued in July, 1833.

It begins with a statement of their opinion that it would be expedient to reduce the written and unwritten Criminal Law into one Digest; and then proceeds to state the operations necessary in the process of digesting the unwritten Law, and the materials from which the digest is to be made, viz., the decisions of the

* The Commissioners were originally Messrs J. Austin, Starkie, B. Ker, Wightman, and Amos. Upon Mr Austin going to Malta, Mr Jardine was appointed in his place. It certainly would not be easy to find any where men better fitted for the satisfactory discharge of the important duty committed to them.

Digitized by Google

Courts dispersed through the printed and MS. reports (reaching up to the earliest times of our judicial annals), and the different text-writers of authority. It then enumerates at length those multifarious sources from which the Common Law relating to crimes must be collected; with the view of showing the uncertainty and discrepancies of those authorities, and the space over which they are scattered. Thus the decisions on Criminal Law are not confined to Crown cases, or to those in the Court of King's Bench (the great Criminal Judicature), or those at Nisi Prius, or those on Writs of Error in the House of Lords; but are even occasionally to be met with in reports of cases in Chancery;—nay, a great number of rulings, on points of Criminal Law, are to be found in private manuscripts alone. The Irish decisions, well entitled to consideration, and having undoubted weight as judicial authorities, are little known to English lawyers, even through the medium of text-books; and the Commissioners remark on the singular circumstance of the decisions at Sessions—the Court where by far the greatest part of the criminal jurisdiction is exercised—being hardly ever cited even before the same kind of tribunal. Of the text-writers, many are referred to which are ancient, and not in general use even with the profession, and almost inaccessible to the public—as Bracton, Lambard, Stanndeforde, Dalton, &c., which have become for the most part obsolete, from the changes made in the law,—though still of great authority where modern decisions are silent or conflicting; while the works of modern text-writers, though some are of good repute, must be very cautiously relied on as authentic evidence of the Common Law.

The Report then states the difficulty of extracting plain, definite general rules from the materials; and assigns the causes of that difficulty. These are,—that the reported decisions, or text-books, are defective in the statement of general rules—that discrepancies are to be met with in books of authority—that contradictory principles exist in the Common Law, which has grown up in the course of ages out of ancient policy and manners, and been accommodated to the altered circumstances of the times by exceptions successively introduced—that there are insulated or anomalous decisions to be found, irreconcilable with any rule or principle—and that the Criminal Law has undergone fluctuations, and has adopted occasionally subtle, refined, and useless distinctions.

The Commissioners recommend that *one* digest should be made. In order to show, as it were practically, how vague, how uncertain, and how inconsistent the actual Common Law is, and from what a

Digitized by Google

number of sources it must be derived, they give a specimen of a Digest of the Common Law relating to Theft. It must, however, be remarked, that most of the offences under this head have been defined by statute. Still the Common Law exists unrepealed, and must occasionally be executed; and, what is worse, its inconsistent and varying principles are applied even in the construction of the Statute Law. The most cursory view of this *Specimen-Digest* will show the barbarous absurdity, and the manifest incompleteness of the existing law, as it is now to be gathered, and that imperfectly, from a thousand sources.

The object of the Commissioners in giving it, evidently was to show, that it would be almost useless labour to digest the whole mass of absurdity to be found in the Common Law relating to criminal proceedings; and they suggested that before going further, they should have powers to consider 'What partial alterations might be necessary or expedient for more simply and completely defining crimes and punishments, and for the more effectual administration of justice.' These were granted them by the Government,—as appears by their Second Report, which was printed in 1836; and they now considered the possibility, expediency, and utility of digesting the Criminal Law.

No subject has been more misunderstood than that of *Codification*. There are many modes of making a code: there may be an entire new body of laws—a partial re-casting, and a retaining part of the old, and adding some new—or there may be merely what the Commissioners propose; viz., a digest of the unwritten with the written law,—reforming patent evils, removing inconsistencies, and supplying admitted defects. By the *unwritten law*, is meant the *principles* of the law as *found* by the judges in the text-books and reports. What is the process by which a judge now *makes* the law? A case arises;—he either decides it on the authority of some similar decided case; or, if he finds none (and seeing the inextricable mass of decisions, there may be many which he does not find), he applies as well as he can (and often in haste) the principles which he finds in the books, and which he conceives govern the case; or he adopts some imperfect analogy. Now, what is proposed? Merely to digest and systematize all these cases and principles to which the judge resorts, and furnish them ready to his hand, and just by the same process which he adopts;—only doing this more carefully and at leisure, and with the advantage of having the whole field under view at once; and where the digest shows imperfections or inconsistencies, to supply or remove them by new enactments. What would be the result? The judge would have a complete

Digitized by Google

systematic digest, in which he would find all the decisions and principles embodied, with the evils of inconsistency, as far as possible, removed. In fact, he would have the manufactured instead of the raw material to work on. But, with this exception, his range is in nowise abridged: he still, in cases unprovided for, has the power of applying principle (and all the principle he could resort to would be found in the digest), and he has still the same power of resorting to analogies; but he has a greater advantage than before; because, instead of being hampered by absurd principles, or by decisions and principles applicable to a state of manners and law no longer existing, or by a set of conflicting decisions, he would repair to a purified source from which to draw his new law. The proposed digest, therefore, would in nowise abridge the vaunted *flexibility* and comprehensiveness of the common law. This is the great argument in favour of codification.

There is another argument in favour of its being first tried in Criminal Law. As no rights of property are affected, no difficulty arises in adapting the new law to existing transactions; and in any mistake or difficulty, the construction is certain to be in favour of mercy.

The process, as partially applied, however, is not new. In the Criminal Law much already has been done by Sir Robert Peel in the way of digesting, of removing inconsistencies, and repealing obsolete and absurd enactments. In the Civil Law, Sir Edward Sugden's Acts—which, in fact, are a digest of the cases and Statute Law relating to the conveyance of property by infants and others incapacitated,—are a specimen of a digest ably executed; and affording a proof that this may be done safely, even with respect to the laws of property. Again, the Fines and Recoveries Act of 1833 is another and still more important example; it repeals volumes on volumes of absurd and useless law. But it may truly be affirmed that the consolidations of the Criminal Law already made only render the imperfections of what is left the more glaring.

Whilst the Commissioners were at work on their laborious task (the Digest), they were called on to intermit their labours, and to report on the subject of 'Prisoners' Counsel,' and the 'Punish-'ment of Death.' Their Second Report contains an elaborate statement on both these subjects. The result was the passing the Prisoners' Counsel Bill last session; and it is only fair to observe, that none of the defects which have been complained of are attributable to the Commissioners; as the clauses added in Parliament were in direct opposition to their opinions. Another

Digitized by Google

result of the same Report is the introduction this year, by Lord John Russell, of the nine bills for the abolition of the punishment of death in many cases, and for other purposes. Of these bills we shall speak, after concluding our summary of the work of the Commissioners. They were again called off from their principal enquiry by a direction to consider and report whether or not there should be any different mode adopted in the trial of Juvenile offenders. There may be different opinions of the remedy which they have suggested, viz. giving the Magistrates a power of summary conviction and of punishment, if not exceeding twelve months' imprisonment. But no doubt can be entertained of the value of the information contained in the Report. They have been all the while proceeding with the Digest, which, of course, must be a work of more time.

The expediency of digesting the existing General Statute Law, was the other subject of enquiry intrusted to the Commissioners. On this most important point they also made a very full and able report, evidently the work of great labour. Although it has been for two years before Parliament, it has singularly enough hardly ever been taken notice of by any one. For the first time, they have entirely considered the whole subject; and in a full and fair manner pointed out the evils of the present mass of confusion contained in the Statute-Book—the mischiefs which result in all new enactments from the confusion in the old ones—and the consequences of a want of systematic method in framing all Acts of Parliament. But they do not disguise the difficulty and labour which must attend the execution of such a task. From the time of Edward VI. the project has been recommended by all the constituted authorities, and by the most eminent names in the law;—by the Sovereign, by the Resolutions and Petitions of both Houses of Parliament, by Lord Keeper Bacon, Lord Bacon, Lord Hale, Mr Justice Blackstone. During the Usurpation some progress was made in executing the design; after the Restoration it was resumed; and Nottingham (then Finch), Maynard, and Atkyns, were a Committee of the Commons to confer with the Lords, the Judges, and others of the long robe, 'who have already 'taken pains, and made progress in perusing the Statute Laws, 'and to consider of repealing such former Statute Laws as they 'shall find necessary to be repealed; if expedient for reducing all 'Statute Laws of one nature under such a method and head as may 'conduce to the more ready understanding and better execution 'of such laws.' (*Commons Journals.*) So explicitly was the principle of codification, as regards written law at least, recognised by Parliament, as early as the year 1666! Finally, in 1816, the

Digitized by Google

two Houses of Parliament joined in a resolution for completely digesting the Statutes; the Lords having declared the expediency of employing one learned person with twenty assistants in that work. The Commissioners, besides giving an elaborate and interesting statement of the inconveniences attending the want of a complete digest, have examined practical lawyers on the subject; and they have likewise given the evidence of an eminent American lawyer, with some documentary evidence showing the progress made in this work by the United States, and the benefits which have resulted from it. The Digest of the Criminal Law, in which the Commissioners are themselves engaged, is stated to be in considerable forwardness, and to contain not merely the definition of offences, but the whole Law of Criminal proceedings.

We have adverted to the Nine Bills already introduced by the Government upon the Reports of the Commissioners, and which, it is probable, will have been passed into laws before these pages see the light. Into the particulars of these bills it is not our purpose now to enter, further than is necessary for giving the outline of the change which they are intended to make upon the Criminal Law. The opinion of the Commissioners (as stated in the Second Report, p. 32) is, that capital punishment ought (subject to the exercise of the Royal prerogative) to follow conviction of a capital offence—and therefore they have recommended a large reduction of the number of these offences; and have given a full classification of them, and of the other offences not to be made capital, and of the various punishments to be inflicted for these. But it is of course for the Government and the Legislature to determine whether or not the number of capital offences shall be still further reduced. The Commissioners could pronounce no opinion in favour of retaining so many; and when it is considered that the main object in diminishing their number at all is to introduce certainty into the criminal code—that the principal argument for the proposed change is the expediency of making the denunciation of punishment real, and no longer a mere name—there is no wonder that the greatest anxiety should be felt lest the result of these measures may be to increase the number of instances in which death is actually inflicted upon offenders. This consideration it is which we earnestly press upon the attention both of the Legislature, of the Judges, and of the advisers of the Crown; feeling that such a consequence is inevitable, if it shall be understood that, after the alteration is effected, the punishment must be inflicted in each case of conviction; and yet aware that unless such a fatal certainty is the result, the alteration will only have diminished in degree the evil which

Digitized by Google

has given rise to it, namely, the discrepancy between the letter and the practice of the criminal law.

The offences then to which it is proposed by the bills before Parliament that capital punishments shall be confined are—high treason; murder; attempts to murder, accompanied with actual injury to the person; burning of buildings, or ships, with danger to human life; piracy, with actual injury to the person, or acts endangering human life; burglary, with cruelty or violence to an inmate; robbery, with cruelty or violence; rape and violation, with or without consent of a child under ten years of age; and a nameless offence of great enormity. But a specification is added in those cases where injury, violence, and danger to life are mentioned.

From this general outline it will appear not only how important and valuable have been the labours of this Commission, but how groundless the charge is which we hear so often made against the Reform Government, of having done nothing towards amending the law. The bills now in progress will not indeed effect any change in the administration of the Criminal Law; because they only prohibit the infliction of capital punishment in cases where for many years past none has been inflicted. But if the further recommendations in these Reports shall be acted upon—if a further reduction in the number of capital offences be made—if that last punishment be, as it ought, reserved for the crime at which all men's feelings most universally revolt, the destruction of life;*—still more, if the General Digest of the law in which the Commissioners are engaged shall be completed,—a more salutary improvement in the jurisprudence of this country will be effected than has ever yet been made, at any one time, by the supreme power in any modern state.

---

* Many persons of great authority doubt if the infliction of capital punishment tends upon the whole to produce good effects even in the case of murder. The brutalizing effect of such spectacles is certainly matter of no doubt at all; and there seems a great inconsistency in expecting the example to operate well, as it were, at second-hand, or by hearsay, when its direct and immediate operation is mischievous.

Digitized by Google

ART. IX.—*Enquiry into the Circumstances that have occasioned the present Embarrassments in the Trade between Great Britain and the United States of America.* 8vo. London: 1837.

OUR readers do not require to be told, that the commercial relations existing between this country and the United States have been for some considerable time in the utmost state of disorder. The principal merchants engaged in the trade, both here and in America, have all been involved in the greatest difficulties, and not a few have been obliged to stop payments. And, owing to the vast magnitude of the trade, and the large proportion which it bears to the total foreign trade of both countries, particularly to that of the United States, the embarrassments under which it has been suffering have ruinously affected most other departments of industry in America and England. The great and sudden diminution which it has occasioned in the exports from Great Britain to America, has obliged many of our manufacturers either to shut up their establishments, or materially to reduce the quantity of work, so that a great number of labourers have been thrown out of employment; while in America the influence of the derangement has been such that every bank in the Union has been forced to suspend payments,—that credit has been almost totally destroyed,—and that though the republic has no debt, and a large surplus revenue, it can hardly find means to make the most necessary payments!

Now, it will be observed that this extraordinary vicissitude has taken place during a period of profound peace. It has occurred, too, in the trade between nations that have long been connected by the closest ties—that have the same lineage, speak the same language, have similar tastes, and between which the most extensive and intimate intercourse has always been kept up. America has long depended upon England for the supply of a large portion of her wants; and England has long been the principal market for the staple articles of American produce. To common observers the trade between Liverpool and New York, appeared, twelve months ago, to differ in few respects from that carried on between Liverpool and London, or Paris and Havre; except that it was more extensive and lucrative. It appeared to rest on an equally solid foundation; and exhibited few outward symptoms whence to infer its real condition. Those familiar with the underhand agency by which the trade was carried on, might, and certainly ought to have been aware of its hollowness and unsoundness. But few even amongst them seem to have

Digitized by Google

profited by their position. Ignorance of principle and overweening confidence were too generally found where knowledge and a reasonable degree of scepticism might have been looked for. The great majority of those engaged in the trade had neither sagacity to foresee the coming storm, nor caution to provide against it; but went on blindly increasing their engagements, and crowding sail even after they had got among the shallows, and the winds had begun to blow.

The consumption of most articles of foreign growth rarely differs materially in any country one year from another; unless there be some extraordinary variation in their prices. So long as these remain nearly stationary, consumption fluctuates but little; its increase or diminution depending on the increase or diminution of population and wealth, and the spread of new tastes and habits which are always slowly diffused. Hence, when we find a sudden and rapid increase taking place in the amount of imports into any country, the fair presumption is, provided it be not accompanied by one or other of the circumstances now mentioned, that its trade has been pushed beyond its proper limits,—that large importations are made upon speculation,—and that a dangerous recoil may be expected. Now, this has been most remarkably the case with the trade of the United States. The imports into the Union—the total value of which amounted, during the year ended the 30th of September, 1830, to 70,876,920 dollars—amounted to 108,118,311 dollars in 1833, and in 1836 to no less than 189,980,035 dollars; exhibiting an increase in the course of half-a-dozen years of from about 71 to about 190 millions of dollars, or in the extraordinary ratio of *two hundred and seventy per cent!* It is almost superfluous to add, that rapid as is the increase of population, and of improved tastes and habits in the United States, it bears no sort of proportion to this unparalleled and indeed astonishing increase in the amount of imports. And every merchant aware, as all of them might, or should have been, of so enormous an excess of importation, ought immediately to have apprehended that it was the result of overtrading and speculation; and should forthwith have set resolutely to work to contract his engagements.

But it may, perhaps, be said that this would have been an unwarrantable inference; and that the existence of overtrading is not established by an increase of imports, but depends on the circumstance of their increasing in a greater degree than the exports. This, however, is not really the case. All that an equality of imports and exports establishes is, that the former have been paid for; but any extraordinary increase in the amount of imports shows that produce must be accumulating in the

Digitized by Google

importing country; and that a ruinous depression of prices, and consequent shock to credit, may be anticipated.

Apart, however, from these considerations, it is true, as respects America, not only that the imports increased enormously during the six years ending with 1836, but that that increase very much exceeded the increase in the amount of exports. Thus, in 1830, the total value of the exports of all sorts of produce from the United States amounted to 73,899,508 dollars; in 1833, it amounted to 90,140,433 dollars; and, in 1836, to 128,663,040 dollars. It consequently appears, that the increase in the exports of the United States since 1830 has been from about 74 to about 129 millions, or in the ratio of 174 per cent. But we have already seen that during the same period the imports had increased 270 per cent; that is, no less than NINETY-SIX *per cent more than the exports!* In point of fact, during the last year the imports into the United States exceeded the exports by the sum of 61,316,995 dollars, or by above L.12,000,000 sterling. And seeing that the American Customs Accounts represent the real values of the imports and exports with very considerable accuracy, this exhibits, perhaps, the most striking proof of overtrading ever given to the world. We subjoin

An Account of the Total Exports from, and Imports into, the United States, from 1830 to 1836, both inclusive. (From the Official Accounts printed by order of Congress.)

	Exports.			Imports.
Years.	Articles, the Growth, Produce, or Manufacture of the United States, Exported.	Articles, the Growth, Produce, or Manufacture of Foreign Countries, Re-exported.	Total Value of Exports from the United States.	Total Value of the Imports into the United States from Foreign Countries.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
1830	59,462,029	14,337,479	73,899,508	70,876,920*
1831	61,277,057	20,033,526	81,310,583	103,191,124
1832	68,137,470	24,039,473	87,176,943	101,029,266
1833	70,317,698	19,822,735	90,140,433	108,118,311
1834	81,024,162	23,312,811	104,336,973	126,521,332
1835	101,189,082	20,504,495	121,693,577	149,895,742
1836	106,916,680	21,746,360	128,663,040	189,980,035

* The imports had not differed materially from this for a dozen years previously.

Digitized by Google

And it deserves to be remarked, that from a third part to a half of this immense trade is carried on *directly* with Great Britain; and taking into account that which is carried on *indirectly* through this country with the Continent, and with India and China, it will be found that at least two-thirds of the foreign trade of America depends directly or indirectly on her connexion with England.

Owing to the fact, arising out of natural causes, of profits being at all times decidedly higher in America than in England, there is a constant tendency to withdraw capital from this country to vest it in the United States. This circumstance sufficiently accounts for a part of the ordinary excess of imports into the Union; but it will not account for their sudden and extraordinary increase during the last three years. With the exception, indeed, of coin and bullion valued at 13,400,881 dollars, of which 5,167,733 dollars were re-exported, and iron valued at 4,023,042 dollars, almost all the vast imports of 1836 consisted of manufactured and other articles for the use and accommodation of the population. The value of the silk manufactures imported during the course of that year is estimated at the immense sum of 20,331,896 dollars, or above *four millions sterling*; and other articles in the like proportion. It is clear, therefore, that the excess of importation was not occasioned by the fetching of articles from England to assist in the construction of canals, railroads, or other public works. The imports into America consisted mainly of those suited to the wants of a rich and luxurious society. And though it might be the intention of parties in England to vest a considerable part of the value of the exports from this country in American stocks and securities, still it is clear that that circumstance could in nowise mitigate the pressure upon the importers of such an excessive quantity of produce into America. The difficulty with them was, owing to the vast increase of imports, to effect sales except at a heavy loss; for when they had effected a sale and *got the money*, it was immaterial to them whether they laid it out on English account in America or remitted it to England.

Without stopping to recapitulate in detail the previous statements, they conclusively establish the fact of an extraordinary degree of overtrading on the part of the Americans; first, by the circumstance of the imports into the Union having increased no less than 270 per cent in the course of the six years ending with 1836; second, by the imports having increased much faster than the exports, and having, in 1836, exceeded the latter by the immense sum of about L.12,000,000 sterling; and, third, by the imports having consisted almost entirely of articles of consump-

Digitized by Google

tion, and not of articles destined to enter into the construction of public works or permanent improvements.

Assuming, therefore, the fact, of which assuredly there cannot be even the shadow of a doubt, that the Americans have latterly overtraded to an almost unprecedented extent,—we have next to enquire into the causes of this overtrading, and consequently of the embarrassment and bankruptcy which have necessarily resulted from it.

These causes may be divided into two great classes—those peculiar to America and those peculiar to England.

I. It is not necessary, in reviewing the causes of the overtrading in America, that we should enter into any details with respect to the struggle between General Jackson and the Bank of the United States. It is enough for our purpose to observe, that Government did every thing possible, first, to damage the credit and influence, and then to extinguish that great establishment. In this view, it withdrew from it, in June, 1833, the deposits of public money; and it succeeded in the end, despite the most formidable opposition, in preventing the renewal of its charter. It is true that it has since been rechartered by the State of Pennsylvania, but this only renders it a State, and not a National bank. It can no longer establish branches in other States; and being deprived of the deposits of public money, and of the consideration attached to it as a national institution, its influence in the Union has been greatly diminished. Now, we are disposed to look upon this as a very great evil. While the Bank of the United States had branches diffused all over the Union, its notes formed a sort of national currency; and its great capital, and the skill with which it was managed, gave it much consideration, and made it difficult for inferior notes to circulate in company with its paper. In this way it operated as a powerful check on the injudicious or dishonest proceedings of other banks;—putting, as M. Chevalier has truly stated, a bridle upon their abuses, and limiting, if it did not altogether repress them. (*Lettres sur l'Amerique du Nord, Letter* 4.)

But after the deposits had been withdrawn from the United States Bank, and it became extremely probable that General Jackson would succeed in entirely subverting the institution, a new state of things began. The persecuted establishment lost consideration and power, while, by distributing the public deposits among from sixty to seventy private banks, Government powerfully stimulated that mania for Joint-Stock Banking that has always prevailed to a less or greater extent in America. We do not suppose that General Jackson and the Government party wished to do this; but such was the necessary effect of their

Digitized by Google

measures against the United States Bank; their influence in this respect being only in a very small degree counteracted by the regulations laid down as to the conduct of the 'pet banks,' as those were termed, to which the deposits were intrusted. In consequence, the mania for new banks went hand in hand with that for railroads. On the 1st of January, 1830, there were in the Union (excluding the Bank of the United States) 329 private banks, having, or professing to have, a capital of 110,192,268 dollars. In June, 1834, the number of private banks had increased to 506, and their capital to 170,123,788 dollars. In the short interval between June, 1834, and January, 1835, no fewer than fifty-six new banks were founded, with a capital of above twenty-four million dollars; and this excessive *debordement*, as it is expressively termed by M. Chevalier, continued down to July;—new banks springing up like mushrooms in every village throughout the Union, until they formed a grand total of about 700 banks, independent of vast numbers of branches. They had, according to their own statement—which is, however, believed to be very much within the mark—advanced, at that period, the enormous sum of about 600,000,000 dollars, or L.120,000,000 sterling, in loans and discounts!

America being a country with every facility for the ready and profitable investment of capital, and her people being eminently distinguished for their adventurous, speculative spirit, we need not certainly be surprised that this inundation of banks, all issuing notes, and discounting recklessly, should have powerfully stimulated the existing and, as it were, constitutional tendency to speculation; and that every sort of overtrading should have prevailed in the Union. All sorts of produce rose rapidly in price. The middlemen who bought goods from the importers for distribution in the interior, and the shopkeepers who purchased from the middlemen, having unusual facilities for getting credit, rapidly extended their engagements, and augmented their stocks; and hence it is, that, notwithstanding the vast increase of imports, there was no considerable accumulation of stocks in the Atlantic cities, but that the excess was distributed over every part of the country, and consequently escaped the notice of the inattentive observer. To such an extent was speculation carried, that in 1836 the legislature of the state of New York incorporated no fewer than forty-two railway companies, some of them with immense capitals. There grew up, at the same time, a most extraordinary rage for purchasing public lands and building situations, the price of both being, in consequence, elevated far above its natural level. The extent to which this mania was carried may be inferred from the fact, that in 1833 the

Digitized by Google

revenue received by the United States Government from public lands amounted to 3,967,683 dollars; in 1834 it amounted to 4,857,600 dollars; and in 1835 it suddenly rose to treble its amount during the previous year, or to 14,757,601 dollars; showing a total rise of about 370 per cent in the brief space of *three* years! During the first six months of 1836, the mania went on increasing in a greatly accelerated ratio;* and it did not reach its acme till the 11th of July that year, when the President issued his famous Circular,—ordering that all payments on account of public lands should be made in specie only, or in the paper of the banks where the public lands were situated, and which should be immediately converted into specie.

Much fault has been found with General Jackson for issuing this order, though, as it appears to us, with very little reason. It must have been evident to the President, and indeed to every man of sense not engaged in the vortex of speculation, that the purchases in question could not terminate otherwise than in bankruptcy and ruin; and the thing most to be regretted is, that the order was not issued twelve months sooner, or before the evil had attained to so frightful an excess. It is, perhaps, true that it brought on the catastrophe some six months sooner than it might otherwise have occurred. But it was quite impossible that the crisis could have been long averted; and by accelerating its arrival before the mania had attained its full developement, the violence of the explosion was necessarily, in some degree, diminished. The real error of General Jackson in his policy as to commercial affairs does not consist in his having issued this order, but in his having sacrificed the Bank of the United States. He always professed, and we believe truly, to be an enemy to the paper system, or at least to its abuse. But instead of attempting to improve it, by exerting the influence of Government to prevent the multiplication of mushroom banks in all parts of the Union, he encouraged them, and exerted himself to suppress the only institution that deserved his patronage,—that was a check on the wild and mischievous proceedings of the others, and on whose stability and good conduct the public might at all times depend. This conduct would be inexplicable, were it not that in America every thing depends on party politics,—taking the phrase in its literal and most degrading sense. The Bank of the United States incurred the hostility of the General and the democratic party,

* During the year ending 1st January, 1837, the revenue from public lands amounted to the immense sum of 23,048,029 dollars, or nearly *seven* times its amount in 1833.

Digitized by Google

because it was supposed to be attached to the opposite or aristocratical party. But for this circumstance, the contest between the Government and the Bank never would have been heard of; and the latter, as it deserved, would have been patronised by the President; and the multiplication of other banks of issue have been discouraged or prevented.

But, be this as it may, the Circular of the 11th of July was a death-blow to that mania for speculation which had previously been raging in various parts of the Union. The Banks in the Western and South-western States, where the public lands are principally situated, fearing a drain for bullion, began immediately to refuse their customary discounts, and to contract their engagements. It also became necessary for them,—for the speculators who had purchased public lands,—and also for the settlers who intended to occupy the latter, to provide themselves with an increased amount of specie; and, in consequence, it was conveyed away in large quantities from the Atlantic cities to the West. All parts of the Union were thus simultaneously involved in difficulties. The facilities which the Atlantic cities had previously possessed for making payments in Europe, were considerably narrowed by the forced efflux of specie to the Western States. This, however, was not the worst feature of the altered state of things. Owing to the difficulty of procuring pecuniary accommodations in the States bordering on the Mississippi,—and the fact, that almost all the interior merchants and dealers had either speculated in public lands, or in canal and railway shares, whence they could not withdraw their capital except at an enormous loss,—most of them became unable to remit to the Atlantic cities for the goods they had so largely purchased from them; and this failure of internal remittances necessarily incapacitated all but the very richest merchants in the cities in question from remitting to Europe. The destruction of confidence and credit, with the interruption or rather total cessation of business in all parts of the Union, were the necessary results of this state of things. And thus it is, that the abuse of banking and credit in America itself, without the assistance it received from Europe, could not have failed to produce a very severe revulsion.

II. But, however signal the folly and overtrading of the Americans during the last two or three years, they have hardly exceeded, if they have not been surpassed, by what has occurred amongst ourselves. We have seen the enormous increase of the imports into the United States during the six, and especially the three years ending with 1836; and we have further seen that the exports from the United States by no means corresponded with the amount of imports—the latter having exceeded the former no

Digitized by Google

less than L.12,000,000 sterling, in 1836 only. Such being the case, it is plain that, during the last two or three years, America must have incurred, partly on stocks, bonds, &c., and partly and principally on bills and open accounts, an immense debt to the foreigner, or rather to England; we being almost the only party to whom she is under heavy obligations. This arises out of the singular circumstance, that almost the whole trade of the Union with England, as well as with India, China, and South America, has been latterly carried on upon credits obtained in England. And before proceeding farther, it may be as well, perhaps, to show the nature of those credits, and how they arose.

The export of British manufactures to the United States was formerly effected by English houses executing orders for the Americans, and transmitting the invoices and bills of lading to their agents in America; to be delivered on their receiving bank bills on Europe or other approved securities for the amount. Formerly, also, when the Americans sent ships to China and India, they put on board in the United States dollars, ginseng, and other commodities suitable for the Canton and Calcutta markets; and the ships not unfrequently touched at England in their way, and took on board British produce suitable for the same markets. These were safe and legitimate methods of carrying on trade, and had they been persevered in, or had no shipment been made, except upon security of the bills of lading, no great overtrading could have arisen.

But the increase of the trade,—the growing wealth and confidence placed in the American houses, and the natural wish of the latter to avail themselves, in as far as possible, of the command of British capital, which bore a much less rate of interest than American capital,—gradually introduced, during the last eight or ten years, and ultimately established, a more convenient and cheaper, but far less safe mode of carrying on the trade. This was brought about by the importing houses in America establishing agents in the manufacturing districts of this country, and also in the Continent, China, &c., for the purchase and shipment of products for the United States. The houses that had appointed such agents obtained, at the same time, a credit in their favour upon some one or other of the great Anglo-American houses in London or Liverpool, who allowed the agent to draw upon them for the amount of the credit by bill at four months. On the first introduction of this new system, it was customary for the English houses which had given the credits, to get the bills of lading and invoices, and to transmit them as formerly to their agents in America. But over-confidence and competition were not long in occasioning a departure from this system. It seemed

Digitized by Google

to be unnecessary to require any such collateral security from American houses of undoubted wealth and known prudence in the conduct of their affairs; and if one English house thought this unnecessary in the case of Messrs A. of New York, another thought it unnecessary in the case of Messrs B. of Boston, and so on; till at length the practice was in all cases resisted by the Americans as illiberal and invidious, and abandoned by the English as useless. The consequence was, that American houses of little standing or capital were able to obtain credits here, and frequently to an immense amount, without any collateral security whatever. This is what is technically called the 'open credit system,' and a most dangerous one it undoubtedly is. After it had been once established, we need not certainly wonder, —knowing the speculative disposition of the Americans, and the extraordinary facilities for obtaining loans that recently prevailed in all parts of the Union,—at the immense amount of their imports, or at the difficulties in which the parties in England who gave them credits are now involved.

The bills drawn by the American agents on and accepted by the English houses, were, as already stated, at four months; and as the goods paid for by means of these bills were sent to America generally within a month, and sold within two, there was ample time for remitting funds to England before the bill became due. And it was the belief that the bills were all issued in *bona fide* transactions, and that they would be provided for by the sale of an equivalent amount of produce, that seems to have rendered them peculiar favourites with the money-dealers and private bankers, by whom they were regarded as an approved species of paper.

But, exclusive of the obvious tendency of this system to foster overtrading, it was defective in another particular not so easily discovered. It began to be no unusual thing for an American house which had obtained a credit for four months upon Messrs A. of London, to pay it off by getting a similar credit upon Messrs B., and then extinguishing this by a new credit upon Messrs C., and so on. This abusive practice was not, of course, resorted to by the first-rate American houses; and the more prudent and cautious of the English houses set their faces against it; but it was frequently practised without their knowledge, and some of the others being less scrupulous, a great amount of what was really accommodation paper got into the circle, and not being distinguishable from that which was legitimate, was as readily discounted.

It is a curious and not very easily explained circumstance, that, notwithstanding the intense competition that prevails in this coun-

Digitized by Google

try in all departments of trade, the business, which for some years past had been reckoned equally safe and lucrative, of making advances on American account, was almost wholly confined to about *seven* houses, six in London and one in Liverpool. And we have good reason to think that we are rather within the mark when we affirm, that the aggregate acceptances of these seven houses became latterly so enormous as to have amounted at certain periods of 1835 and 1836 to no less than *fifteen* or *sixteen* millions sterling!

Unluckily, however, the capital of the houses in question was very far indeed from being at all equal to the safe transacting of such an amount of business. If we take that part of it which existed in this country, and could be made available to meet the engagements of the firms, at L.300,000 each, or at a gross sum of L.2,100,000, we shall not be within, but beyond the mark. The miserable inadequacy of such a capital, which did not in fact exceed one-seventh or one-eighth part of their acceptances, is too obvious to require to be insisted upon. It left no sufficient margin for accidents, or unfavourable contingencies of any sort; and it must have been clear to every one acquainted with the facts, that the moment any thing occurred to interrupt the regular receipt of remittances from America, or to prevent the discount of American bills in our markets,—that moment the system would fall to pieces, and all the houses which could not command extraordinary resources, would be compelled to suspend payments.

Simultaneously with the growth of that system of overtrading and spurious credit in America, already noticed, a similar system grew up in this country. It is unnecessary, however, to recapitulate the facts stated with respect to the origin and progress of that system in our last Number (Art. III.) But, in consequence of the heavy drain for bullion that set in upon the Bank of England, occasioned exclusively by the sudden and excessive increase in the number of joint-stock banks, and their over-issue, the Bank found it necessary to raise the rate of interest, and to adopt vigorous measures for contracting the currency. Now, it is of importance to remark, that down to this period —that is, to August last—all, or almost all the vast amount of discounts required by the American houses, had been furnished to them principally by the money-dealers of London; but latterly also, to a great extent, by the joint-stock banks. None of the houses had resorted for discounts to the Bank of England, —their paper being negotiated by the parties referred to on decidedly cheaper terms than would have been charged by the Bank. In fact, the folly and recklessness displayed by the money-dealers

Digitized by Google

and provincial bankers was even more stupendous than that of the merchants, who had made themselves responsible, in the first instance, for such a mass of bills. Indeed, had it not been for the blind confidence and want of all discretion evinced throughout the whole of these transactions by the money-dealers, the merchants would not have become entangled to any thing like the extent that they did.

The rate of interest charged by the Bank of England being, as already stated, above the market rate, the Bank lent certain funds at her disposal, and which she could not otherwise employ, to the money-dealers, to be employed by the latter in the discount of good mercantile paper. The money-dealers thinking, for reasons best known to themselves, that the paper of the American houses was the best that could be had, employed the cash lent them by the Bank, in discounting their bills; and these being sent into the Bank for security, the latter became, for the first time, aware of the prodigious extent of American paper afloat, and of the vast engagements of the American houses. This discovery being made at a time when the Bank was under the necessity of exerting herself to contract the currency, and to bring back the exchange to par, could not fail to excite very uneasy feelings. And it is of importance farther to notice, that the Circular of the President of the United States, ordering the price of the public lands to be paid in specie, being issued on the 11th of July, the account of its appearance, and of the effect it was beginning to have, and would most likely continue to have, in the United States, came to this country about the same time that the attention of the Bank Directors was called to the mass of American paper in our market.

It is needless to say that this was a very delicate and difficult state of things to deal with. It must have been clear to every man of sense, that the affairs of the American houses had come to a crisis; and that what had happened in the United States, and was happening here, would ultimately put an end to that system of spurious credit and overtrading on which they had been proceeding. But, considering the decree in which the interests of most classes in this country were involved in this question—considering the vast amount of paper afloat—that America was the best customer for our manufactures, and that about a *fifth part* of the whole foreign trade of the country is carried on directly with her, exclusive of a large portion carried on indirectly through American agency,—it became necessary to act with extraordinary circumspection. The great object should have been, to reduce the engagements of the American houses, without, if possible, bringing them into discredit. And, perhaps, it

Digitized by Google

would have been the best way to effect this for the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank, to have gone privately to the leading partners of the houses, and have represented to them their fears as to the consequences that would most probably result from their keeping afloat so large a mass of paper, and the necessity that, in their judgment, existed for setting about its gradual reduction. But whether it were that the Directors conceived this would be an improper interference with other people's matters, or for some other reason, we believe they made no remonstrance of the sort; but, in the month of September last, after receipt of the intelligence of the commencement of the revulsion in America, the Governor of the Bank wrote to the agent of the Bank's branch in Liverpool, instructing him, consistently with the rule to be observed in London, to reject the paper of the American houses, which were specified by name! We take it for granted, that the Governor had the authority of the Court for writing this letter; but, however this may be, it seems to have been, in no ordinary degree, rash and ill-advised. The American houses had not, when it was written, applied to the Bank to discount a single bill; and though the Directors were bound, knowing their situation, to have been extremely cautious, had they come to them, this would not warrant their doing any thing, in anticipation, that might by possibility undermine the credit of parties not seeking their assistance. Besides, it is not practicable to throw out large classes of bills; at least, if the public interests be thereby materially compromised. The Bank may reject the paper of a particular house, though that is always invidious; but, if she attempt simultaneously to reject the paper of *all* the houses engaged in any very extensive department of business, it is quite certain, from the discredit such a proceeding will occasion, that she will, in the end, have a much greater mass of inferior paper thrust upon her than if she had acted on a more liberal system. But whatever may be thought of the act of writing such a letter, there can certainly be only one opinion as to the necessity that existed for making it 'most confidential,' and of maintaining profound secrecy with respect to it. Whether, however, it were owing to the inexcusable negligence of the letter-writer, or to some inconceivable folly on the part of the agent at Liverpool, to whom it was addressed, the latter did not regard it as confidential, but, on the contrary, showed it to certain parties! The effect was like magic. The credit of the American houses, that had previously stood so high, was instantly annihilated. The money-dealers and discount-merchants immediately turned round, and unceremoniously rejected the paper for which they had the moment before manifested so great a liking. But the Bank not daring, under the circumstances, to

Digitized by Google

act on the principle laid down in the letter, or to refuse paper said to be discredited by her own act, the money-dealers got out of the difficulty; and the Bank found herself compelled to take the paper they had created, and she had pronounced to be unsafe.

This, however, was but the least effect of this precipitate proceeding. Intelligence of what had happened in England was conveyed by the first packets to America, where it irreparably damaged the credit of the English houses. The American merchants, who already had to make head against the effects of the President's Circular, and the crippled state of credit at home, found, to their astonishment, that they had a new and most serious evil to contend with; and that they would not only be pressed for the immediate payment of the immense balances due by them to England, but would most probably have to provide for some millions of returned bills. The banks in all the Atlantic cities immediately took the alarm, lest bullion should be demanded for shipments to Europe, as well as for the West; and the severity of the crisis that had begun in the United States was in this way immeasurably aggravated. From the moment that the discredit took place here, it became apparent that the stability of such houses as could not command extraordinary resources, would entirely depend on the fact of their correspondents in America being regular in their remittances; and that their situation was so very perilous, that any unusual delay in the arrival of a packet might compel them to suspend payment.

It may be said, perhaps, that whether the letter in question had been written or not, the result must have been nearly the same—that the American houses had grossly overtraded, and that it was impossible for them to escape the effects of their folly. This is undoubtedly true. But with greater circumspection and prudence at the outset, by secretly admonishing the parties of their danger, and of the course the Bank might be compelled to pursue, the crisis might have been deferred till the engagements of the houses had been materially reduced; and had this been done, much mischief would have been obviated both in England and in America.

From the time that the drain for gold began to set against the Bank in April, 1836, it must have become evident to all persons in the least acquainted with principle, that there would be in the end a considerable scarcity of money, a difficulty of getting paper negotiated, and a fall of prices. But no anticipations of this sort, nor even the letter of the American President, and the discredit thrown on American paper, appear to have had any considerable influence in repressing the engagements of most of the American houses. Their agents in America drew upon them

Digitized by Google

more heavily than ever; and they seem to have gone on, throughout 1836, entering into fresh engagements, as if the trade had been on the firmest footing. We subjoin a statement, which we believe to be accurate, of the amount of the outstanding acceptances of the three great houses which have stopped payment, on the 1st of January of the following years:—

	Messrs A.	Messrs B.	Messrs C.	Total.
	L.	L.	L.	L.
1 Jan. 1834	861,000	680,000	813,000	2,354,000
1835	753,000	560,000	731,000	2,044,000
1836	1,070,000	1,147,000	1,504,000	3,721,000
1837	1,539,000	1,922,000	2,112,000	5,573,000

This extraordinary increase is the more unaccountable, as there had been a heavy fall in the prices of most articles in the autumn of 1836, both in America and here. And as there can be no doubt that the parties were most anxious to narrow their engagements, this shows better than any thing else the vicious nature of the system on which they had been proceeding, and its tendency to plunge them still deeper into difficulties.

Notwithstanding the damage done to their credit, the houses continued to go on for some time longer; till at length, in the latter end of February or the beginning of March last, the firms, whose engagements are particularized above, found it impossible, without extraordinary aid, to continue their payments. The amount of their engagements, when they found themselves in this position, did not differ very materially from what it had been in January; and we believe we may estimate the engagements of the other houses at about as much, making in all a sum of *eleven* or *twelve* millions sterling. And had these three houses been allowed suddenly to go down, one at least, if not more, of the other houses must have followed, and a most violent and indeed unparalleled shock have been given to the manufactures and commerce of the country. Under these circumstances the Bank of England did come forward; and though the precedent be in some respects objectionable, still, as we endeavoured to show in our last Number, the case was so peculiar, and the consequences of the stoppage of the houses at the period in question would have been so ruinous, that the Bank is entitled to the public thanks for having stepped forward, and held them up till they got their engagements very greatly reduced.

Digitized by Google

The packets that sailed from this country for the United States in March, while it was uncertain whether the Bank would attempt to bolster up the embarrassed houses, necessarily carried out a good many returned bills, and a very gloomy account of the state of things here. This unfavourable intelligence increased the previously existing embarrassments and want of confidence in America, to such an extent, that panic took the place of suspicion. The American banks are, if possible, still more rotten and worthless than those of England; and a run upon them having commenced in New Orleans, extended over the whole Union, and in a short time compelled *every one of them to suspend payments.*

The question, whether the Bank of England should have farther continued that assistance to the American houses, which she rendered them in the first instance, depends entirely on their supposed solvency, and can be judged of only by those familiar with all the intricacies of their widely extended negotiations. The turn that affairs took in America seems to have led the Bank to doubt their solvency; and she therefore left them to their fate, though, as already stated, in consequence of her previous assistance, their engagements were so much reduced that their stoppage has produced comparatively little injury.

Much difference of opinion is entertained as to the circumstances under which the account between this country and America will now be adjusted. But the opinion in all the best informed quarters seems to be, that the Americans will make every possible effort to pay off their debts; so that the loss our merchants will sustain will not be nearly so great as might be imagined. Though we hear of failures by hundreds, and even thousands, among the internal dealers and shopkeepers, in various parts of the United States; yet, with only two or three exceptions, there have not been any important failures among the importers of foreign produce. After so violent a storm as has swept over the United States, the strongest houses will require time to gather their resources; and the stoppage of the houses here will, as far as they are concerned, give the necessary time to their debtors; while, we believe, most of the others are now in a state to afford this indispensable indulgence.

It is not possible, perhaps, to form any accurate estimate of the total sum owing by the merchants of the United States to those of this country. We have heard it variously estimated, by well-informed parties, at from *ten* to *eight* millions sterling; but since that estimate was formed a large amount of bonds of the Bank of the United States and other banks have been received, which has proportionally lowered the amount of the mercantile

Digitized by Google

debt. But supposing the latter amounted, at the period of the crisis, to eight millions sterling, it is easy to see that if the Americans have the wish (of which there seems to be no doubt) to extinguish this debt, they certainly have the means. Instead of importing this year to the amount of 190 millions of dollars, as they did last year, importation has almost ceased; and there is no ground for supposing that it will this year amount to the *fifth part* of the above sum, or to 38 millions of dollars. But while importation has been thus diminished, exportation is carried on with the greatest vigour. In 1836, the value of the cotton exports from America amounted to 71,284,825 dollars. It is certain that the *quantity* exported this year will be considerably greater, though, owing to the heavy fall in its price, its value will be decidedly less,—perhaps not more than 50 millions of dollars. But taking it at that sum, and the exports of tobacco, rice, flour, the produce of fisheries, &c., at 25 millions—being 10 millions less than their amount last year—we have a total export of 75 millions to be set against an import of 38 millions,—leaving a surplus of 37 million dollars, or about L.7,400,000 sterling to go to the extinction of debt. And if we add to this the quantity of private and state stocks, bonds, &c., that are sure to be sent for sale here, it will be seen that there is nothing whatever to prevent the Americans to square accounts with us.

We have said nothing in this statement of the probable exports from America of the bullion that many expect will be shipped by her. It is doubtful whether this will amount to much. There seems to be a strong probability that a regard for their own interest will induce all the strongest banks in the Union to resume specie payments with as little delay as possible; and if so, they will be anxious to accumulate all the specie they can possibly collect. It is clear, too, that in the present deranged state of the currency of the United States, very many private individuals will be anxious to obtain gold; so that we do not look for any large imports from that quarter for a considerable time to come. But it is not in anywise necessary to the extinction of her debt that the Americans should export a single ounce of bullion. They have otherwise ample means to effect the object; and we doubt not that they will show they are heirs to the honesty, as well as the industry and enterprise of their ancestors.

The measures necessary to be taken to place the trade on a solid foundation, may easily be inferred from the preceding statements as to the circumstances which have occasioned the present crisis. We need say nothing as to the vicious banking system that prevails, both here and in America. We have lately had occasion fully to state our opinions with respect to it; and all

Digitized by Google

additional experience demonstrates still more conclusively (if we would prevent the endless recurrence of the most appalling vicissitudes,) the absolute necessity of entirely remodelling that system, and of confining the issue of notes to some single source. Till this be done, no commercial speculation can ever rest on any solid foundation, but must always partake more of the nature of a gambling speculation, than of a sober, industrious undertaking. At present, however, we shall not insist further upon this point; but shall content ourselves with observing, that whatever may be done with the banks, either here or in the United States, it is indispensable that the mercantile transactions between the two countries, should henceforth be conducted on a totally different system. The overtrading we have witnessed could not have taken place to any thing like the same extent, had the houses here, which gave the credits, abided by the original practice of always getting the invoices and bills of lading as a collateral security; and, therefore, if the old system is to be revived, the delivery of such invoices and bills should be rigidly enforced, and made in all cases a *sine qua non* of the credit being given. And to insure the observance of this rule, the Bank of England might declare, that she would not, under any circumstances, take the paper of any house, however opulent, that did not uniformly act on this principle. Perhaps, however, the preferable plan would be to establish an exchange with America, and for merchants here to draw upon her; the banks and monied institutions in that country giving credit for bills to be drawn upon them by this country on account of their respective customs, in the same way that shipments are made by order to various parts of the Continent.

But, however brought about, it is for the interest of all the opulent houses engaged in the trade, as well as for the interest of the Bank of England and the private bankers, to set their faces sternly against the continuance or revival of a system productive of the results we now witness. It is besides abundantly certain, that unless vigorous measures be taken in this view, the worst practices that lately prevailed will, at no distant period, resume their former activity; and, as the trade must necessarily, from the extraordinary increase of wealth and population in America, rapidly rise in magnitude and importance, it is clear, that unless it be placed on a comparatively solid foundation, the next revulsion will be still more destructive than the present.

Digitized by Google

ART. X.—*The Bride of Messina; a Tragedy, from the German of F. V. Schiller.* By GEORGE IRVINE, Esq. 8vo. London: 1837.

EVERY one is agreed that the best translation is that, in the perusal of which a foreign reader is enabled to forget the translator, and to feel as if by some sudden charm he were placed in communication with the original. While the language must be so easy and idiomatic as never to suggest the idea of constraint, or of its foreign origin;—so fused into a new whole in the mind of the translator as to flow forth with the charm of a harmonious continuity; so natural and unobtrusive as to attract no attention to itself, but like a colourless and transparent element to be the mere medium of thought and feeling, and nothing more;—it must be made the instrument of rendering with accuracy every outline and tint of the original,—of transporting us into a circle of distant or foreign associations, and of placing us among scenes 'where 'other voices speak, and other sights surround.'

But the question is, how is this perfection to be attained, or approached more nearly? By what system of translation is this union of the foreign and domestic to be effected, so as to communicate on the whole to the mere English reader the truest idea of the classic graces of antiquity, the glowing Orientalism of Spanish poetry, the sunny clearness of the Italian, or the pensive and brooding spirit of the German?—or to render the succinct grandeur of Dante, the tender, devoted, and lyric tone of Tasso, the exuberant fancy and soaring enthusiasm of Calderon, all perceptible and distinguishable in the common vehicle of English?

All translation is of course a compromise. To be perfectly literal, and perfectly spirited, would be scarcely practicable in a prose translation; in one where the translator has to encounter the additional trammels of verse, and still more where an attempt is made to copy the rythm and metrical cadence of the original, it is of course impossible. But when, to the difficulty of rendering mere *words* by their equivalents, and at the same time observing the rules of versification, is added that of conveying the full significance of the original, and rendering foreign associations palpable by representing them in some universal type intelligible to all,—every one must perceive not only that mere literal translation is impossible, but that the true *spirit*, pregnancy, and force of the original can only be given by a certain degree of deviation from the letter.

Digitized by Google

This question of degree, however, occasions the difficulty; and though no one pretends to aim at an *absolutely* literal version of a foreign writer in poetry, yet there are two classes who entertain opinions so distinct in regard to the strictness of adherence to the original required from a translator, that they may fairly enough be characterised as the 'literal,' and (according to their own nomenclature) the 'spirited' or liberal translators. This last epithet, however, we must observe, is in many cases far too favourable;—'license they mean when they cry liberty;'—and their versions might with justice be characterised as loose rather than spirited.

In England, the prevailing practice and opinion has long been in favour of the liberal system of translation. Our early versions of classic and foreign writers were no doubt framed, professedly at least, on the principle of literal translation; and in this style Fairfax's translation of the Jerusalem was a masterpiece. But a revolution was effected in English translation by the great talent of Dryden. Dryden had undoubtedly many of the highest requisites of a translator; he was a competent if not a profound scholar, and a consummate master of all the resources of the language in which he wrote;—even to the minutest and most secret technicalities of versification: he had a vigorous and masculine taste, which taught him to look to the effect of the whole rather than the parts, and to despise the idea of interweaving with the original texture mere additions and ornaments of his own. But the very fertility and originality of his own mind rendered it difficult for him to devote to his compositions of this kind that patient attention which is required to convey the exact meaning of the original, in words at once idiomatically English, and yet close and literal;—to make his versions, in short, properly translations, as distinguished from paraphrases. Undoubtedly at times he may even improve upon his original, as in his noble version of the line 'Vertitur interea cœlum et ruit oceano nox.'

> 'Mean-time the rapid heavens rolled down the light,
> And on the shaded ocean rushed the night.'

But he often adopts a merely analogous turn or idea where a little more pains would have enabled him to represent the original in English words with spirit and fidelity; and he very often falls into that error, so common in what is called spirited translation, of endeavouring to avoid stiffness, and to give an air of vivacity and originality to his version by the employment of phrases, and allusions, and technical expressions connected with modern times and manners, which give to his otherwise noble and beautiful poem something of that slang air which appears so

Digitized by Google

whimsical in Eckard's Terence. What can be more absurd, for instance, than the translation of the lines

> 'Læva tibi tellus, et longo læva petantur
> Æquora circuita; dextrum fuge littus et undas.
>
> 'Tack to the larboard, and stand off to sea,
> Veer starboard, sea, and land,'—

A counsel which, as Sir Walter Scott justly observes, would probably have been unintelligible not only to Palinurus, but to the best pilot in the British navy.

The questionable example set by Dryden was imitated by Pope, and unfortunately with a still greater deviation from the true principles of translation. From the defect of introducing mere modern phrases into his translation, and thus unpleasingly suggesting the recollections of Wapping in the midst of a voyage in the Mediterranean, Pope was, no doubt, free; but he fell into the more cardinal error of translating on the systematic principle of improving his original,—softening its rudenesses, and hiding its supposed baldness with additional epithets and imagery. For this most vicious system, we own, we have no toleration. If a work is deserving of translation, it deserves to be translated as it is—with all its peculiarities, however little these may be in harmony with modern notions. It ought to be a copy of the original; not, indeed, a Chinese copy, where every hair of the head or eyebrow may be counted in the portrait, but in which nothing is added or taken away, and the characteristic expression preserved, —whether that happens to correspond with the line of beauty or the reverse.

We believe the popularity of Pope's Iliad and Odyssey to have produced the most pernicious effect upon our English taste as to translation. In fact, with the exception of Cowper's version of the Iliad, in blank verse, which, with considerable defects of style, is yet a work conceived, and in general executed, in a right spirit, we can mention no poetical English translation of any great classic or foreign work, deserving of the name, between the time of Pope and the appearance of Mr Carey's translation of Dante. Mr Carey's translation was close and harmonious; its only defect is, that the peculiarities of Dante's manner and versification often evaporate in the Miltonic movement of the blank verse; which the translator (despairing of being able to imitate the intricacies of the *terza rima* in English) chose to adopt. Since that time, the example thus set of a return to the literal rather than the paraphrastic style of translation has been frequently imitated, and with success. We still prefer, we must admit, Fairfax's version of the Jerusalem to any of the numerous translations of

Digitized by Google

that poem to which the present century has given birth; but those of Hunt and Wiffen certainly present themselves in very favourable contrast with the mawkish and miserable version of Hoole. Mr Stewart Rose's version of the Orlando is remarkably spirited and faithful; and, we really believe, accomplishes as much for Ariosto as we have any reason to think can be done for his delightful verses in the somewhat unbending language to which they have been transferred.

The wide field opened by German literature has of late attracted not a few English translators to that quarter; and we are rather inclined to think that the sound and strict views which prevail in Germany with regard to translation, and the wonderful success with which these views have been carried into execution, and illustrated in their literature, have had a most beneficial effect in correcting the tendency to that loose and merely imitative style which the success of Pope's translations had sanctioned and rendered popular; and of recalling us to a taste for that severer style which distinguished the earlier period of our literature, and which we believe to be the only style of translation which can possess any permanent value or interest. The principle of every German translator of any eminence has long been, to sink himself entirely in his original; to look upon himself as the mere sworn interpreter of a foreigner's meaning, in his own language; to permit himself no liberties either of addition or retrenchment; never to use a mere paraphrase, where without violence or obscurity the meaning of the original can be literally rendered; and to copy not merely the meaning of the passage translated, but, as far as possible, the movement of the versification, the arrangement of the rhymes, the fall of the cadences of the original. The defects of German translations are almost always on the side of ruggedness or stiffness, from too close an adherence to the originals; but no one who has not some acquaintance with German literature can form the least idea of the perfection—both in point of fidelity, and of spirit and freedom, with which some of the German versions, both from our own writers, and from those of the Continent, have been executed. We have more than once alluded to the admirable translation of Shakspeare by William Schlegel,—a translation in listening to which in a German theatre—the English traveller who has a competent knowledge of the language might almost believe that he heard our great dramatist's own accents; and in which not merely the general characteristics of Shakspeare's manner are caught, but the diversities of tone which distinguish particular plays. But the singular circumstance is, that new translations of Shakspeare still from time to time appear; and excellent as Schlegel's version

Digitized by Google

is, there are some of them to which (in the translation of particular plays at least) we should almost be disposed to award the preference. We have lately perused, in particular, with the highest pleasure, the opening volume of the translation by Philip Kauffman, which is not inferior to that of Schlegel, either in fidelity or poetical beauty, and yet has a quite original and independent character.

There are, however, so many analogies between the German and the English, both in language and character, that the success of these versions of our great dramatist may be considered less remarkable, than the extraordinary skill and mastery with which the Germans have seized and conveyed into their own language the spirit of the poets of the Peninsula. One is not surprised to find, as in Jauregui's Spanish translation of Tasso's Aminta, a version which is almost literal, and where sometimes the words in both languages correspond through whole lines. The resemblances between the two Romanic languages, and the many features of national character common to both, particularly at an earlier period, render this by no means so remarkable a *tour de force* as it might at first sight appear to be. But to embody in Teutonic accents the words of the warm south; to throw into the vague and pensive language of Germany the fire and glow of Spanish imagination, and breathe over it the influences of a Spanish clime, is a task which, but for the remarkable translations from the dramas of Lope de Vega, Moreto, and Calderon, of which German literature can boast, we should beforehand have pronounced to be impossible. In this department also, as in that of the English drama, Schlegel may be said to have led the way; but he has found fit successors and worthy rivals in Malsburg and Gries, both of whom have executed versions of the best of Calderon's plays in a style which, to our minds, comes near to perfection. Not merely is the translation executed line for line, but the strange peculiarities of the versification are imitated,—rambling from the full rhyme or *consonante* into the *asonante*, or imperfect rhyme, which, when once commenced, must be continued, according to the laws of the Spanish stage, throughout the scene, though consisting, as these frequently do, of many hundred lines; then enlarging into the full stream of harmonious octavas, or terminating (as frequently the soliloquies do) in the intricate melody of the sonnet:—all these, with the many other metres of which the Spanish drama admits, are invariably rendered by corresponding measures in German. It may be safely affirmed, that to render back a single play of Calderon in this style of perfect reflection, is a task involving an amount of patient toil (apart altogether from the poetical

Digitized by Google

feeling and delicacy of perception which it implies, and the previous philological acquisitions which it presupposes) at which most of our English translators would stand aghast.

We are not yet able to boast that we have repaid our obligations to our German neighbours by any versions from their literature, of corresponding excellence, though in numbers at least we are not deficient. We have actually ceased to count the translations of Faust; yet it may be doubted whether even by a union of all that is good in each, we should obtain a result which would satisfy the idea of a good translation. No poetical translation from the German has in fact ever become properly a part of English literature, except, 'The Wallenstein,' as translated by Coleridge; and admirable as that translation is on the whole, it is deformed by blemishes, inequalities, and occasionally absolute mistakes or perversions of meaning, which a very slight degree of additional labour would have removed. A still more serious charge against his translation is the singular omission of some of the most remarkable passages of the original. Coleridge's play, it is known, was translated from a manuscript copy, and considerable alterations were made by Schiller on the drama, before publication. This may account for some discrepancies between the original and the translation, but it will not account for Coleridge's omission of some very striking passages in the scene between Wallenstein and Max Piccolomini; * in the third Act, of Wallenstein's death; nor for the still more singular curtailment of the beautiful monologue of Thekla, in the twelfth scene of the fourth Act, when, after bearing up with a courage worthy of Wallenstein's daughter during the narrative of her lover's death, she resolves to leave all behind her, and to breathe her last beside his laurel-covered coffin in the cloister of St Catharine's. On this passage Coleridge remarks, in a note, 'The soliloquy of Thekla, 'consists in the original of six-and-twenty lines, twenty of which 'are in rhymes of irregular recurrence. I thought it prudent to 'abridge it.' He has abridged it with a vengeance. Of the last twenty lines, the only traces that appear in Coleridge's version, are these—

> 'For me, too, was that laurel garland twined
> That decks his bier. Life is an empty casket,
> I throw it from me. Oh! my only hope
> To die beneath the hoofs of trampling steeds!—
> That is the lot of heroes upon earth!'

---

* Scene XVIII. Act III.

Digitized by Google

The baldness and abruptness of these lines as they stand, is evident; but let the reader judge whether there was any great occasion for the mutilation. The speech in the original runs nearly thus:—

'Ah, no! the laurel-garland which they wove
To deck thine early bier for mine was braided.
What is this life without the light of love,—
I cast it from me for its flower hath faded.
Yes! when I loved and felt thy love was given,
Then life indeed was something;—glittering lay
The new-born radiance of the golden day,
And life was, for an hour, a dream of Heaven.

'Thou stood'st as on life's threshold newly lighted,
When first I crossed it with a maiden fear,
A thousand suns to light my path united;
And thou wert like an angel stationed near,
From childhood's fairy land to lead me forth,
On to life's eminence my guide to be;—
My first sensation was of heavenly birth,
My first fond look of love was turned to thee.
Then came the hand of Fate, and rude and cold
It grasp'd and clutch'd thee in its iron hold;—
Beneath the horses' hoofs that frame was hurl'd:
So fares it with the lovely in this world!'

But we wish not to pause upon slight mistakes, or even more important curtailments; for certainly, taken as a whole, 'The Wallenstein' of Coleridge is at once a good translation and a noble English poem.

With the exception of 'The Wallenstein,' however, we are not aware that any of Schiller's plays has been translated in a manner calculated to afford the slightest notion of the original. Though we have perused more than one version of the 'William Tell,' we may safely assert that the beauties of that fresh, vigorous, and natural play—the only tolerable attempt which has ever been made to present the rise of Swiss liberty in a poetical form, because it presents the actors in the scene 'in their habit as they 'lived,' as simple-minded peasants, free from all speculative patriotism or declamatory sentimentality—these beauties, we say, still remain quite unknown to English readers; nor can we recognise, in any of the translations of 'Mary Stuart' and the 'Maid of Orleans' we have yet met with, the dignified and nervous beauty of the former, or the rich glow of romantic enthusiasm which warms and penetrates the latter.

The 'Bride of Messina,' we believe, has been hitherto unattempted; nor are we surprised that it should be so, considering

Digitized by Google

its deficiency in point of mere dramatic interest, and the formidable difficulties to the translator, interposed by the lyrics of the chorus, which constitute in the original the charm of the play. Following immediately upon the 'Maid of Orleans,' this play is in every respect the reverse of its predecessor: instead of the stirring interest and somewhat melodramatic plot of the Jungfrau, we have in the 'Bride of Messina' a fable of extreme simplicity—the personages (with the exception of the mere servants and members of the chorus) reduced to five individuals—the incidents almost reducible to one, namely, the murder of Don Manuel by his jealous brother. Instead of the bustling and animated dialogue of the 'Maid of Orleans,' we have frequent soliloquies; long lyrical passages of sublime and pensive reflection upon the fate and prospects of man; the hopes and the sorrows of life; and the uncertainty and vicissitude of all earthly grandeur. 'There is 'in it,' says an English critic, with truth and beauty, 'a breath 'of young tenderness and ardour mingled impressively with the 'feelings of grey-haired experience, whose recollections are dark-'ened with melancholy, whose very hopes are checkered and 'solemn. The implacable destiny which consigns the brothers 'to mutual enmity and mutual destruction for the guilt of a past 'generation, involving a mother and sister in their ruin, spreads 'a sombre hue over all the poem. We are not unmoved by the 'characters of the hostile brothers, and we pity the hapless and 'amiable Beatrice, the victim of their feud. Still there is too 'little action in the piece—the incidents are too abundantly 'diluted with reflection—the interest pauses, flags, and fails to 'produce its full effect. For its specimens of lyrical poetry—'tender, affecting, sometimes exquisitely beautiful—the "Bride of 'Messina" will long deserve a careful perusal; but, as exemplify-'ing a new form of the drama, it has found no imitators, and is 'likely to find none.'

We regard Mr Irvine's translation of this fine poem—for a tragedy it can scarcely be called—as a highly creditable and, on the whole, successful attempt to convey to the English reader an idea of this choral drama. Not that it by any means satisfies our notions of a good translation; for it errs occasionally, and particularly in the choruses, on the score of stiffness or harshness of versification, while in the dialogue, there is sometimes an introduction of needless epithets for which there is no warrant in the original. Great allowance, however, must be made for the difficulty of the subject; and giving effect to this consideration, we think we should be disposed to place it, as a specimen of German translation, next to the very beautiful translation of 'Faust' by Dr Anster. Generally speaking, Mr Irvine has been

Digitized by Google

most successful in the dialogue which is in blank verse: this portion of his version is always vigorous, and often highly poetical. In the lyrics, we admit, blemishes are much more frequent; the metrical cadences of the original are often very imperfectly imitated; and an air of stiffness and ruggedness hangs over them which too obviously betrays the constraint under which the translator has laboured.

The plot of the piece, so far as a knowledge of it is necessary to render intelligible the passages we are about to extract, may be given in a very short space. Don Cesar and Don Manuel, the sons of the Prince of Messina, have been alienated from each other, even from infancy, by a mutual feeling of hostility, which has been artfully encouraged by their followers. Their mother, Isabella, by an appeal to their filial affection for herself, succeeds in effecting a temporary reconciliation between them. In the warm flow of confidence that follows, each of the brothers avows to Isabella that he has formed a secret attachment; the mother, in her turn, reveals to her sons that, unknown to them, they have a sister who, in order to avoid some evil augury with which the royal race of Messina was threatened, had been in infancy removed from the court, and educated in the stillness of the cloister. It is easy to foresee from the first that this long-lost sister, and the object of the secret passion of both brothers, are the same; and that out of this ominous combination nothing but death and misery can result. Beatrice, the innocent and ignorant daughter, had in her cloistered residence become acquainted with Don Manuel, of whose rank and even name she is ignorant; and, following the devoted impulse of a first love, has consented to follow him in secret to Messina.

Don Manuel, in an interview with his follower Cajetan, informs him that he has placed her in a retired abode near to the convent of the Misericordia; from which it is his immediate intention to bring her forth and present her, 'high uplifted to a royal throne, 'before the subject eyes of all Messina.' He proceeds, in the following beautiful passage, to which great justice has been done by Mr Irvine,—

> 'Come on! hence will we to the throng'd bazaar
> Where the dusk Moor, in bright temptation ranged,
> Exhibits all the Morning-land can boast
> Of wealthy stuffs, and cunning handiwork.
> First choose the pliant sandal to defend
> And ornament her fairy-moulded foot;
> Then for her robe select the subtlest web
> From India's loom, clear glancing like the snow
> Of Ætna, that beams nearest to the light;

Digitized by Google

And circumfuse it like the dews of morning
Around the taper structure of her limbs.
Of purple be the zone, with crafty threads
Of gold embroider'd, which unites the tunic
O'er the coy beauties of her virgin bosom—
And choose the mantle glittering with the texture
Of tenderest silk, and like purpurean dye.
Upon her shoulder let a golden locust
Loop its full foldings; nor forget the clasps
That circle the round marble of her arms;
Nor the red coral, nor the liquid pearl,
The wondrous gifts of hoary Ocean's goddess.
Amid her ringlets wind the diadem
Hewn from the costliest quarries of the mine:
Wherein the fire-effusing ruby's gleam
Shall cross its lightnings with the green smaragdus.
Down from her cluster'd locks let the long veil
Depending deep, embrace her glittering form,
And float around it like a cloud of light,
And with the virgin myrtle's circlet, crown
The accomplish'd beauty of her peerless form.'

Beatrice herself is introduced to us standing in a garden looking out upon the Mediterranean, and awaiting with feelings of anxiety, and almost of despondency, the arrival of her princely lover. The monologue in which she expresses these feelings is one of the finest passages of the play, and it has been very fairly rendered by Mr Irvine. We regret, however, that he should not have conformed to the measure of the original, in which the full resounding octave produces so fine an effect. We shall take the liberty, therefore, of attempting the three opening stanzas in the same form of versification which Schiller has adopted:—

'BEATRICE (*enters from a parlour, and after listening some time, anxiously speaks*).

It is not he, 'twas but the breezes' sound
Through the tall summits of the pine-trees sweeping.
The sun already stoops him to his bound;
With leaden pace the heavy hours are creeping.
I tremble as I gaze on all around
This wide and moveless silence round me sleeping:
I look, but nothing living meets mine eye;—
And yet he leaves me here to pine and die.

'And near, as when the tempest stirs the tree,
The many-peopled city's hum is swelling;
The hollow thunder of the far-off sea,
Dull beating on the shore beneath is knelling;

Digitized by Google

This might of nature feels too vast for me,
Forlorn and helpless in this fearful dwelling;—
Ah! homeless as the leaf that winds have blown
To earth,—in this wide world I stand alone.

'Ah! why did he persuade me to forsake
The home where thoughtless and serene he found me;
My heart slept peaceful as an inland lake,
Though few my wants, pure joys were ever round me.
But now before the wind the waves awake,
The world within its giant grasp hath wound me,
And on the feeble tenure of a vow,
A lover's oath, my hope is anchored now.'

At the close of the monologue, which is of considerable length, she hears the sound of approaching footsteps, and hurries to throw herself into the arms of her lover. Instead of Don Manuel, however, it is Don Cesar who enters the garden;—Don Cesar, who, at the funeral of his father, had seen her in the Cathedral of Messina (which she had been allowed on that occasion to visit), and had conceived for her a passion of the most sudden and vehement nature. Its origin is described in the following beautiful scene with his mother and his brother, Don Manuel, which has also been very successfully translated by Mr Irvine:—

'Twas at my father's solemn funeral:
Mix'd with the crowd, as well thou know'st, disguised
Our rank and state, in common weeds we stood;—
Such orders had thy wise discretion issued,
Lest our obtrusive hate with wild confusion
Should mar the solemn order of the rites.
With gloomy crape was tapestried the vault
Of the high chapel—twenty sculptured cherubs
With flickering torches stood around the altar
'Fore which the death-bier, heaved aloft and shadow'd
By the pall's white embroider'd cross, reposed.
And on that pall incumbent lay the staff
Of domination, and the princely crown,
Fair knighthood's ornament, the golden spurs,
And with its jewel-gleaming zone, the sword.
All lay in hush'd devotion, humbly bending,
When pealing from aloft, invisible,
The organ rain'd its solemn influence down,
And hundred-voiced the holy song began.
And, while the roofs still echo'd, the cold bier
With its supporting platform, slow descended,
Deep sinking to the unknown world beneath.

Digitized by Google

But the vast pall with wide-extended folds
O'ershadowing hid the sepulchre's dark mouth,
And on the earth remain'd the earthly pomp
Behind, nor follow'd him who was departing;
While on the seraph pinions of the hymn
The unfetter'd soul soar'd upward to high heaven,
And sought the bosom of eternal mercy!
I call this, mother, back to thy remembrance
That thou may'st judge if, in an hour like this,
One worldly wish could linger in my heart;
Yet did the mystic power which rules our fate
Select that moment, on this darken'd heart
To pour young love's first radiance—how it happ'd
In vain I ask myself!
Isabella. Say on, and tell
Thy tale to its conclusion.
Don Cesar. Whence she came,
Or how she came, I know not:—as I turn'd
My eyes, I found her standing by my side,
And sudden in my being's core I felt
The power of her near presence—it was not
The witching magic of her gentle smile,
Nor the warm charm that hover'd on her cheek,
No, nor the splendour of her godlike form,
That shed their holy influence on my heart.
There was no sound of words; our souls did seem
To fuse in mystic union as my breath
Mingled with hers—she was a stranger, yet
I felt she was my nearest, dearest friend,
And the fix'd thought flash'd into instant birth,
" Her must I love, or no one else on earth!"
Don Manuel (eagerly). There shone the holy spark of heaven's own light,
Which searching to its centre fires the soul
When hearts meet hearts, and with resistless might
Freedom, and choice, and thought, and will control.
Man cannot loose the magnet chain that round
Those born to bless each other Heav'n hath bound.
My brother's charmed eloquence dispels
The cloud that on my mind's veil'd vision dwells;
His subtler terms my shapeless thoughts define,
And his heart utters all that glows in mine.'

Confused, and taken by surprise, Beatrice has been unable to reveal to Don Cesar her attachment to Don Manuel; and the Prince, after a stormy avowal of his passion, leaves her, announcing to his attendants—

' Henceforth entreat her as my destined bride,
And your anointed princess; honour her

Digitized by Google

With all attendance that becomes her rank.
I will return anon to bear her home,
In state beseeming her and worthy me.'

He does return; but it is to find Beatrice in the embrace of Don Manuel, in whose protecting arms she had sought shelter from the followers of Don Cesar, by whom the pavilion was guarded. In a paroxysm of jealousy and hatred, the impetuous Don Cesar rushes on his brother, and plunges his dagger in his breast. Don Manuel expires. A series of fearful discoveries follows. The unhappy mother, mourning over the body of Don Manuel, learns that the mortal blow had been inflicted by her own son; Beatrice, that the object of her affections was her brother; and Don Cesar, that she for whom he had murdered a brother was the sister of both. He feels that existence is no longer endurable, and expires by his own hand beside the bier of his brother. As a fair specimen of the style in which the lyrical portions of the translation are executed, we shall quote, in conclusion, the beautiful lines put into the mouth of the Chorus—'Wohl dem, selig muss ich ihn preisen.'

1.

'Oh! well is he, and blest his condition,
Who, in his native home's sweet rest,
Far from the mazes of life's wild transition,
Sleeps like a child on nature's breast.

2.

'I look'd on the house of the mighty with sorrow:
High o'er the earth to-day they soar,
Mocking the sun;—alas! to-morrow
Their place rememb'reth them no more!

3.

'Soft is his bed, and to watching a stranger,
Who, far from life's tempestuous wave,
Timely advised, hath retired from danger
In the deep cloister's silent cave;

4.

'Who the proud thoughts that excite but to grieve us,
Hath with proud fortitude repress'd;
And the vain wishes that ever deceive us
In his calm bosom lull'd to rest.'

Digitized by Google

ART. XI.—*A Letter to the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons, containing a Narrative of the circumstances connected with the Proceedings against C. Bolton, Esq. of Hull and others, for a Breach of Privilege in commencing and prosecuting an action against the Warden of the Fleet Prison, for suffering R. C. Burton, Esq. M.P. to go out of his custody in obedience to an order of the House.* By A. ROSSER. London: 1821.*

IN March, 1836, the House of Commons, upon the Report of a Committee, adopted certain resolutions for the publication and sale of its Reports, Votes, and other Papers. The substance of these resolutions was, that Messrs Hansard, the printers of the House, should conduct the sale—that the price to the public should be a halfpenny per sheet—and that twelve and a-half per cent discount should be allowed to the Trade. This plan was forthwith acted upon; and there was thus established, if not as a branch of the House of Commons, yet certainly under its direction, a shop and a traffic of bookselling. Whatever evidence was given before any committee—none of it upon oath—much of it matter of opinion, hearsay, conjecture—little of it resembling that which goes by the same name in Courts of Justice;—whatever allegations were set forth in petitions, not even pretending to be evidence, and, if necessary, behind the back of those to whose character and conduct they related—were thus, if ordered to be printed, as they all are in common course, sold to the public at the rate of three halfpence, for a pamphlet, which common venders of such wares cannot afford to sell under two shillings or half-a-crown; and a discount 'was allowed to the Trade' (we cite the words of the House itself), 'in case the price should be found so high as to prevent the dealers pushing the sale.'

A party was attacked in one of these publications; and he brought

* We have placed the title of Mr Rosser's able and interesting pamphlet at the head of this article, though the subject of it occurred so many years ago. But the perusal of Mr Rosser's statement and observations will well recompense the reader for his trouble. He was the Solicitor who brought the action as a professional man; the defendant threw himself upon the protection of the House; and Mr Rosser and his clients being threatened with severe punishment, stopt the process, paid all the costs, and having 'with contrition acknowledged their offences, and 'thrown themselves on the mercy of the House,' were allowed to escape any further punishment, by the order for their attendance being rescinded.

Digitized by Google

his action against Mr Hansard. The defendant pleaded that the charges made in the alleged libel were true; as he might have pleaded had he published under no authority or pretended authority at all. He satisfied the jury of this fact, and had a verdict accordingly. But he first of all set up another defence: he stated that the House of Commons, whose printer and publisher he was, had authorized him to sell the libel in question; and that therefore, whether true or false, scandalous or harmless, he was protected by the lawful authority of his employers, who had a right to publish whatever they chose, respecting any person, and in any way.

The Judge, before whom this most grave and momentous affair came, was the Lord Chief Justice of England; and, acting under the obligations of his oath, in the conscientious discharge of his duty, he gave that judgment which he deemed the law required—that judgment which, if the law had unhappily been against the liberties of the people, he would have been bound to give, and would have given, as every one who knew him knew full well: but the law, speaking through him, was in favour of these liberties; and he gave that judgment from the bench, which, at the bar, or in the senate, or on the hustings, he would at all times of his honest and brilliant career, have rejoiced to defend; and the title and the station of Chief Justice lent new force, without giving a new direction to that indomitable love of popular rights, and that steadfast resistance of unlawful power, which had already illustrated the name of Denman.

As soon as a pretension, which he considered to be monstrous and intolerable, was set up on the part of the House of Commons, he did not hesitate or delay pronouncing his judgment; and, least of all, did he seek to shelter himself behind the authority of others by reserving the point for the consideration of the Court. He at once declared his opinion in these memorable words:—'I 'entirely disagree from the law laid down by the learned counsel 'for the defendant. I am not aware of the existence in this 'country of any body whatever that can privilege any servant of 'theirs to publish libels of any individual. Whatever arrange-'ments may be made between the House of Commons and any 'publisher in their employ, I am of opinion that the publisher 'who publishes that in his public shop, and especially for money, 'which may be injurious, and possibly ruinous to any of the 'King's subjects, must answer in a court of justice to that sub-'ject, if he challenge him for a libel; and I wish to say so 'emphatically and distinctly; because I think that if upon the 'first opportunity that arose in a court of justice for questioning 'this point, it were left unsatisfactorily explained, the Judge 'who sat there might become an accomplice in the destruction

Digitized by Google

'of the Liberties of the country, and expose every individual 'who lives in it to a Tyranny that no man ought to submit to.'

The case was left to the jury, therefore, upon the other ground; and they having decided against the plaintiff, no opportunity was given for taking the opinion of the Court upon the alleged privilege. But other actions being threatened, the House of Commons thought it necessary to interpose; and a Committee was appointed to examine precedents upon the subject. It met seven times; and reported whatever precedents could be found, with certain Resolutions, which Viscount Howick, its chairman, moved, and which the House adopted by a large majority.

Into the merits of this Report and of these Resolutions we need not here enter at large; because we mean, at present, to examine the question only upon the ground of expediency or necessity, and not to touch, on the legal point at all. Yet it is impossible to avoid casting our eye towards the kind of precedents by which the claims of the House are supported; and the sort of proposition which it has thought fit to establish by its vote.

The earliest precedents of printing and publishing are in 1641, when the Long Parliament was in open conflict with the Crown, and had assumed many of the functions of the executive Government. Among the precedents of the following year, 1642, to which the Report refers (App. p. 77) are these:— 'Declaration of Parliament for raising the Trained Bands'— 'Propositions for raising Horse'—'Declaration of the Lords and 'Commons in favour of persons advancing money on the credit 'of the late ordinance.' That the Commons in those days acted as became friends of liberty, and by their gallant spirit, and wise councils, rescued their country from arbitrary power, none are more ready to admit than we. But they were placed in critical circumstances; they were acting in revolutionary times; their excess of all bounds of law was only to be justified by the awful necessity which compelled it; and to cite such acts for any other purpose, in peaceful times, than as a warning against repeating them until some such crisis again occurs, would be the height of unreasonable, or rather unthinking zeal. Yet are there to be found, though strangely enough not in the Committee's Report, instances of equal extravagance, justified by nothing like a crisis; but rather in times remarkably tranquil. One of these, which we shall advert to, is before the date of the former precedents, viz. in 1621; another is as late as the end of George II.'s reign. The case of 1621 is that of Edward Floyd; and it implicates both Houses of Parliament. This unfortunate person had incurred the displeasure of the House of Commons by

Digitized by Google

ridiculing the Electress Palatine, daughter of James I., and the Elector, her husband;—calling them by the names of Goodman Palgrave, and Good-wife Palgrave. The House had no doubt whatever that, as the King was head of the Parliament, this amounted to a breach of privilege, and proceeded to condemn the offence. But the Lords considered that the office belonged rather to them, than to the Commons, who forthwith humbly acknowledged their fault in having had the presumption to interfere with such high matters; and only besought their Lordships not to spare so heinous an offender. Nor was he spared, by the united wisdom and justice of the two Chambers. The 'censure 'was propounded in this manner—not to bear arms as a gentleman, 'nor be a competent witness in any court of justice—to ride with 'his face to the horse's tail—to stand in the pillory, and have his 'ears nailed thereunto—to be whipped at the cart's tail—to be 'fined at £5000—to be perpetually imprisoned in Newgate.'— 'It was put to the question, first, whether Floyd should be 'whipped or no, which some Lords doubted to yield to, because 'he was a gentleman; yet it was agreed, *per plures*, that he shall 'be whipped. Then it was put to the question whether Floyd's 'ears shall be nailed to the pillory or no—and agreed, *per plures*, 'not to be nailed.' In nearly all other respects the sentence was pronounced and executed. As the Commons, in their late Resolutions, have asserted the privileges of the Lords to be coequal with their own, some may marvel that so splendid an example of the rights and feats of the Upper House should have escaped the diligence of the searchers after precedent.

The more recent, and in point of principle, at least, no less extravagant case, though unstained by cruelty, is to be found in the 'Commons Journals' for April 1759 (Vol. xxviii. p. 545). Admiral Griffiths, being a member of the House, complained to it that one Hopkins and four others had forcibly entered and used his fishery. The House never dreamt of suggesting that they could not try an action of trespass, but referred the matter to the Committee of Privileges, who examined evidence to prove the Admiral's right—the trespass complained of—and the Admiral having refused the parties leave and license to fish. The five men were heard by their Counsel, and the Committee reported them guilty of a breach of privilege. The House ordered them to be committed for their offence. Next day they petitioned,—humbly acknowledging their fault,—setting forth that further imprisonment would ruin them and their families, and praying to be discharged. They were brought to the bar, received on their knees a reprimand from the Speaker, and were released from custody on paying the fees. Perhaps some may consider

Digitized by Google

this precedent as equally calculated to illustrate the question with the others cited in the Report; and may the more be unable to understand why it should have been omitted in that repository of the learning on this subject.

The resolutions of the House, moved upon this Report, and which indeed embodied the opinion of the Committee, were as follow:—

'1. That the power of publishing such of its reports, votes, 'and proceedings as it shall deem necessary or conducive to the 'public interests, is an essential incident to the constitutional 'functions of Parliament; more especially of this House, as the 'representative portion of it.

'2. That by the law and privilege of Parliament, this House 'has the sole and exclusive jurisdiction to determine upon the 'existence and extent of its privileges; and that the institution 'or prosecution of any action, suit, or other proceeding, for the 'purpose of bringing them into discussion or decision before any 'court or tribunal elsewhere than in Parliament, is a high breach 'of such privilege; and renders all parties concerned therein 'amenable to its just displeasure, and to the punishment conse-'quent thereon.

'3. That for any court or tribunal to assume to decide upon 'matters of privilege inconsistent with the determination of either 'House of Parliament, is contrary to the law of Parliament, and 'is a breach and contempt of the privileges of Parliament.'

It is by no means hypercritical to observe upon the inconsistent and inexplicit language in which these most important propositions are couched. This is no matter of mere verbal criticism; it demonstrates at the very least that sufficient attention was not bestowed upon the subject: it may possibly be thought to prove something more; for it certainly begets a suspicion that no great pains were taken to form very accurate notions upon the matters affirmed. The first resolution asserts the right of publishing only one class of papers,—reports, votes, and proceedings which the House shall deem necessary or conducive to the public interests. Can this be the meaning of the House? Can it possibly be intended to restrict the publication only to this one description of proceedings; or can it be supposed that any class of proceedings is excluded? Possibly the real intention was to affirm the right of publishing whatever the House deemed it necessary or expedient to publish. Most probably this was the thing meant to be asserted; but most certainly it is not the thing asserted. Again, the second resolution affirms that the institution or prosecution of proceedings for the purpose of bringing the privileges of the House into discussion, is a breach

Digitized by Google

of privilege. Is that all that the House means to assert is a breach of privilege? Must the object of the suitor or prosecutor be to have the privileges discussed or decided? If so, then none of those proceedings chiefly intended to be forbidden and prevented falls within the description; for the object is reparation in damages in the civil, and punishment in the criminal proceedings; and the plaintiff or the prosecutor has so little desire 'to bring privileges into discussion,' that he would much rather never hear of the defence urged upon such grounds. But the third resolution—the most important of the whole—states something quite different from what must surely be meant; and, so far, it closely resembles the first and the second. It denounces the act of 'assuming to decide upon matters of privilege *inconsistent* 'with the determination of either House of Parliament.' Can it possibly be meant to denounce as a breach of privilege the deciding upon a claim of privilege which is contrary to the determination of the Houses? Can it be meant that a court is guilty of contempt, in deciding that some privilege claimed by some inferior court, for instance, is contrary to the determination of the Houses? Certainly not. Yet as certainly this is the thing denounced, and the only thing denounced. Possibly it was intended to say *inconsistently* and not *inconsistent*. But then the proposition, though so amended, would remain extremely vague, and any thing rather than of that precision—that reasonable certainty —which the people of this country, and, above all, the high Judicial functionaries against whom the denunciation is levelled, have an undoubted right to expect, in rules laid down for their government, fenced by threats of 'just displeasure.'

The meaning of the whole, however, may be taken to be, that the Houses of Parliament are to print and publish what they please; that any one appointed by them may sell, or otherwise disperse all such publications; that whoever, being aggrieved by the slanders and falsehoods contained in them, shall sue or prosecute the distributors, and whatever Judge shall presume to try such action or prosecution, in the discharge of his duty, and according to the obligation of his oath, shall be punished by the House of Commons summarily, without even the accustomed formalities of a trial.

Such was the claim of privilege solemnly made, and recorded on the Journals of the House, upon the 30th of May. No individual or party were to make any complaint—no professional man was to raise any question — no Judge was to try any cause—in which the right of the Commons and their publishers to circulate whatever they chose through the country could be brought into dispute or discussion. The House was alone

Digitized by Google

to be the judge of its own privileges, and of every thing that touched them in any manner of way. If an action were brought against its servants for acting under its orders, all concerned in the proceeding—attorneys, pleaders, counsel, judges —all were guilty of breach of privilege, and 'amenable to its just 'displeasure'—all were to be committed—some to the Sergeant, some to Newgate, some to the Tower, according to their several degrees. Suffering any such action to proceed, was submitting to a continued breach of privilege; and to let the Courts decide upon the matter, was wholly to abandon the rights of the Commons, and to let Privilege be trampled under the foot of Law. So was it on Tuesday the 30th of May; but so it was not very long; indeed, only for the space of eight-and-forty hours. On Thursday the 1st of June, Messrs Hansard and others petitioned the House, —stating that actions had been brought against them for fresh libels published under authority of the House; and 'praying its 'instructions as to the course they ought to pursue in resisting 'or defending the suits.' Instead of acting upon the doctrines which that House had promulgated and recorded in such awful characters—the ink of which was scarcely dry—the House, in its wisdom, put off the consideration of the petition for a week. The Chief Justice, in the mean-time, came down to the House of Lords,—gave notice of a motion upon the late claim of the Commons,—firmly and sternly declaring his determination to persevere in administering the law of the land, whoever might be the wrong-doer: and on the 8th of June, little more than a week after the high-sounding resolutions were passed by an immense majority, the Commons, in their discretion, came to a resolution, in a somewhat lower key, if not in very strict harmony with the former, 'that the petitioners be permitted 'to appear and plead to the said actions; and that Mr Attorney-'General be directed to defend them against the same.' Thus the House makes itself the accomplice on the 8th of June, in proceedings which, on the 30th of May, it had solemnly declared to be such an offence as subjected all concerned to its just displeasure. The action is accordingly waiting to be tried before the Chief Justice, whom the House had denounced as a principal offender; and the proceeding is put in such a shape that the cause must come, in the last resort, to be decided by the House of Lords. It is unnecessary to add, that the Chief-Justice had now no inducement to follow up his notice of motion; the House of Commons having suddenly and entirely abandoned its high ground. But before we leave the matter of law in the position in which the House has placed it,—a position the most illustrative that can well be imagined of the untenable

Digitized by Google

nature of the pretension set up; and before we advert to the only question that materially concerns the community,—we shall, in reference to the later conduct of the House, cite a passage of the Report upon which that conduct may, perhaps, be thought to afford a somewhat striking commentary. 'It seems most important (says the committee), 'that the proceedings of Parliament 'on the subject of privilege should be *uniform*. Submission to 'the courts of law on some occasions, and resistance on others, 'begets an impression in the public mind that Parliament itself '*wavers, and has no settled conviction* upon the subject of its privi- 'lege—an impression which is not justified, and ought not to 'prevail.'

But we now come to the real question for the country: Ought the Houses of Parliament to be intrusted with the privilege claimed for them? Is there any necessity for it? Is there any advantage in their possessing it sufficient to countervail the mischiefs of giving it, and to justify so wide a departure from all the most sacred principles of our free constitution?

Every one admits at once, that whatever is necessary for enabling either House of Parliament,—say, the Commons' House —to perform its functions, must be conceded to it, and liberally conceded, without captiously quarrelling about little matters. To exercise its inquisitorial office, it must have large powers, to be summarily and unhesitatingly used. Breaking open doors; seizing papers; compelling attendance; forcing answers to questions by terror of imprisonment,—all these are high authorities;—grievous, too, in their abuse, and not unlikely to be abused. Yet all these powers are allowed the Commons without grudging; because without them the inquisitorial functions must be paralysed. So, any privilege which is necessary for the personal protection of individual members, and in general, whatever is requisite for preventing all obstructions to the proceedings of the House, must be admitted as indispensable. It may also be admitted, though this is by no means so unquestionable, that offences committed against these privileges should be visited with summary punishment by the House itself; in order that the speedy infliction, without waiting for the slower course of the Common Law, may operate to deter offenders, and more effectually to prevent obstruction. These privileges are only allowed because, without them, the functions of the House could not be duly performed. Is the power of unlimited publication a privilege of the same description? Could the House not usefully do its duty without such a power?

To try this—suppose the power withheld—that is, suppose the

Digitized by Google

House of Commons to stand in the same predicament with every other body, whether individual or corporate, in the kingdom, from the Sovereign downwards—What would be the consequence? Not that the proceedings and other documents would cease to be published; but, that either the House would exercise greater care in selecting what was to be published; or, that it would print only for the use of its members, and leave strangers to publish, if they chose, for the rest of the world. The Committee conclude their Report by adverting to the likelihood which there is of the power being abused, from the 'impossibility of 'exercising on all occasions, amidst the pressure of multifarious 'business, that precautionary vigilance which might guard 'against the evil;' and they are forced to admit that 'much 'must depend upon the discretion and sense of justice of indivi-'dual members'—SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHT in number they might have added—and most of whom present all the petitions that are placed in their hands by any persons who conceive they have a grievance against any one, and wish it to be made public without expense and without hazard. Surely it is enough that these things should be circulated among the members of the House itself, without any restraint beyond that feeble one imposed by the chance of a calumnious petitioner being punished by the House.

But it is said that diffusing the information contained in Reports, which may reflect on individuals, is highly useful to the public, and necessary for helping the House in its enquiries, and in performing its legislative functions. We admit it: but we maintain that the same publication would take place were it wholly unprivileged. The House itself could publish those Reports, and all other papers of the like kind. It would find agents enough ready to take the risk. It would indeed be bound to make that risk as slight as possible, by exercising great vigilance in expunging all matter which it ought not to publish. It would also be bound to make good any loss sustained by its publishers in acting under its authority. This it could always do where civil proceedings alone were resorted to; and the punishment inflicted, were prosecutions instituted, would be barely nominal; because the occasion of the publication, if it did not afford a complete defence, would be sufficient to mitigate the sentence upon a conviction. Indeed there would rarely be either action or prosecution. We are not left here to conjecture. The facts are of every day occurrence which prove to be inevitable, all we have been stating as only likely, to happen. This will appear under the next head of the argument.

Suppose the House itself not to interfere at all,—which

Digitized by Google

would certainly be the better course,—then the Reports and Papers being printed for the use of the members, all those which it was most necessary or useful to have circulated, would assuredly be published, by persons willing to take the risk. Some gross libels would probably never be published. But all that it was right and good to disseminate would be freely circulated. Does any one doubt this? Let him recollect that by far the greater part of Parliamentary Publication has hitherto been carried on in this way, and without any protection at all. There was nearly as much of it before the arrangements of 1836 as there has been since. Nay, even since those arrangements, and if the privilege claimed were granted in the utmost extent, by far the greater part of the circulation of Parliamentary papers must of necessity be carried on without deriving the least protection from it. That privilege extends not to any persons except those authorized by the House. Mr Hansard would be safe; but no one who bought of him, and sold again, would have any protection. Nor would any one buying from him and lending to another—nay, nor any member of the House itself, lending to a person not a member. The resolutions of the House are sufficiently stringent, but they have not as yet laid it down for Parliamentary law, that the House, by affixing its *imprimatur* on a libel, can make that innocent *per se* which the law holds to be noxious.

However, we have no occasion to maintain this position. Quite enough remains were it abandoned. Look at another department of Parliamentary publication—by far the most important of any—the largest in amount—the most interesting in its nature—the most essential to the whole operations, perhaps even the most necessary to the existence of the legislature. The reader perceives we allude to the DEBATES. Who will be so bold as to place the necessity of circulating any kind of document in any sort of comparison with that of making the daily proceedings universally known? By the proceedings, we mean not merely the Votes, but the Speeches. Now, this publication, so essential to the very existence of Parliament, is, and always has been, and, moreover, is likely always to be carried on without any sort of protection,—by individuals acting under no authority whatever of the House,—nay, according to the Law of Privilege, acting in defiance of the prohibitions of the House, and 'amenable to their just displeasure,'—individuals who are answerable, criminally and civilly, for every line they make public; and who cannot, in any court of law, defend themselves by proving that they have only published a correct account of what was spoken in Parliament, if that which was spoken be slander-

Digitized by Google

ous. From hence two inferences may be drawn; and either is decisive of the present question. The privilege claimed is not in the least degree necessary for enabling the public to have the fullest and freest access to all Parliamentary papers; and there is no real risk attending a publication of such papers, whether the Houses of Parliament choose to authorize them by their orders or not. If the first of these positions is deemed insufficient for the purpose of the argument, on account of the lesser interest taken in Documents than in Debates,—the second shows how easily persons may be found who will run the risk, should the Houses desire to circulate their papers. Such a thing as an action or prosecution for a libel in publishing a speech, is hardly known, unless when the speaker is likewise the publisher. Had Mr Hansard not published as the servant of the House, he would most probably have furnished no exception to the remark. But even persons employed by the Houses would run a risk quite insignificant.

Now, if these things are undeniably true, there is an end of the argument; for no one contends that privilege should be dealt out to any body of men without necessity,—or an expediency so high as not to be distinguished from necessity; and if it is clear that complete publicity would be given to whatever was fit for publication, without any privilege exempting the publishers from the operation of the laws, no one can seriously maintain the propriety of giving the agents of the House of Commons such an exemption.

The supreme power in our Constitution is composed of three branches, each, of course, irresponsible in the exercise of its functions. Two of those branches being not individuals, but bodies of men, their irresponsible character cannot be fully enjoyed without certain immunities being given to their individual members. Hence these have freedom from all civil process, and absolute liberty of speech within their several Houses of Assembly. To all criminal process they are liable like the rest of the community; and for every thing done by them without the walls of those Houses they are answerable, civilly as well as criminally. The necessity of the case is here the measure of the privilege; and all the privileges once claimed and allowed—*e. g.* protection to their servants of any kind,—being beyond the bounds which that necessity prescribes, have been long ago abandoned. So, the Sovereign is wholly irresponsible; but whoever acts, or speaks, or publishes by his command, is answerable to the law, and will in vain plead the orders he may have received as a justification of his conduct. That the Houses of Parliament should have powers of acting beyond their own walls, and by agents

Digitized by Google

whom their orders will protect from legal process, is to a certain extent necessary; and those powers exceed any possessed by the Crown. Thus, the King can neither order an arrest for a contempt—nor cause men's houses to be broken open and searched for papers—nor direct persons who have offended him to be summarily punished. Why is this? Manifestly because the Crown has no functions to perform like those of the Houses, which make it necessary that they should enjoy such extraordinary powers. The King is sufficiently protected and aided in his functions by the ordinary operation of the law. But that either House should be privileged to publish, by agents irresponsible to the law, whatever it chooses to publish, has been shown to be wholly unnecessary.

There are many reasons why such powers should not be committed to a body of men; even if it were ever possible to regard without the greatest alarm their being vested in an individual. A numerous assembly acts without any check or control from public opinion in each particular case. In the long run, it will be influenced by the sentiments prevailing among its fellow-citizens at large; but this imposes no effectual restraint in a moment of temporary excitement; and it is at such times that injustice and oppression are most likely to be worked. All *judicial* functions are worse exercised by large bodies than any other functions. No man of common sense would regard without the utmost dismay the trial of any valuable right, whether of person or property, before such a tribunal. He would infinitely prefer the decision of the worst constituted court, composed of a very few men singled out from among their fellow-citizens, permanently engaged in judicial duties, answerable as individuals to public opinion, and acting according to fixed rules previously laid down, not according to unsettled principles adopted on the spur of the occasion, or moulded by its exigencies.

The judges of this country, however, are placed under other checks, while they are strengthened by important immunities firmly to discharge their duties. They are independent both of the Crown and of the People; that is to say, they are absolutely and to all intents placed beyond the control of the executive government; and they cannot be affected by any sudden temporary revolution of the country. If indeed they make themselves hateful to their fellow-countrymen,—if they give just displeasure to the two Houses of Parliament,—their conduct may lead to their removal. But, secure against the influence of any sudden impulses of popular feeling, and against all influence of the Court, their determinations are far more to be relied on, and afford to the suitor a much greater prospect of inflexible justice than can ever be held out by the deliberations of the best consti-

Digitized by Google

tuted assembly, numerously composed; whether it represents others, or acts by personal or by hereditary right.

Many well-intentioned persons, of liberal opinions, have been led away by the feeling that it is safer to intrust the House of Commons with power, now than it was before its reformation; inasmuch as it now represents the people more fully. That it is still but an imperfect representation, must be admitted; but were the elective franchise greatly extended—nay, were the most universal suffrage to be the origin of that assembly, we should only the more dread its being armed with any unnecessary irresponsible powers. Such a body would be well adapted to conduct enquiries, and to perform all the functions of legislation; but it would be little likely to deliberate upon the rights of individuals with judicial calmness; and it would be still more prone than it now is to domineer over the minority of its fellow-citizens. It is of the essence of all justice to protect the weak against the strong; and whether oppression is threatened by the Crown and its marshalled forces, or by the unarrayed Multitude through its organs, he who opposes a firm resistance to attempted wrong is the true friend of real liberty.

If they act very inconsiderately who would arm the House of Commons, as now composed, with powers far more extensive and anomalous than those the assumption of which they so vehemently resisted in 1810, still more unreflecting appears to be the disposition shown by others to take part with the House upon this particular occasion; merely because the question concerns libel, and the House is claiming a power of unrestrained publication. Let it be remembered, that the claim of the House, though now urged upon the right of publishing, is grounded upon the frightful position, that whatever it may choose to assert as a privilege becomes so of right, and without the possibility of any other authority disputing its decree; and though ranged among libellers to-day, it may to-morrow be found punishing with all the rigour of its power any one who shall utter an opinion at all distasteful to the majority of its members. Its power to commit for contempt at present extends to the whole session; and there is nothing to hinder it from arrogating the still more formidable right exercised by the Lords, of fining and of imprisoning at their pleasure. Let the friends of liberal principles further bear in mind, that the majority of the present Parliament being favourable to their opinions, affords no security whatever against the recurrence of times when the enemies of liberty shall bear sway; and let them be cautious how they arm with the perilous authority in question, a body which may hereafter use it to destroy the very name of freedom.

Digitized by Google

ART. XII.—*Speech of the Honourable Fox Maule, M.P. for the County of Perth, at a Public Meeting of the Electors of that County, held 7th July*, 1837. Perth.

THE new reign is beginning well. The temporary clouds, lately impending over us, have been lifted up as on its approach. It is scarcely two months since the farmer was threatened with a second 1816,—the merchant with another 1825. Providentially the Corn-Fields and Mark Lane agree in the brightness of our actual prospects. The political spectres which, for the last six years, have been stalking and gibbering in our streets, have also disappeared. During all that period we could hear nothing but one everlasting cry of 'Wolf.' The horrors of the French Revolution were daily knocking at our doors. At present, not only has the revolutionary alarm subsided, but most persons admit that history presents few national spectacles more encouraging than the manliness and moderation which marked the conduct of the English people throughout this stirring crisis—their honest consciousness of the rectitude of their purpose, and their just reliance on the stability of the institutions which they loved. With what vigour did they shift the helm and put about, when they saw that the vessel of the state was already almost on the breakers! How instinctively, as it were, did the good ship seem to right itself, in spite of mutineers aboard! And, ever since, how steady and gallant has been its bearing over the open sea—the fury of adverse winds from opposite quarters of the heavens only serving to keep it truer to its determined course!

The late King came to a throne shaking under accumulated discontents. Of these, the greater part has been removed by an administration of affairs in unison with the spirit of the age. The rest 'bide their time,' in the confidence that justice is delayed for the moment, only that the grant of it may be made more easy and more complete. It was not with our late Sovereign, *dignus imperii, nisi imperâsset.* We have learned to forget the faults of the Duke of Clarence in the merits of King William. While George IV. was satisfied with the boast that he found his Capital brick and left it stucco, William IV. struck out a nobler path for his ambition. He found an empire disturbed and sick at heart; he left one tranquil and full of hope. He was certainly eminently fortunate in the immediate services which it fell to him to confer upon his people. His understanding may not have been of as high an order as his

Digitized by Google

good nature and his good intention. But in ratifying the promises of Lord Grey,—in protecting peace, economy, and, above all, reform,—he secured for himself, together with the honours 'which should accompany old age,' a name which posterity will not allow to die. Invaluable as we think the benefits of his reign, taken by themselves, its lessons, properly appreciated and applied, will be still more useful. The great moral comprised in them is one which no country can afford to overlook or trifle with. Least of all, a country whose opinions, civil and ecclesiastical,—whose middle and lower classes, are all rapidly growing and changing, dividing and subdividing, day by day,—whose intelligence and wealth are so progressive, and whose habits are yet so stationary,—as the English. We think that we do not overstate the virtue of the policy of the reign of William IV. when we say that in all human probability it saved us from a revolution. But it has left us much to do in working upon the same pattern. Nation after nation, as family after family, have been ruined, for want, on the part of the old authorities, of a reasonable confidence in human nature,—of a timely view of the altered relation of the parties,—and of a graceful and cordial adoption of the new powers and understandings into honourable partnership with their own. Let us be wiser. However slow we may seem to go, are going, and indeed in some questions ought to go, let our feet only be on the right path, and our faces in the right direction.

This is an undertaking in which we can advance only by degrees. But the spirit which is gone out, is in the meanwhile softening the stoney heart, and making smooth the way lately so impassable. There is happiness in the belief, that the temper of the times is every day increasing the facilities for bridging the gulf which separates our past and future; and for peaceably completing the transition which triumphant Toryism so long and mischievously postponed. Reform, civil and ecclesiastical, is and must continue, for our lives at least, to be the order of the day. The subject will not be soon exhausted at the only pace at which it can proceed. Under these circumstances we must be careful how we settle the course to be pursued. A prudent selection of particular measures for adoption, and even for paramount discussion, ought not at the present to be regulated solely by comparing their general importance. The science of politics, as well as of agriculture and medicine, is not so difficult as its application. The farmer, in sowing seed, must look to the nature and preparation of the soil. The doctor varies his prescription according to the constitution of his patients. In

Digitized by Google

determining the precedence between this and that political measure, the decisive considerations are—the pressure of the subject to which the measures respectively relate, and the degree to which the public mind is ready for the reception of the principles which they involve.

The Tory, standing on the sacredness of prescription, shrinks from what he calls innovation, until his concessions have lost all their grace, and much of their usefulness. The Radical, relying on the truth of popular axioms and deductions, harangues with undoubting confidence a circle of undoubting partisans—*illâ se jactat in aulâ Æolus*—and seems to think that the merits of his case, as a practical politician, are not in the least affected by the quality, or number, of his opponents. The one would be for going as much too fast as the other has been going, and would always go, too slow. It is the tenets and the conduct of these extreme parties which has necessarily determined the actual position and character of the Whigs of the present day. They are distinguished, on the one hand, from the Radicals, instructed or uninstructed, by the letter of their express doctrines; by a reverence for the traditional renown of the Constitution; and by a belief in its capabilities and power of adaptation. On the other hand, they are separated from the Tories even more widely still. For the separation in this latter case is one not so much of opinions, as of very nature; in comparison with which all distinctions of mere opinion vanish into air. The Whig is not only willing, but feels that it is a joy and a duty to enlarge the old foundations. He takes a pride in welcoming within the sanctuary the children of the bondsman and the stranger;—all who have embraced its faith and are calling on its name. If he learns by sign and omen from without, that the tones of philosophy and freedom which from ancient times have solemnized its worship, are to be touched by further inspirations in these later days, he understands their meaning;—he finds an echo to them in the conscious revelations of his own heart, and gladly accepts his portion of the responsibility and glory. In this last conviction we are better acquainted with the necessities of our times than Selden and some of his patriot colleagues were with theirs. While they were urging on the movement, they thought that they were only demanding to stand still. On the contrary, while we look back to the institutions of our fathers, we know that we are looking forward to something more. The name by which this party is to be called is a matter of comparative indifference; but the existence of a powerful party in the intermediate position which is occupied by the Whigs at present, is a national blessing. It is their existence which prevents the extremes from rushing into immediate

Digitized by Google

and fierce collision. It is their possession of authority which prevents liberal sentiments from being discouraged, and the public confidence from being withdrawn. The peculiar characteristic of the administrations of Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne is, the proportions on which they rest. These proportions consist in the combination of popular principles, bottomed on a respect for liberty, property, and order—principles good in themselves, and necessary for the age—with a practical discretion, equally necessary; since it mainly depends upon a dispassionate calculation of the means at their command, and the means which are yet arrayed against them. The rules derived from this combination constitute the only policy, which we believe to be consistent, certainly with the tranquillity, probably with the security of the state. A government standing in this position, and formed upon these principles, could alone have the inclination and the power to take advantage of opportunities, and incorporate into our institutions, at the lucky moment, the new elements of their strength. The experiment of governing England upon any other system, at a season of so much unreasonable apprehension on the one hand, and unreasonable expectation on the other, must be full of imminent and daily danger. God forbid that the public peace should be so fearfully exposed; and that the reign of a young and innocent princess, whom all eyes are now regarding with so much tenderness and hope, should be ever clouded over by the interminable troubles which an exclusive government, Tory or Radical, must bring. A return to Tory principles would be as wise as thinking to stop the sun. The sun may be darkened: it cannot be turned back.

A central post, like that now maintained by the Whigs, is indispensable to the real interests of the country; and is advantageous, on the whole, to the party as a body; but it is far from being a comfortable situation for the individuals who have the task of defending it in detail. The consideration, which is in truth their great merit, at first sight, tells most against them. There seems something self-willed and paradoxical in standing out with equal pertinacity against directly opposite objections. They can never lay aside their arms for a moment, or know from what quarter the next shot may come; for the necessity, which makes their being and usefulness, puts them and keeps them betwixt two fires. There is a constant repetition of distinctions, and explanations, to prevent the answers to one set of opponents from being construed into admissions to the others. A statement of the extreme opinions on either side is naturally clear and simple, and carries with it an honest, straightforward, uncompromising air. On the contrary, enume-

Digitized by Google

rations of the limitations and exceptions, by which alone abstract principles can be made true in practice, is, on most occasions, a complicated affair. The addition of expositions of the collateral views on which their usefulness always, and often even their practicability must depend, carries the hearer still farther off the single sunbeam on which he would like to glide to a clear indisputable truth. Mixed considerations of this nature are represented to be the shifty subterfuges of an artful sophist, seeking to mystify plain men. An equal accessibility to what is easy and what is difficult, is not a matter of course in the House of Commons;—it is out of the question on the Hustings. Yet, what are the consequences of being misunderstood? Suspicion, contumely, and reproach. Another prejudice arises from the fact, that an intermediate party, proceeding upon its own principles, agrees to a certain extent with both extremes. These partial approximations mortify and provoke rather than conciliate. For both parties are less gratified with you, by your going part of the way with them, than they are indignant at you for not going the remainder.

The embarrassments and annoyances which belong to such a state of things are great; nevertheless, where political necessities have once created a large intermediate party of this description, the tendency of a well-intentioned and well-judging people will be to swell and strengthen it, until the necessities have passed away. The supposed necessity consists in the nature of the extreme opinions which are opposed to each other; and in the temper, power, and number of the classes which are embodied under them. In Ireland, for instance, the Irish people and the Orange faction stand in so critical a relation, that, were it not for a middle man, in the person of an impartial supreme authority, they would soon be at each other's throats. The chasm in English society, where it is widest and most abrupt, is of a far less fatal character. But the differences which have opened it, are too many and recent, even there, to admit a hope that if the parties were left to themselves, it would close quietly of its own accord. They stand like cliffs that have been rent asunder, and an ocean flows between. On the side of the Tories, a suspicious jealousy of popular excesses is too inveterate. On the side of the 'masses' (as some Radical writers love to call the working classes), a recollection of the insolence of the palmy days of Toryism is too fresh—disgust at the hostile air with which the Tories have given way in part to opinions which they did not share, but which they no longer ventured to resist, is too ill suppressed—apprehensions of the spirit and the designs with which a Tory Government would return to authority, are too natural and intense. There are many measures and arrange-

Digitized by Google

ments, many compromises, delays, suggestions—necessary perhaps for the common good—which it is impossible, under existing circumstances, that the one could offer, or that the other could receive, in any way by which the better part of their healing influence should not be endangered, if not lost. It is for the interest of one and all that this arbitration should be confided to the hands of a comparatively neutral party. There can be none so competent for this national office as the Whigs; since they sympathize with both the others, precisely in those objects and points of character which are at the moment most valuable in each.

The political classification of the English people, as it prevails at present, dates from the passing of the Reform Bill. This at least is the beginning of its external history. The Radicals are its new features. They then appeared for the first time, as a separate body, in the divisions of the House of Commons. The historian, indeed, will have to take up by anticipation, their internal history a little sooner. The date of this is from the period when the middle and lower classes began to feel their strength and independence; and when the questions which arose out of the Revolutions of France and America extended the sphere of political discussion. It ought to be considered one of the great benefits of the Reform Bill, instead of being charged upon it as its reproach, that it gave that portion of the people which the Radical members represent, a distinct constitutional existence. It was high time that the representative organization should provide them with legitimate means for taking their place and part in Parliament. Thus society is made far safer now. The different elements which enter into public opinion are sure of being infinitely better known and appreciated, when we can see them each in their own forms, and measure their proportionate titles to influence and regard. The expression of the Radical will is no longer abandoned to the passion and prejudices of a Cobbett; or to the fanciful vanity and capricious turbulence of a Sir Francis Burdett. It has had, in the late House of Commons, its full complement of Parliamentary organs (and we think something more),—reflecting to the full the several gradations of opinion contained within its creed. We have seen, at one time, its *dual* guard mounted by Mr Roebuck and Colonel Thomson. At another, there have been parades and field-days; and the whole rank-and-file have manœuvred and defiled before us upon a motion by Mr Grote. The various motions, real or tentative, which were made in the House of Commons during the late session, with the respective majorities and minorities in each, have furnished a conclusive scale for ascertaining the sentiments

Digitized by Google

of that assembly. We do not know that there is any reason for suspecting that that scale did not correspond, at least in all the leading tendencies which it manifested, with the sentiments out of doors. There was no possible mistaking the meaning of the variations from strength to weakness, and from weakness back to strength, notified in these divisions. *La jeune Angleterre* is not yet even in bud. And yet Mr Roebuck (with what policy he himself can best explain) was reasonable enough, in one sentence, to ridicule the Government on the smallness of their majorities, and, in the next, to censure them for not bringing forward other measures, where their majorities, it was notorious, would have been smaller still. By far the greater and more sensible section of the Radicals are perfectly aware that the only practical course open to them at present is, to support the Administration of Lord Melbourne to the utmost of their power. In doing so, they will be advancing their own opinions as far as their opinion can be advanced by legislation and discussion, while the contemporary opinions of the vast majority of their fellow-citizens are opposed to them. Their personal independence can require no more positive demonstration on their part, than the practice (of which we do not complain) of voting against the Government when they differ from it. On the other hand, were these differences to occur much more frequently than is actually the case, there is surely no sacrifice of principle in voting with the most liberal Government that the country at large will hear of, on those occasions when they agree. The small faction of Radicals who are for resenting these terms as an indignity, ought to tell their countrymen what are the ends, and what the means, to which otherwise they look. It would be well to know what are their objections to the simple rule of unanimity of opinion producing, where it exists, unanimity of votes; and, whether they think it would be for the public interest that the minority should take other measures than in a parliamentary way, for bringing the majority to order.

The elections are about to take place under favourable circumstances for giving full weight to the spirit and reflections we are recommending. The excitement which carried, and for a short time afterwards followed in the wake of, the Reform Bill, has gradually subsided. We are so far from feeling with the Tories that this is a ground for sarcasm, or with the Radicals that it is matter of censure against the Government, that we feel satisfied, on the contrary, that the temper at which the nation has arrived at present, ought, in all sense and candour, to be reckoned among the greatest of the Whig triumphs. To attack a Government for having restored tranquillity, is something new. The worst that

Digitized by Google

can be said of the Whigs is this—that they may have perhaps been guilty of a generous impolicy; and have preferred, in the course they have been pursuing, the interests of the public to the interest of their party. They were described, week by week, as living only on the poison of agitation. Yet what have they done? They have 'smoothed the raven-down of darkness till it smiles.' The violence which threatened to disorganize society has been charmed by them into repose. There is a spurious kind of violence indeed which has replaced it in some quarters; but it scarcely descends lower than trading politicians. The intemperance which this class indulges in represents the apparent equality of parties. They fly about and scour the country to pick up a few more votes, in the hope that they may turn the scale. If moderation is more just and reasonable at any one time than another—if violence is ever pre-eminently unpardonable (and especially in persons who call themselves friends of tolerance and freedom), it is on an occasion when political parties are so nearly balanced as at the present moment. We have no quarrel with the electoral constituencies on the pretext that they have not fairly represented the body of the people, including the non-electors, on that class of questions where the equality principally prevails. We have still less of fear for the direction which opinion will take, as the questions are more canvassed and become better understood. In the mean-while, it is on all accounts, both of charity and policy, only the more important, that nothing should be prematurely risked from rashness or imprudence. Children are taught to wait till the fruit is ripe. Yet this is a lesson which men we wot of, who would not like to be thought children, can scarcely be brought to learn.

There are two classes of questions with which, according to circumstances, a Legislature may be called upon to deal. These are the ripe, and the unripe. The first consist of certain measures, in favour of which a clear majority of the intelligent public has made up its mind deliberately; and which, in consequence, it desires the Legislature to place, by the public sanction, among the rules and guarantees of its social life. The duty of a legislator, in thus conforming to the progress of opinion, is little else than the duty of a farmer, in attending to the laws of nature, which fix the time of harvest. The point of maturity for this purpose, however, is a question of fact, which it is not always so easy to make out. It is a question which each individual legislator must settle for himself. The time taken for this may vary indefinitely, according to the parties and the occasion. Many persons will often seem rather long about it, and a portion of the public will be getting impatient. Impetuous legislators should, however,

Digitized by Google

recollect that there is one and the same mischief in beginning too soon, as in putting off too long; and, that the more precious the subject, it is the more incumbent on us to take care that we are making no mistake. The misery and discomfiture occasioned by mere precipitation, and nothing else, is a long and melancholy chapter in the history of reformations. Besides, how much more delightful ought it to be to wait a while for converts and allies than to be leading prisoners in chains. It is an important part of the case in legislative organization (but is yet only a part), that the machinery should facilitate the getting at the truth on this point, and should, to a considerable extent, work out the problem, as it were, itself. But the form of the Legislature (whether a single or a double chamber), and the principle on which each shall be constructed, can only assist in the solution. They are not sufficient for solving the whole problem. For the mechanism of a Legislature can never be so sure an index, as to release its members from the necessity of taking a more complete view of the state of public opinion, by looking out into society at large. It is not only in order to keep together a party for party purposes: a legislator, acting with the most pure and single reference to the public good (it does not matter for this in which chamber he is sitting) must often sacrifice his own opinions to those of others. If he will not do this—if he cannot learn the proper times and circumstances—at what seasons, and on what grounds, he ought to do it, means must be found for preventing him from continuing to injure and affront the rest of the community. The rock of offence must be removed. But, we prefer a solvent to a pickaxe; and a moral solvent rather than a physical one. The mode in which a well-constituted Legislature should incorporate within itself the public interests and public will; and the limits to the reasons, on account of which two legislative chambers may be made designedly to comprise points of agreement with, and points of difference from each other, are grave questions of political science. They are not to be disposed of by either a single syllogism, or a hundred sneers. In whatever form, and after whatever principle a Legislature may be constructed, Members of Parliament will occasionally be obliged, in their character of law-makers, to wave their personal impressions, and accede to the plainly recognised opinions of the public; by whom, and for whom alone they were ever clothed with the character at all. This is the point of view in which the House of Lords must reconsider their late proceedings; and the Radicals, their summary objections to a chamber, constituted as it is. The extent to which concessions of opinion should, in practice, be carried individually; and how far a previous coincidence between two chambers should be in part organically provided

Digitized by Google

for, and in part left loose for public opinion to bring round, are questions of degree. When a measure is once really ripe, in the sense in which we have been regarding it, it is next to impossible, in a free country, that the people will allow it to be lost by rotting on the wall. Of unripe measures little need be said. In being granted full and fair discussion—a clear stage and no favour—they have all to which they can possibly be entitled. The measures may be good or bad. But, while by the supposition they are in an intellectual minority, there is nothing ungracious in begging of their advocates to use civil language for the present, and to believe in the possibility of being in the wrong. We have a right to expect a dentist to be sure that the tooth he seeks to draw is the unsound one. If their notions are all as plain and self-evident as they usually declare them to be, and if public opinion is at all the sun which, as such, they would have us worship, their measures, now unripe, will become ripe in time. They will ripen the sweeter and the better for not having been forced.

Embarrassments belonging to an undue want of sympathy and co-operation between the Legislature and the people, or between the several branches of the Legislature, one with the other, will seldom be removable by a mere mechanical operation. But there are other difficulties in the way of the practical working of the Legislature at present. On the simplification and abridgement of these, the new Parliament must set to work early and in earnest; or, whatever may be its other merits, it will not give much more satisfaction than the last. Sir Robert Peel, in the safe address, where he lately gave 'his little senate laws,' at Tamworth, spoke of a 'weak and inefficient Administration.' When he was last himself in office, he made it very evident, by the want of confidence which he showed in the talents of his colleagues, one and all, what was his opinion of the strength and efficiency of his own. There was not one of them whom he durst trust with the opening, or the management, of a single case. The friends, however, of both Cabinets allow that neither one nor the other has had much ability to spare. But Sir Robert Peel must also be well aware, that under the existing system, no degree of skilful management on the part of the Prime Minister, or the Leader in the House of Commons, can prevent the public business from falling into a state of gross dilapidation and arrears; and that, consequently, this cause alone is sufficient to throw, in a long session, an air of discredit over the parties on whom the responsibility, as is supposed, principally rests. The nature of the evil has been repeatedly pointed out, and a variety of suggestions have been made. Lord Brougham attempted lately to rouse the House of Lords

Digitized by Google

upon it. But nothing has been done. The evil has gone on in the mean-time gradually making head, and has at last reached such a height, that Parliament must revise the whole subject boldly and systematically, and consent to such arrangements as may enable to discharge in a proper manner the liabilities it undertakes. Dog-in-the-manger habits—the not doing its business nor allowing any body else to do it—will otherwise sink its usefulness and popularity lower and lower every session. The three principal faults of Parliament, as at present constituted, for the formal management of business, are too considerable to admit of being evaded by sleight of hand. In the first place, it attempts too much. In the second, it attempts what it cannot understand. In the last, it takes no pains that what it does should be done well. The business, of which Parliament now claims and exercises the monopoly, has outgrown its machinery and powers. In point of quantity, there is a vast excess which it can never get through in any way, good or bad. There is much, which, looking at the nature of it, it must spoil by meddling with it, and of which other tribunals are the appropriate jurisdiction. What, after all deductions, it must retain, will be enough to satisfy all reasonable ambition, and more than enough to exhaust the industry it can possibly command. Before it can acquit itself with honour of this last,—its own specific duty,—it must recast several of its important parts, and learn the management of its tools, and call in the assistance of very different artists from those it has ordinarily employed. The bungling and scrambling way in which our statutory law is passed, like rubbish thrown out of a cart, is a national disgrace. A work called 'The Mechanics 'of Legislation,' by Mr Symonds, shows that in the manner we go about it, it could not, but by miracle, be better. Some excellent criticisms, which have appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, on the 'Notices and Orders of the day,' may help to contribute towards our amendment in this particular. But Parliament will have done nothing towards redeeming its past negligences, towards giving itself a chance of standing fairly before the public, or of doing justice to the good intentions it may possess, until it has entered fully and decisively into the whole subject,—lopped off a great portion of its work,—and provided itself with fit machinery for a skilful performance of the rest.

After every mitigating circumstance has been allowed for, obstructed and lingering legislation will occasionally occur, for which there can be no excuse. At such times, it is a consolation to recollect, that, except in a few cases of pith and moment, it is but a small portion of the duties and of the blessings of good government which resides in legislative measures. There is no

Digitized by Google

greater and more usual mistake than in underrating the good which an honest executive can perform, independently of the Legislature. The Government, by its general administration of affairs, exercises its most universal and searching influence over society. But the Public Offices despatch their business without either gallery or reporters. The public, therefore, seeing and hearing nothing of them, takes but little interest in comparison of what it is they do. Countries, more in want of additional legislation than England or even Ireland ever can be, yet lose more happiness than any new laws could give them, by the evil eye which presides over the execution of the old. A bad government may keep up appearances; and yet it shall be eating out the core. While a liberal government, however thwarted by partial interests, shall be enabled, by making the best of the means in its possession as a government, and by turning every opportunity to account, to change the face and character of things. More may be made of indifferent materials, honestly and wisely applied, than of the best, designedly or ignorantly misused. Yet what materials for the successful government of a country are equal to a national good-will? Where a ministry has been able to earn that, legislation may be suspended with comparative impunity. For the heart is every thing even here. Their legislative measures may be thrown out. But the failure, which has evinced the favourable disposition, will become a bond of union and circumstance of endearment. Where this is the case, an administration would be abandoning duty as well as office, were it to decline continuing to serve the public in one capacity because it was invidiously refused the means of serving it also in another.

The character, temper, and harmony of even the freest people, take, more or less, the colour of the government, for good or for evil. The administrative authority of the state meets its subjects, in one shape or another, at every corner. Wherever it appears, it scatters abroad an infinite variety of hopes and fears, suited to almost every nature. Besides better motives, there are—sordid interests for the sordid,—vanities for the vain,—and the instinctive prepossessions of ordinary minds in behalf of power and its possessors. In the application of these assimilating influences, governments are tempted to betray their trust, and to divide a people; making of them, in fact, two nations, with separate opinions and sympathies, instead of one. When a particular party remains in power for a long period, and has drawn a coarse and insolent line between its partisans and the rest of the community, as long a period almost, and something of the same policy, may afterwards be necessary to smoothe the inequalities it

Digitized by Google

will have occasioned,—to lower the hills and fill the valleys,—and to restore society to its proper level. This has been our own political history during the last half century. Take a single instance only. The number of Tory creations has put the House of Lords, in its Tory interests and propensities, out of proportion with the Commons. It is the mischief of this selfish favouritism, and of these haughty jealousies, which it is the first duty of a Liberal government to undo. The Tories had so firmly established the *autocratier des bureaux* in their own name, that incapacity for office was part of the definition of a Whig. Their own title to its rank, favours, and emoluments, was looked upon as a first principle. Hence the phenomenon of Whigs in place—a sight in which they could not believe their eyes; and hence perseverance in the appointment of Whig ministers, Whig bishops, Whig commissioners, &c., has been resented as the usurpation of an ancient prescriptive right. This is the real revolution. It is one by which their long monopoly of power, and their exclusive pretensions to loyalty and order, and competence for the public service, have been displaced. The Tories must abandon this exclusiveness. They must learn that they are a part of the English people only, and not the whole; that there are other interests to be taken into account; other opinions and sentiments, other virtues and talents than their own. The tenure of office in popular hands has been far too short, and has been imagined, by the classes most subject to its influence, to be too precarious, for any visible counteraction in those quarters to have already taken place. Political exclusives cannot be converted, without a further apprenticeship, to the belief that liberal principles are not essentially plebeian; and that Episcopacy is not the only religion for a gentleman. A carriage has yet to get accustomed not to feel ashamed in the third generation of Dissenters. This general conciliation of all classes, is one of the gentle approximations which the presence and the usages of a Liberal government will favour, indeed, but which time only can effect. It must take place, more or less, sooner or later. The less frankly it is submitted to by the Ultras, and the longer they delay it, so much the worse for the public and for themselves.

We admit and lament the partial impediments under which English, but more especially Irish, legislation has lately suffered. What, however, has been the result?—To show that the importance of having a trustworthy Administration rises in exact proportion to the faults which the Legislature may commit. The known principles, and active interposition, of the executive have kept the people in good heart; and have prevented the backwardness of the Legislature from blighting the prospects of the nation.

Digitized by Google

In this respect, England and Ireland have been sharers in the evil as well as in the remedy; but in different degrees: since, in the case of Ireland, the Legislature would do less, the executive has been called upon to do more. Mr O'Connell (whose good sense and directness of purpose have of late been above all praise) can tell us that the new laws must have been good indeed, which should do more for Ireland than Lord Mulgrave has accomplished by an improved administration of the old. The confidence of the Irish nation, in their existing government, has preserved them in peaceful allegiance and generous hope, notwithstanding the provocations artfully prepared by the wily leader of the Tories. We have blamed Mr O'Connell for trifling with the Union between the two countries. But Lord Lyndhurst and the party which he represents go infinitely further;—to the whole extent of the difference between union and allegiance. Supposing the Irish nation to be the 'aliens in blood, language, and religion' which he called them in his place in Parliament, no true allegiance can be expected from them, and, at the best, a litigious obedience only could be due;—that obedience which the full heart would fain deny, but dare not. The Imperial Parliament might pass to-morrow every legislative measure which the friends of Ireland could name. But with a minister in power, of the opinions expressed by Lord Lyndhurst, all the optimist measures in the world, told ten times over, would not be of the slightest use. The state of humiliation to which the Roman Catholics had been depressed, and the domineering superiority which the Orangemen had contracted, are at the bottom of the characteristic difficulties of Ireland. The different parts of society must be brought closer and kindlier to each other. No government can be fit to govern Ireland for a day, which, in every step it takes and every word it utters, has not this object at heart. Unfortunately, the work must be long in doing. But in the preparations which it shall make for this glorious result, an Irish government will be best complying with, and most honouring the spirit of our age.

The difference between Ireland and the other quarters of the empire, is only a difference in degree. The policy which is imperative in one case, is also most seasonable in all. To secure it its true and natural effect, its source must be known to be in the heart, and its stream must flow through pure and trusted channels. It is a policy which neither the Tories, on the one hand, nor the Radicals, on the other, can successively carry out to the full length that is required. For although opposite parts of it are supported respectively by each, yet neither of them are yet prepared, on the ground either of intimate conviction, or of acknowledged expediency, to adopt the whole. The utmost reform that

Digitized by Google

the Tories have declared they can conscientiously originate, amounts to a sort of scratching on the surface of legislation—ploughing with a bundle of thorns—and nothing more. They dare not go deep enough to give the seed they pretend to sow a chance of developement and growth. Sir Robert Peel is an excellent administrator of commonplace affairs in ordinary times. But there cannot be a stronger proof of his mistaken estimate of himself, and of his total incapacity to understand the manner of statesmen most wanted now, than that he should deem his own formal and plausible attainments title good enough to speak of the inefficiency of others. On the bullion question he learned, it is true, at last, a little political economy from Horner. In criminal law amendments, he got a smattering of criminal jurisprudence from Romilly and Mackintosh. But the character of our politics has been grievously lowered in all ways, both in its intelligence and its honour, by the absence of all principles,—by tying ourselves down to the exigencies of the passing day,—by never looking, either before, to anticipate dangers, or after, to reap instruction. This is our characteristic sin. And no one has been a more systematic sinner this way than Sir Robert Peel. What our legislation most demands at the present season is, principles—principles with no deductions from them but what are openly made, in cases where accommodation to existing institutions, or existing prejudices, is for the time the least evil of the two. Sir Robert Peel can perform and can explain the daily business of an office extremely well. But of all the great questions the settlement of which this distinguished statesman has had within his reach, and with which he has tampered after his peculiar taste and fashion, is there one which he has really settled upon the broad basis of its own principles? We believe, not one. What has been gained by the contrary course? Only this. The practical man, the minister of expedients and expediency, was so long in shuffling with his cards, and so ungracious in his way of dealing them, that when he was forced at last to play them out in the cause of common sense and justice, the boon even of religious liberty, coming from his hands, has appeared for a while to be a dubious and imperfect blessing.

The policy of the Whig Government has been to bring right principles out into the light of day on their own merits; but to stop, in moulding them into measures, at the point where external obstacles, either in the frame of our institutions, or in the present opinions of important classes, made it, on the whole, desirable to stop. In this, the policy superintended by Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne is the same. The Whig Government has dug deep in many of the foundations it has laid. Within the space

Digitized by Google

of six short years it has settled, upon principles of humanity and wisdom,—after investigations of statesmanlike philosophy and justice, with a sound knowledge of our own wants and in a prudent anticipation of the wants of succeeding generations,—a greater number of greater questions than had been ever seriously even discussed in Parliament, within any two hundred years since the Norman conquest. Are the statesmen who abolished slavery weak and inefficient? Then what was Sir Robert Peel, who did not do it? Are the statesmen who carried the Reform Bill weak and inefficient? Then what was Sir Robert Peel, who did his utmost to oppose it? Is this the character which the Church of England should give the statesmen, who, instructed by the experience of Ireland, stepped in in time with the tithe arrangement, by which the property of the Church is perhaps augmented, and by which it certainly has been saved? What should be the answer of the landlords of England and its industrious poor, when asked for their opinion, and their feelings, concerning an Administration, which, with equal sagacity and boldness, has by the Poor Law Amendment, closed a gulf in which the property, industry, and virtue of the kingdom were threatened to be ultimately swallowed up? Is it weak to have extended the municipal principle of self-government in our towns? Sir Robert Peel has read M. De Tocqueville. Is it inefficient to have conciliated the Dissenters, by extending the principle of religious liberty as far as is consistent with the just ends and privileges of an Established Church? Sir Robert Peel was either not earnest when he tried, or he tried and failed. But the crowning distinction between the two systems of government —the system of principle and cordial sympathy, on the one hand, and on the other, the system of doing for the body of the people as little, as late, and as slow as possible—is seen in the state of Ireland. Ireland has been made more tranquil, more grateful, more truly English, by what the Whigs have tried to do for it, but have been prevented from doing by Sir Robert Peel, than it was made by the Emancipation, which Sir Robert Peel could never have carried but for the Whigs; or than Sir Robert Peel could ever make it, from the tone of alienation, grudging, and distrust, by which he does worse than neutralize his paper enactments of nominal relief. Lord Lansdowne and Lord John Russell have promised to meet the New Parliament with a plan of National Education. Here is another of those measures of principle which decide and elevate the character of a nation; and at which, during a life of office, Sir Robert Peel has never looked. But perhaps the words, weak and inefficient, were applied not to the nature of their measures so much as to

Digitized by Google

their numbers on a division. Sir Robert Peel knows well enough, in the present state of parties, what is the only way in which a strong numerical administration can possibly be formed. In the mean-time a majority of eighty, or a majority of five, are a better style of weakness and inefficiency than that of which he gave the country an example in his own Parliament—to wit, no majority at all.

It is difficult to get at Sir Robert Peel's real opinions. If he is sincere in thinking that measures of this description, and attended with these results, are symptoms of weakness and inefficiency, the public has less reason than ever for regretting that the destinies of the country are no longer in his hands;—

'O loss of one in heaven to judge of wise.'

But the declarations and conduct of 1837 may be only of a piece with the declarations and conduct which he made, it is now just ten years since. Sir Robert Peel at that time told Mr Canning, and the House of Commons, that his unlooked-for opposition to the Administration of which Mr Canning was the Premier, was grounded solely on the effect which Mr Canning's well-known opinions in favour of Roman Catholic relief must have in his new position. Yet at that very moment Sir Robert Peel had in his writing-desk the letter which he had himself addressed two years before to Lord Liverpool; having stated therein that in his opinion the time was come when the measure of Roman Catholic relief ought to be conceded, and having proposed that he should retire from office while it was carrying through. We cannot but suspect that Sir Robert Peel's present public objections to the Whigs do not come one iota nearer the nature of the difficulties he really feels, than was the case with his former public objections to Mr Canning. In both cases, we apprehend that the words of truth and candour would be found to be much the same.

We cannot close these observations more to our own mind, than by putting upon a more permanent record than the columns of a newspaper, the Letter lately addressed to the Electors of North Durham, by Lord Durham. Some of the specific views to which Lord Durham alludes are different from our own; but differences, so candidly announced in principle, and so cautiously restrained in practice, will never break the ranks of true reformers. The Radicals have no direct power whatever, acting independently, by and for themselves. The conduct which Lord Durham recommends, and of which he sets so valuable an example, is the only possibility which Radicalism has, at present, of contributing, in its proper place, its just and honourable share to the good government of the country:—

Digitized by Google

'This is not a moment when supineness or apathy can be tolerated. On the energies and determination of the Liberal party, in all classes, depend the destinies of the empire. A most glorious opportunity now presents itself of strengthening that great cause of reform and amelioration to which we have been so long devoted. A new reign has commenced. Our Sovereign, with all the cordial confidence of an open heart and generous feeling, has placed herself unreservedly in the hands of a Liberal government. Let us by our exertions justify that step, and add to their means of efficiently serving her Majesty. Let us unite round her throne all that is good and wise and patriotic in the empire. Let our watchwords be—The Queen and Liberty! The Queen and the Constitution! The Queen and Reform! Whatever principles are most dear to us, most deeply implanted in the hearts of the people of England, may be, without reservation, identified with the name of the Sovereign. Educated by one of the best and wisest of her sex, her illustrious mother, our Queen knows that no throne is so secure as that which is based on the affections of its subjects—no crown sits so lightly or so gracefully as that on which are harmoniously blended the liberties of the people and the prerogatives of monarchy.

'As for myself: As you have done me the honour, by desire of the meeting, to ask my advice, I will tell you candidly what my views are. They are what they have ever been, and are neither changed nor modified. I wish to rally as large a portion of the British people as possible around the existing institutions of the country—the Throne, Lords, Commons, and the Established Church. I do not wish to make new institutions, but to preserve and strengthen the old. Herein lies the difference between me and my opponents. Some would confine the advantages of those institutions to as small a class as possible; I would throw them open to all who had the ability to comprehend them, and the vigour to protect them. Others, again, would annihilate them, for the purpose of forming new ones on fanciful and untried principles. I would, I repeat, preserve them, but increase their efficiency, and add to the number of their supporters. I have often stated the modes by which, as I imagine, that efficiency can be most readily produced; but I have ever accompanied those declarations, as I do now, with the announcement of my determination never to force them peremptorily or dogmatically on the consideration of the Government or the Parliament. If they are (as in my conscience I believe them to be) useful and salutary measures—for they are based on the most implicit confidence in the loyalty and good feeling of the people—the course of events, and the experience of every day, will remove the objections and prejudices which may now exist, and ensure their adoption whenever they are recommended by the deliberate and determined voice of the people.'

No. CXXXIII. will be published in October.

Digitized by Google

NOTE to the Article entitled 'Modern Egypt and the Modern Egyptians,' in Number CXXXI.

In our notice of the valuable work of Mr Lane, in the above-mentioned article, we omitted to state that it had been published under the superintendence of *The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.* We cannot, however, take any blame to ourselves for this oversight, as the fault rests with those who failed to state the fact, in the work itself, in a way to make it known. We now willingly acknowledge the omission, as it is but common justice that the Society should have due credit for the aid it has lent to many useful publications, and which is not always acknowledged in the Journals in which they are noticed or criticised.

Digitized by Google

LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

From April to July.

ANTIQUITIES AND ARCHITECTURE.

Caveler's Select Specimens of Gothic Architecture. 4to. With 80 Plates, 3*l.* 3*s.* Royal 4to, 5*l.* 5s.

The Antiquities of Athens and other Monuments of Greece, with 70 Plates. 12mo. 10s. 6d.

Temples, Ancient and Modern; or, Notes on Church Architecture. By W. Bardwell. Royal 8vo. 21s.

ARTS AND MANUFACTURES.

The Manufacturer's Assistant for calculating Wages. By J. Milne. 18mo. 3s.

BIOGRAPHY.

Early Recollections, chiefly relating to S. T. Coleridge. By J. Cottle. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 21s.

Memoirs of the Rev. A. Collier. By R. Benson. 8vo. 6s.

Memoirs, Correspondence, and MSS. of General Lafayette. 3 vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 2s.; or in French, 1*l.* 16s.

Lives of Eminent British Statesmen. Vol. III. By J. Forster, Esq. (Forming Vol. XCI. of Dr Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia.) Foolscap. 6s.

The Life of Poggio Bracciolini. By the Rev. W. Shepherd, LL.D. 8vo. 13s.

The Life of John Thelwall. By his Widow. Vol. I. 8vo. 12s.

Letters of Charles Lamb, with a Sketch of his Life. By Mr Sergeant Talfourd. 2 vols. post 8vo. 21s.

Memoirs of Celebrated Women. Edited by G. P. R. James. 2 vols. post 8vo. 21s.

BOTANY.

Hon. and Rev. W. Herbert on Bulbous Roots. 48 Plates. Royal 8vo. 1*l.* 5s. plain; 1*l.* 18s. coloured.

Perkin's Elements of Botany. 8vo. 10s. 6d. plain; 14s. coloured.

An Analysis of British Ferns and their Allies. By W. Francis. 8vo. 4s.

Flora's Gems, with 12 coloured Plates, by Andrews; with Poetical Illustrations, by L. A. Twamley. Imperial 4to. 2*l.* 2s.

The Spirit of the Woods, illustrated by coloured Engravings. By the Author of "The Moral of Flowers." Royal 8vo. Half-bound morocco. 1*l.* 16s.

CLASSICS.

The Comedies of Aristophanes, translated into English Blank Verse, with Notes, &c. By C. A. Wheelwright. 2 vols. 8vo. 24s.

Digitized by Google

The Ajax of Sophocles, with English Notes. By the Rev. F. Valpy. Post 8vo. 5s.

EDUCATION AND SCHOOL BOOKS.

Lexicon of the Latin Language. Edited by F. P. Leverett. Royal 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Questions adapted to Major's Latin Grammar. By W. Hayes. 12mo. 1s. 6d.

Arithmetic, illustrated by Wood Cuts. By A. Parsey. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

An Elementary Treatise on Latin Prosody. By Wm. Ramsay. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

The Latin Tutor, a Companion to Eton Latin Grammar. 12mo. 3s.

Easy Introduction to the Greek Tongue. 12mo. 4s.

The Numerical Class Book. By Mrs Taylor. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

Rowbotham's Guide to German Conversation. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

A New Dictionary of the English Language. By C. Richardson. 2 vols. 4to. 5*l.* 5s.

National Education. By Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Mechanical Euclid. By the Rev. W. Whewell. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

Treatise on the Greek Expletive Particles. By E. Stephens. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

Central Society of Education. First Publication. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

J. G. Tiark's Introductory Grammar of German Language. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

De Porquet's First Italian Reading Book. 18mo. 3s. 6d.

German Poetical Anthology. Vol. II. By Klauer Klattowski. (Select Lyric Poems of the Germans.) 12mo. 8s.

The Interrogator, or Ancient History, in Question and Answer. 12mo. 6s.

Practical Remarks on Infant Education. By Dr Mayo. Foolscap. 2s. 6d.

Whewell on University Education. Post 8vo. 5s.

Mrs French's Thoughts on Education. 18mo. 1s. 6d.

The Mother's Book of Education. By Charles Wall. 2s.

W. H. Pinnock's Elementary English Grammar. 18mo. 1s. 6d.

FINE ARTS.

The Harmometer; or Measure of Harmony. By John Grey. 32mo. 2s. 6d.

Remarks on Ancient and Modern Art, in a Series of Letters. By an Amateur. 12mo. 10s. 6d.

Views in Calcutta. By Captain R. Jump. 4to. 10s. 6d.

Lewis's Illustrations of Constantinople, made during a residence in 1835 and 1836. Imperial folio. 4*l.* 4s.

Tableau, from Crichton. By John Franklin. Folio. 1*l.* 11s. 6d. cloth.

GARDENING AND AGRICULTURE.

A Practical Treatise on the Culture of the Grape Vine. By Clement Hoare. Second Edition. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Digitized by Google

Library of Useful Knowledge. Sheep, their Management, &c. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

GEOGRAPHY.

The British Atlas, comprising separate Maps of every County in England and North and South Wales. Imperial 4to. 3*l.* 3s. coloured. Do. do. do. large paper, 4*l.* 4s. coloured.

HISTORY.

James's Naval History of England. 6 vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 14s.

The History of Ireland. By T. Moore, Esq. Vol. II. (forming Vol. XC. of Dr Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia.) Foolscap 8vo. 6s.

Athens, its Rise and Fall. By E. L. Bulwer, Esq., M.P. 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

The History of Scotland. By P. F. Tytler. Vol. VI. 8vo. 12s.

Master Wace, his Chronicle of the Norman Conquest, from Roman de Rou, translated, with Notes, &c. By E. Taylor. 8vo. 28s.

Lord Mahon's History of England. Vol. II. 8vo. 14s.

The French Revolution; a History. By Thos. Carlyle. 3 vols. post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

History of Mohammed and his Successors. By W. Sime. 18mo. 3s.

An Epitome of Niebuhr's History of Rome. By T. Twiss. Part II. 8vo. 9s.

Wellesley's Despatches. Vol. IV. 8vo. 25s.

Personal Memoirs of Colonel Charles Shaw, of the Portuguese and Spanish Auxiliary Legion. 2 vols. 8vo. 28s.

LAW AND JURISPRUDENCE.

The General Turnpike Road Acts, with Notes, &c. By J. T. Pratt. Foolscap 8vo. 7s.

The Principles of Real Property, according to the Text of Blackstone, with Alterations. By J. Stewart. 8vo. 13s.

Ellis's Water-side Practice of the Customs. 12mo. 10s.

Observations on Equity and Common Law, addressed to Country Solicitors. 12mo. 5s.

Outlines of the Law; or Readings from Blackstone, &c. By R. Maugham. 8vo. 10s.

W. Tidd's New Practice of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer. 8vo. 30s.

Introduction to the Study of the Civil Law. By Dr D. Irving. Fourth Edition. 8vo. 9s.

Thos. Martin's Introduction to Conveyancing. Vol. II., Part I. Royal 8vo. 12s.

Robinson's Magistrates' Pocket-Book. Second Edition. By J. F. Archbold. 8vo. 20s.

The Law relating to Licensed Victuallers. By S. C. Horry. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

H. Greening's Forms of Pleadings. 12mo. 7s.

MEDICINE, ANATOMY, AND SURGERY.

Dr Macauley's Medical Dictionary for Popular Use. Fifth Edition. 8vo. 14s. cloth lettered.

Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal. No. CXXXII. 6s.

Digitized by Google

Browne (W. A. J.) on Insanity and Asylums for the Insane. Pos 8vo. 5s.

Dr Abercrombie on the Stomach. Third Edition. Foolscap 8vo. 6s.

Historical and Medical Researches into the Origin, &c. of Syphilis. By M. Debergie. Translated by Innes. 2s.

Dr Collier's Translation of the London Pharmacopœia. Royal 8vo. 9s.

Gregory's Conspectus, with Order, &c. By Dr J. Steggall. Fourth Edition. 12mo. 10s.

The Works of John Hunter. By J. F. Palmer, &c. Vols. II. and III. 8vo. With a fasciculus of Plates, 4to. 17s. 6d. each vol.

Meckel's Manual of General Anatomy, translated from the French. By A. J. Doane. 12mo. 6s.

Observations on the Preservation of Health. By J. H. Curtis. Foolscap. 3s. 6d.

Principles of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, including a Third Edition of Diagnosis. By D. M. Hall. 8vo. 16s.

Dr Ryan's Obstetric Aphorisms. 32mo. 2s.

Do. Medico-Chirurgical Formulary. 32mo. 3s. 6d.

An Exposition of Neurapathy, or Nervousness. By J. M. Gully, M.D. 8vo. 6s.

Treatise on the Diseases and Injuries of the Larynx and Trachea. By F. Ryland. 8vo. 18s.

Dr J. H. Sealy's Medical Essays. No. II. The Imagination. 12mo. 3s.

Castle's Translation of the Pharmacopœia Londinensis. Royal 32mo. 5s.

Sir A. Cooper's Principles and Practice of Surgery. Edited by Dr A. Lee. Vol. II. 8vo. 18s. plain; 21s. coloured.

W. Thornton on Diseases of the Ear. 8vo. 8s.

C. H. Browne on the Teeth. 12mo. 1s. 6d.

The Hand Book of Useful Medicine. By A. Hamilton, M.D. 2s.

A. F. Haselden's Translation of the Pharmacopœia. 12mo. 2s.

W. F. Montgomery on the Signs of Pregnancy. 8vo. 18s.

Dr Currie's Principles of Homœopathy. 8vo. 7s.

Letters on Phrenology. By John Slade. 8vo. 9s.

METAPHYSICS AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

Philosophy of Instinct and Reason. By J. S. Bushman. Foolscap 8vo. 5s.

Dugald Stewart's Outlines of Moral Philosophy. Sixth Edition. Foolscap. 6s.

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS.

Encyclopædia Britannica. Seventh Edition. Vol. XV. Part I. 18s.

Ditto, ditto. Parts 86, 87, and 88. 6s.

Ditto, ditto. Parts 78 to 84. 3s.

The Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal. Conducted by Professor Jameson. No. 45. 7s. 6d.

The Complete Book of Trades. By N. Whittock, &c. 8vo. 14s.

The Trinities of the Ancients; or the Mythology of the First Ages. By R. Mushet. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

Digitized by Google

The Great Metropolis. Second Series. 2 vols. post 8vo. 21s.

Cary's Metaphysical, Mythological, and Chronological Enquiries. Foolscap 8vo. 13s.

Do. Chronological and Mythological Enquiries. Foolscap 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Remarks on Military Law and Flogging. By Major-General C. J. Napier. 8vo. 7s.

Angling Reminiscences. By T. D. Stoddart, Esq. Foolscap. 5s. 6d.

The Widow's Offering: a Selection of Tales and Essays. By the late W. Pitt Scargill. 2 vols. post 8vo. 21s.

The Scottish Ale-Brewer. By W. H. Roberts. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Beautiful; The Picturesque; The Sublime. By the Rev. J. J. Macvicar. Post 8vo. 7s.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Elements of Geology, from the "Encyclopædia Britannica." By Professor Phillips. Post 8vo. 6s.

Elements of Mineralogy, from the "Encyclopædia Britannica." By Professor Jameson. Post 8vo. 6s.

History of British Birds. By William Yarrell, Esq., F.L.S., &c. Illustrated by a Wood Cut of each Species, and numerous Vignettes. Part I. Price 2s. 6d. demy, or 5s. royal 8vo. To be completed in 2 vols.

Woodland Gleanings. By the Author of "The Sentiment of Flowers." 64 Plates. Foolscap. 10s. 6d.

History of British Birds. By W. MacGillivray. Vol. I. 8vo. 16s.

Conversations on Mineralogy, with Notes. By Mr and Miss Lowry. 2 vols. 12mo. 14s.

Fairholme's Geology of the Mosaic Deluge. 8vo. 16s.

The Natural History and Classification of Birds. Vol. II. (forming Vol. XCII. of Dr Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia.) Foolscap 8vo. 6s.

Rhind's Elements of Geology. 12mo. 3s.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

Whewell's History of the Inductive Sciences. 3 vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 2s.

Distant Glimpses; or Astronomical Sketches. By F. B. Burton. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

Snowball's Introduction to Plane Trigonometry. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

Seven Lectures on Meteorology. By Luke Howard. 12mo. 5s.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

The Victims of Society. By the Countess of Blessington. 3 vols. post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

The Rector of Auburn. 2 vols. 12mo. 12s. 6d.

The Pirate of the Gulph; or Lafitte. 2 vols. post 8vo. 18s.

Gentleman Jack. By the Author of "Cavendish." 3 vols. post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Novels of Nature. By Mrs Chadwick. Foolscap. 7s. 6d.

Rory O'More; a Romance. By S. Lover, Esq. With 15 Etchings. 3 vols. post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

The Picaroon. By the Author of "Makanna." 3 vols. post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

The Hussar. By the Author of "The Subaltern." 2 vols. post 8vo. 21s.

Digitized by Google

Margam Abbey; an Historical Romance of the Fourteenth Century. 12mo. 9s. 6d.

The Young Duellist; or the Affair of Honour. Post 8vo. 6s.

Nick of the Woods; a Story of Kentucky. Edited by W. H. Ainsworth. 3 vols. post 8vo. 27s.

The Arethusa; a Naval Story. By Captain Chamier, R.N. 3 vols. post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Adventures of Captain Bonneville. By Washington Irving. 3 vols post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Pictures of Private Life. Third Series. By S. Stickney. Foolscap. 7s. 6d.

Venetia. By the Author of "Vivian Grey." 3 vols. post 8vo 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

The Curate of Steinhollt; a Tale of Iceland. 2 vols. post 8vo. 18s

Geraldine; a Tale of Conscience. 2 vols. 12mo. 12s.

Aunt Dorothy's Tale; or Geraldine Morton. 2 vols. post 8vo. 21s.

The Poet's Daughter. 3 vols. post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Eureka; a Prophecy of the Future. By the Author of "Mephistopheles in England." 3 vols. post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

The Doctor. Vol. IV. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Jeannette Isabelle; a Novel. 3 vols. post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Doveton; or the Man of Many Impulses. 3 vols. post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Verschoyle; a Roman Catholic Tale. 12mo. 6s.

Snarleyyow; The Dog Fiend. By the Author of "Peter Simple," &c. 3 vols. post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

The Star of Seville; a Drama in Five Acts. By Mrs Butler. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

The Deluge; a Poem. By Mrs E. T. Caulfield. 8vo. 7s.

Britannia's Royal Chieftain; a Poem. 4to. 10s.

The Works of Thomas Gray. Edited by the Rev. J. Mitford. 4 vols. foolscap. 20s.

A Birth-day Tribute to the Princess Victoria. By L. E. L. 4to. 8s.

Freedom; The Spirit of the Age; and other Poems. By H. Mead. 12mo. 5s.

Autumnal Leaves; Poems. By H. F. Valle. Second Edition. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d.

A Dream of Life; a Poem. By the Rev. W. G. Moore. Foolscap. 5s.

Popular Poems. Selected by Elizabeth Parker. 18mo. 3s. 6d.

The Vestal; and other Poems. By H. Verlander. 8vo. 5s.

Lord Byron's Works, complete in one vol. Royal 8vo. 20s.

Selection from the Poems of Louis I., King of Bavaria. By G. Everill. Foolscap. 4s.

Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered, translated by J. R. Broadhead, Esq. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 20s.

Mary Queen of Scots, an Historical Play. By the Rev. T. Francklin, D.D. 8vo. 5s.

Digitized by Google

Songs of Berenger translated. Foolscap. 8vo. 5s.

The Count and his Contempors. Part I. Cantos I. to IV. Post 8vo. 8s.

Mortality, and other Poems. By T. C. Jones. Post 8vo. 7s.

The Outcast, a Poem. By J. L. Simcox. 12mo. 6s.

The Bard, by Gray, with illustrations from Drawings. By the Hon. Mrs John Talbot. Post 8vo. 7s.

Devotional Poetry, with Music. 2 vols. Royal 32mo. 6s.

The Bride of Messina; a Tragedy from Schiller. By G. Irvine. 8vo. 6s.

Hours at Naples, and other Pieces. By Lady E. S. Wortley. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Conspiracy of Quirini and Tiepolo. 8vo. 5s.

POLITICS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Auber's Rise and Progress of British Power in India. 2 vols. 8vo. 21s. Royal 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Church and State. By A. Alexander, M.A. Foolscap. 4s.

Opinions of Lord Brougham. Post 8vo. 12s.

Money and its Vicissitudes in Value. 8vo. 8s.

Votes on Indian Affairs. By the Hon. F. A. Shore. 2 vols. 8vo. 28s.

The History of Banking in America. By J. W. Gilbart. 8vo. 7s.

The Wrongs of the Caffer Nation. By Justus. 12mo. 5s.

RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS.

Christ, a Christian's Life. By the Rev. J. Gammon. Ninth Edition. By J. Irons. 18mo. 1s. 6d.

The Man of Sorrows. By C. D. Sillery. 18mo. 2s.

Remarks on the Four Gospels. By W. H. Furness. 12mo. 6s.

Dr T. Turton on the Eucharist, in Reply to Wiseman. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

R. J. Nelson's Essay on Man's Moral Agency. 12mo. 5s.

Christian Modes of Thinking and Doing. By the Rev. John Pring. 3 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 10s.

Hymns for Baptist Chapels. By J. Swain. 32mo. 1s. 6d.

Savery on the Original Election of the Church of God in Christ. 12mo. 3s.

The Scripture Gazetteer. By W. Fleming, D.D. Vol. I. Royal 8vo. 12s.

Select Notes of the Preaching of Rowland Hill. By E. Sidney. 12mo. 4s.

The Book of the Young, an Invitation to Early Christian Piety. By the Rev. Joseph Jones of Newchurch. 12mo. 6s.

Hymns of the Primitive Church. By the Rev. J. Chandler. Foolscap 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Remarks on the Ecclesiastical Condition of the United Kingdom. By D. Robinson. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Church of Christ Considered. By G. Payne, LL.D. Foolscap. 2s. 6d.

Discourses on the Complete Restoration of Man. By D. Chapman. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Roman Catholic Chapel. By R. M. Zornlin. 18mo. 2s. 6d.

Digitized by Google

Mammon Demolished, an Essay on the Love of Money. By B. H. Draper. Royal 18mo. 2s. 6d.

The Book of Job translated, with Notes, &c. By S. Lee, D.D. 8vo. 18s.

The Philosophy of Human Nature. By H. M'Cormack. 8vo. 12s.

W. Jones's Thirty Sermons on Primitive Christianity. 8vo. 12s.

The Eucharist, its History, Doctrine, and Practice. By the Rev. W. J. E. Bennet. 8vo. 12s.

The Heritage of God's People. By the Rev. A. Whyte. 18mo. 3s. 6d.

Rev. Philip S. Dodd on the Life and Ministry of St Peter. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Practical Evils of Dissent. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

Things Hoped for; or the Doctrine of the Second Advent. By Viscount Mandeville, M.P. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

Family Prayers. By H. Cooke, D.D. 18mo. 1s. 3d. bound.

Spiritual Garden of Sweet-smelling Flowers. 32mo. 2s. 6d.

Ministerial Responsibility. By the Rev. A. Dallas. Foolscap 8vo. 3s.

Jenkyn on the Union of the Holy Spirit, and the Church in the Conversion of the World. 8s.

The Duties of Men. Translated by C. Hindley from the Italian of S. Pellico. Post 8vo. 5s.

The Rev. T. Dales' Pastoral Sermons at Denmark Hill. 8vo. 10s.

Selections from the Works of the Rev. J. Fletcher. By S. Dunn. 12mo. 6s. 6d.

The Mystery of Godliness. By the Rev. J. Ayre. 12mo. 8s.

Christian Counsels to a Young Person. 18mo. 1s. 6d.

Manual of Family Prayer. By the Rev. A. Horsfall. 18mo. 2s.

Bishop Mant's Translation of Ancient Hymns from the Roman Breviary, &c. 18mo. 3s. 6d.

Thoughts on the Religious State of the Country (America). By the Rev. Calvin Cotton. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

The Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons—Summer. By H. Duncan, D.D. 12mo. 6s.

Truth without Novelty. Part II. 12mo. 2s. bds.

Rev. T. Biddulph's Plain and Practical Sermons. Third Series. 12mo. 3s. cloth.

Rev. James Slade's System of Family Prayer. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

The Peace-Maker. By Bishop Hall. 32mo. 1s. 6d.

Wardlaw's Discourses on Socinian Controversy. Fifth Edition. 8vo. 15s.

Scenes of Death. By J. Thwaites, M.D. 18mo. 1s. 6d.

Stillingfleet's Doctrine of the Church of Rome. New Edition. 18mo. 3s. 6d.

The Young Christian's Sunday Lessons. 18mo. 2s. 6d.

R. Haldane's Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans. Vol. II. Foolscap. 7s. 6d.

J. J. Gurney's Sabbatical Verses. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

The Progress of Creation Considered. By Mary Roberts. Foolscap. 7s.

Digitized by Google

S. E. Pierce's Forms of Prayer. 12mo. 6s.

The Christian Church distinguished from Popery. By the Rev. T. Griffiths, A.M. Part I. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

Maternal Instruction on the Rite of Confirmation. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

Hymns for Young Persons, selected by the Rev. R. Harvey, M.A. 18mo. 1s. 3d.

J. H. Pinder's Sermons on the Book of Common Prayer, &c. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

J. A. James's Counsels and Cautions to Christian Professors. Foolscap. 5s.

Bell's New Testament Rhetorically Punctuated. Part I. 12mo. 7s.

The Christian Warrior. By the Rev. J. Ambrose. Edited by the Rev. T. Jones. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

Religion without Gloom. 12mo. 4s.

Church and King. By E. Osler. Imperial 8vo. 4s.

TOPOGRAPHY.

Memorials of Shrewsbury. By Henry Pidgeon. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

Observations on the Topography, Climate, &c., of Jersey. By G. S. Hooper, M.D. 8vo. 6s.

Ingram's Memorials of Oxford. 3 vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 18s.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

First Impressions and Studies from Nature in Hindostan. By T. Bacon. 2 vols. 8vo. 30s.

Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands. By John Williams. 8vo. 12s.

Coghlan's Guide to Brussels. 18mo. 2s. 6d.

Do. Do. Belgium. 18mo. 6s.

The Irish Tourist; or, the People and the Provinces of Ireland. Foolscap. 4s. 6d.

Rev. C. L. Smith's Excursions through the Highlands of Scotland. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Col. Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

Society in America. By Miss Martineau. 3 vols. Post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Three Voyages in the Black Sea. By the Chevalier Taitbout de Marigny. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Journal of a Horticultural Tour through Germany and Belgium, &c. By James Forbes. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

Narrative of a Voyage to Western Africa. By J. E. Alexander, K.S.L. 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 12s.

The Shores of the Mediterranean. By F. H. Standish. 8vo. 8s.

The Tour of the Don. 2 vols. 18mo. 7s.

Narrative of an Expedition to the East Coast of Greenland. By Capt. W. A. Graah. 8vo, 8s. 6d.

Two Years at Sea. By Jane Roberts. Foolscap 8vo. 5s.

The Eastern Seas, or Voyages and Adventures in the Indian Archipelago. By G. W. Earl. 8vo. 12s.

Souvenirs of a Summer in Germany in 1836. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 21s.

England. By J. F. Cooper, Esq. 3 vols. Post 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Digitized by Google

The City of the Sultan, and Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836. By Miss Pardoe. 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 16s.

Sketches in the Pyrenees. By the Author of 'Slight Reminiscences of the Rhine.' 2 vols. Post 8vo. 24s.

Impressions at Home and Abroad. J. R. O'Flanagan, Esq. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 21s.

Travels in Palestine and Syria. By George Robinson, Esq. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 21s.

Picturesque and Historical Recollections of Switzerland. By M. O'Conor, Esq. Foolscap. 7s. 6d.

Investigation, or Travels in the Bourdoin. By Caroline A. Halsted. Foolscap. 7s.

Narrative of Captain J. Fawckner's Travels in West Africa. 12mo. 4s.

E. Giffard's Short Visit to the Ionian Islands, Athens, and the Morea. Post 8vo. 12s.

Spain and the seat of War in Spain. By H. B. Hall. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A. Slade's Turkey, Greece, and Malta. 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Notes Abroad, and Rhapsodies at Home. By a Veteran Traveller. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 21s.

G. A. Hoskins's Visit to the Great Oasis of the Libyan Desert. 8vo. with many Plates. 21s.

Anderson's Tourist's Guide through Scotland. 12mo. 5s.

Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan. By Miss E. Roberts. Second Edition. 18s.

Illustrations of Jerusalem and Mount Sinai, from Drawings by F. Arundale; with his Tour. 4to. 25s.

Wanderings in Greece. By George Cochrane, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. 24s.

The Emigrant's Introduction to the British American Colonies. By S. S. Hill. 12mo. 5s.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG PERSONS.

The Miracles of Christ. By B. H. Drapper. Second Series. 32mo. 2s.

The Book of Sports. By William Martin. Square. 3s. 6d.

Original Tales for the Holidays. By Mary Elliott. 18mo. 2s.

The Summer. By Robert Mudie. Royal 18mo. 5s.

Remember, or Mamma's Birth-day. Square. 2s. 6d.

The Two Cousins and other Tales. 2s. 6d.

Rose and Ann Monosyllables. 1s. 6d.

Anecdotes of Kings, selected from History. 16mo. 3s. 6d.

A Selection of Fables. By Theresa Tidy. 18mo. 1s.

The Deaf and Dumb Boy. A Tale. By the Rev. W. Fletcher. 18mo. 2s. 6d.

Fidelle, and other Tales. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

Louisa Seymour, or Hasty Impressions. By C. G. Godwin. 18mo. 2s.

Alicia Grey; or, to be Useful is to be Happy. By C. G. Godwin. 18mo. 2s.

Josephine, or Early Trials. By C. G. Godwin. 18mo. 2s.

Moral Axioms for the Young. By Sir E. Brydges, Bart. 18mo. 3s. 6d.

The Story of the Three Bears. 18mo. 2s.

Digitized by Google

INDEX.

[*By a mistake in Printing, the Second Number of this Volume, instead of having been paged in sequence with the First Number, is paged as if it began a new Volume. To obviate the error, and to facilitate reference here, the Index belonging to the Second Part of the Volume is marked with an asterisk.*]

A.

Agassiz, Professor, classified the fossil fishes by the character of their scales, 33.

Ainsworth, W. H., considered as a romance writer, 193, 197; has aspired in Crichton to frame a regular historical romance, 197, 199; spoils his descriptions by a parade of antiquarian expressions, 202—204.

America, similarity between its constitution and Norway, 47.

* *American Trade*, causes and consequences of the crisis with the, 221; value of importation into America far exceeded the increase of population and wealth, 222, 223, 224, 225; value of the total exports and imports from 1830 to 1836, 223; causes of this overtrading in America, 225; effect of breaking up the Bank of the United States, 225, 226; increase of Joint Stock Banks, 226; and speculation to an amazing extent, ib.; effect of the Circular of General Jackson, ordering payment in specie for the value of public land, 227, 228; credit system carried on between England and America, 229—233; Bank of England refuse to accept the paper of some American houses, 233; effect of this precipitate proceeding on the English and American houses, 234; overtrading still carried on by the American houses, 234, 235; statement of the outstanding acceptance of three of the great houses, 235; loss sustained by the merchants of this country will not be so severe as expected, 236; probable exports from America will be far more than what they are due, 237; necessity of proceeding with greater caution in future, 238.

Angelis, Pedro de, Colleccion de Obras y documentos relativos a la Histoire Antigua, &c. 87. See *Cruz*.

Atlantic Steam Navigation, 118; opinions stated at the meeting of the British Association held at Bristol, 119, 120; operations of the steam-engine, 120, 121; advantages and disadvantages of common and feather-

Digitized by Google

ing wheels, 121, 122; formidable effects of salt water on the boiler, 122—125; checking of the flues by the smoke, 125—127; proportion of the machinery and fuel to the size of the vessel, 127; explanation of horse-power and tonnage, 128; consumption of coal as tested by experiments, 128—130; power of the fuel in propelling the vessel, 130—132; construction and power of the machinery in different steamers given to illustrate the preceding results, 132—134; physical phenomena attending the Atlantic ocean, 134; effect these physical causes, and the length of the voyage would have on the navigation of the Atlantic, 135—140; shortest routes between America and Ireland considered, 140—142; fears that may be entertained of a successful result, 142—145; beneficial effects that a communication would have on the welfare of Ireland, 145, 146.

* *Athens*, Rise and Fall of—age of the Pelægians, 152; the heroic times—Theseus, 153, 154; Solon the arbiter, 154, 165, 166; Persian invasion, 154; Cimon and Pericles, 154, 155; from the time of Pericles to the present, 156; Young and Drummond's abortive attempts to write its history, 161, 162. See *Bulwer*.

B

Bank of England and the Country Banks, 61; commercial state of the country in January 1836, 61; the late difficulties arose from the unsound principles on which the paper currency has been established, 62; necessity of our paper currency ranging in amount and value exactly as the currency would do were it metallic, 62, 63; extraordinary increase of Joint-Stock banks, 64, 65; amount of their issues, 65, 66; influence of, on business, 66; conduct of the Bank of England, 66, 67; table of the issues, liabilities, and bullion of the bank, 67; raised her rate of interest, 69; effect of this, 70—72; export of bullion from London in 1836, 72; stock of bullion reduced—cause of its diminution, 72—74; ought to have contracted their circulation to a greater extent, 74, 75; circumstances that led to the downfall of the Northern and Central Bank, 75; supported by the Bank of England, 75, 76; the defect of the bank is in participating too much in the feelings and views of the mercantile class, 76, 77; afforded assistance to the American houses, 77; facts established by the conduct of the Bank of England and the provincial banks, 79—80; necessity of a radical alteration in the law relating to joint-stock and private banks, 80; the paper currency of the country cannot be established on sound principles unless the power to supply it be confined to *one issuer*, 80—85; profits of the provincial banks are not sensibly impaired by the substitution of the Bank of England notes for their own, 84; defects of the present system, 85—87.

* *Bacon, Francis*, Works by Basil Montagu, 1—5; character of the leading statesmen in England at his time, 5—9; Bacon's mother distinguished as a scholar, 9—12; early years of Bacon, 12, 13; death of his father, 13; his services refused by Government—probable cause of, 13—15; entered Gray's Inn—legal attainments, 15, 16; sat in Parliament in 1593, 16; part he took in politics, 17; attaches himself to

Digitized by Google

the Earl of Essex, 17; Essex endeavours to obtain the office of Attorney-General for Bacon, 20; generous conduct of Essex, 21; appeared as council against Essex at his trial, 22—25; Bacon's conduct towards Essex fully examined, 25—31; death of Queen Elizabeth, 31; influence of James' accession to the throne on the fortune of Bacon, ib.; servile conduct towards Lord Southampton, 32; influence his talents had over the public, 33, 34; appointed Attorney-General, 33; progress he made in literature, 34, 35; tampered with the judges on the trial of Peacham, 35, 36; private consultations with the judges not allowed by law, 36, 37; renews the disgraceful practice of torturing, 37, 38; unworthy ambition explains all his actions, 38, 39; attaches himself to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, 40; Essex and Buckingham contrasted, 40, 41; Bacon appointed Keeper of the Great Seal, 41; aided the King and his favourites in granting patents of monopoly, 43; his judicial conduct most reprehensible, 44, 45; interferes to prevent the marriage of Sir John Villiers and Sir Edward Coke's daughter, 46; meanness towards Buckingham, 47; country-house at Gorhambury, 48; raised to the title of Viscount St Albans, ib.; convocation of James' Third Parliament, 48, 49; alarm spread through the Court when it proceeded to discuss the public grievances, 49, 50; charge brought against Bacon for corruption by the House of Commons, 50, 51; conduct of Bacon, 51, 52; allows his guilt, 52, 53; sentence pronounced by the Lords, 53; Mr Montagu's attempt to vindicate Bacon's reputation criticised and laid open, 53—62; reflections on the disgraceful practice of judges taking bribes, 55—62; mode in which he spent the last years of his life, 62—64.

**Bacon's Philosophy*, chief peculiarity of, 64, 65; object of all his speculations, 65; ancient philosophy disclaimed to be useful, and was content to be stationary, 65; use of philosophy according to Seneca, 65—67; proper object of philosophy, 67—69; doctrines of the Epicureans, 70; effects of Christianity on the progress of philosophy, 70—72; of the invention of printing and gunpowder, 71; causes that predisposed the public mind to give a turn to philosophic pursuits, 71; difference between the philosophy of Bacon and that of Plato, 73; in regard to arithmetic, 73, 74; mathematics, 74—76; astronomy, 76; alphabetical writing, 76, 77; science of medicine, 77, 78; science of legislation, 79; form in which laws ought to be drawn, 79; aim of both philosophers, 80, 83; the powers of Bacon received their direction from his good common sense, 83; Epictetus and Bacon compared, 83, 84; Bacon's philosophy has been accused of overrating those sciences which minister to man's physical well-being, and underrating moral philosophy, 84, 85; his treatment of moral subjects, 85, 86; considered as a theologian, 87; vulgar notions as to the inductive method, 87; induction correctly analyzed by Aristotle, 88; inductive method of no great practical value, 88—94; what Bacon did for inductive philosophy, 84; temper of Bacon, 94, 95; individualized his thoughts, 95; superiority of his understanding, 96, 97; adorned his philosophy with the richest decorations of rhetoric, 97; possessed the faculty of analogy to a great extent, 97—99; poetical faculty was

Digitized by Google

powerful in his mind, 99; order with which his powers of mind expanded themselves, 100; similarity between his style and Burke's, ib.; specimen of Bacon's two styles, 101; value of his Essays, 102; his best performance, that of the First Book of the Novum Organum, 102, 103; contemplation of his life, 103, 104.

**Ballot*, advantages and disadvantages of the, 212, 213.

**Bradley's, Professor*, Works and Correspondence, 119; England has no place of record for the lives of her philosophers, 119; history of the MSS. of Dr Bradley, 121; early life, 122; appointed Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford, 122; commenced a series of observations, which ended with solving the parallax of the fixed stars, 123—125; refractions of different stars did not differ from one another, 126; appointed astronomer-royal of England, 127; establishes his second great discovery of the nutation of the earth's axis, 127; had some share in the assimilation of the British Kalendar to that of other nations, 128; ignorance of the people regarding the alteration, 129; observations at Greenwich, 129; list of some of his papers read before the Royal Society, 180, 181.

**Browning's, J.*, Strafford, a tragedy, 132; sketch of the plot of the play, 134—137; principal characters in the tragedy, 141—143; breaks his language into fragments, 144, 145; extracts from the tragedy, with a critique on the style, 145—150.

Buckland's, Rev. William, Geology and Mineralogy. See *Geology*.

**Bulwer's, E. L.*, Rise and Fall of Athens, 152—156; the Olympic Festival, 156; reception of Aristagonis at Athens, 157; condition of Athens about the period of Cimon's death, 157—160; character of Cimon, 160; might have wrote a book devoted to Athens alone, 161; general moderation and candour which characterises his work, 163; sketch of the Pelasgian's march out of the East, 163, 164; theory of the Greek mythological system, 164, 165; character of Solon, 165, 166; age of Pericles, 166; defends the conduct of the Athenians towards their great deliverer, 166, 167; Ostracism, 167; passages which may deserve the author's re-consideration, 167, 169, 176; dramatic poetry—rise and progress of tragedy, 169—172; Æschylus and Sophocles contrasted, 172, 173; criticism of the Œdipus Tyrannus, 173, 174; on Ajax, 174, 175; on the Electra, 175, 176; peculiarities of idiom requiring to be corrected, 176, 177.

C.

Candia, Island of, expense and burden it entails on the Pasha of Egypt, 170, 171; would be an advantageous acquisition to Great Britain, 171, 172.

**Christianity*, effect of its doctrines on the progress of philosophy, 70—72.

**Church-rates*, abolition of, intimately connected with the question of an Established Church, 178, 179; sum yearly raised by the rates, 179; parish cannot be compelled to make a rate, 180—182; objections raised to the rate considered, 182; funds raised, not beyond the control of the State, 184, 185; the clergy not being the Church, the Church cannot

Digitized by Google

be the proprietor, 185, 186; and being no proprietor, it cannot hold property by an inconsistent tenure, 186; Church property is therefore to all intents and purposes State property, 187; plan proposed by Government for the settlement of the rates, 187—189; serious objections to the plan as regards the *details*, 189—191; if carried, it would not affect the stability of the Established Church, 191; no difference in principle between charging the expense of repairing churches upon the consolidated fund and upon the land revenue, 191—194; plan supported by the Dissenters, 194, 195.

Cruz's, D. Luis de la, Expedition across the Pampas, 88; preliminary explanations as to the situation of the Spanish colonies, 88, 89; undertakes to survey the road from Conception to Buenos Ayres, 89; character of his journal, ib.; description of the road and nature of the country between Conception and Antuco, 90, 91; Volcano of Antuco, 91, 92; starts from Fort Ballenar, and reaches La Cueva, 93; geology of the country between Batacura and the Roi Colorado, 95—97; River Desaguadero, 97, 98; description of the country across the Pampas to Melineuse, 98, 99; length of the road from Conception to Buenos Ayres, 99, 100; expense of constructing a road between, 100; future career of La Cruz, 100; important information derived from his journal regarding the large rivers in the Pampas, and the sources from whence they flow, 100—104. See *Rio Negro*.

**Criminal Law*, report of Commissioners on, 214. See *Reform*.

**Civilisation*, diffusive nature of modern, 196, 197.

Cuvier's discoveries in geology, 12; account of his researches in the gypsum quarries of Montmartre, 23, 24.

D.

Delaunay on cane sugar and beet-root sugar, 110. See *Sugar*.

Denmark, free institutions it now has, 51.

* *Drama*, too minute a detail of portraiture not necessary for, 138—140; Rise and Progress of in Athens, 169—172.

**Durham, Lord*, his Letter to the electors of North Durham, 281, 282.

E.

Education, National, bill of Mr Wyse, M.P., for establishing a board of education, 245; principles of his plan, 246—248; chief defect is in placing it too much under the control of government, 248; principle on which the bill introduced into the House of Lords is framed, 249; Parliamentary returns of the state of education in England in 1818 and 1833, 249; inaccuracy of these returns, 250; deficiency of education, 251, 252; benefits to be derived from the establishment of infant schools, 252—254; instruction generally given by the common schools, 254; the instruction that ought to be given, 254, 255; conclusions drawn from the facts stated, 255; funds existing in various parts of England, 255—256; necessity of a board of instruction, 256; principles on which the functions of the board should be guided, 256—257; should be associated with the common council in all corporate towns and county councils, 257—258; necessity of establishing Normal schools under

Digitized by Google

the superintendence of the board, 258, 259; board to have a control over the funds already existing in the large endowments of the country, 259; expense will hardly be felt by the country, 261; number of children attending school, with their average expense, 261—263; difficulties that may arise from religious differences, 263, 264.

* *Education, Female*, superiority of the present system of education over that taught in the sixteenth century, 10—12.

**Education*, necessity of a complete system of national, 202, 203—213.

Egypt, Modern, and the modern Egyptians, 146; modern travellers, 147; character of Mr Lane's work, 147—149; of Captain Scott's, 149; treatment of children and their education, 150; schoolmasters miserably deficient in learning, 151; respect paid to parents by their children, 151, 152; religion of the people, and condition of the priests, 152—154; from whence their civil laws are derived, 154, 155; law of divorce and its depraved effects on both sexes, 155, 156; punishment of crimes, 157; apostasy for the Mahomedan faith still punishable with death, ib.; civil code, ib.; law of inheritance, 158; the grossest abuses prevail in the administration of justice, 159; case to that effect cited by Lane, 159, 160; revenue of the Pasha, 160, 161; sources of, 161; misery entailed on the peasantry by his exactions, 161, 162; innovations and reform introduced by the Pasha, 162, 164; regular Egyptian army recruited from the native Arab population of Egypt, 164, 165; deficient in instruction and discipline, 166, 167; difficulties the Pasha has passed through, 167, 168; difficulties which yet surround him, 168, 169; real interest of both the Porte and Turkey, are not adverse but identical, 170; island of Candia a source of great expense to him, 170, 171; would be an advantageous acquisition to Great Britain, 171; Coptic population of Egypt, 173.

Ehrenberg's discovery of fossil animalcules, 25.

**England under Seven Administrations*, by Albany Fonblanque, Esq., 196.

England, Bank, of. See *Banks*.

* *England*, character of its leading statesmen in the reign of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, 5—9; factions which divided the court and council of Elizabeth toward the close of her reign, 18, 19.

* *Essex, Earl of*, sketch of his character and career, 17—25; conduct of Lord Bacon towards Essex, fully considered, 25—31.

F.

**Fonblanque's, Albany*, England under Seven Administrations, 196; power of mind displayed as editor of the Examiner, 199—209; effect his political views may have on the public, 210—213.

G.

Geology and Mineralogy considered with reference to Natural Theology, by the Rev. William Buckland, 1; light which the discovery of Geology has thrown on the early history of man, 2; religious prejudices against, 4; Hutton's theory of the earth, 4—7; Scripture appealed to by his opponents, 7—10; Rev. Dr Knox's attack on Sir John Leslie, 9;

Digitized by Google

character of Professor Playfair, 10, 11; of Sir James Hall, 11; Geological Society of London, 11, 12; important discoveries of Cuvier, 12, 13; character of Dr Buckland's work, 14, 15; consistency of geological discoveries with revelation, 15, 17—inorganic structure of the globe—changes it has undergone, 17—20; transition rocks, fossil remains in, 20, 21; secondary strata, 21, 22; condition of animal life, during its deposition, 22, 23; strata of the tertiary rock, and the fossil remains they contain, 23, 24; general view of fossil organic remains, 24, 25; Ehrenberg's discoveries of fossil animalcules, 25, 26; animals have been destroyed by some great and sudden cause, 26; advantages which the herbivorous races derive over those that are carnivorous, 26, 27; proofs of design exhibited in the specific structure of fossil animals, 27; distinction between fossil and recent species, 34; fossil remains of the Mollusca genera, ib.; fossil spiders, scorpions, insects, and zoophytes considered, 36; briarean pentacrinite, ib.; fossil plants, 36, 37; contents of the concluding chapter of Buckland's work, 37—39.

Government, Constitutional, gradually extension of, through Europe, 51, 52.

Goldsmith's, Oliver, Life of Prior, 204—210; opinions of Goldsmith's contemporaries as to his character, 10—14; brief sketch of his life, 214—216; constitutional qualities of his mind, 216—218; want of more principle as displayed in his early career, 218—224; arrives in London, first few years of his life there, 224—228; his letter to Griffiths cited, 228—230; absurd fondness he had for ill sorted cloths and misplaced finery, 230, 231; commences practice as a physician, 231, 232; College of Surgeons refuse to graduate him as an M.D., 233, 234; his ignorance, and unbounded assurance he felt in his own power of mind, 234—236; his intercourse with Johnson, 236—238; want of veracity and insatiable vanity he displayed during his life, 238—241; reckless mismanagement of his affairs, 241, 242; viewed as a strange compound of tenderness, bitterness, and neglect, 242; his literary merit is principally in his style, 244.

H.

Hamilton's, W. R., Letters to the Earl of Elgin on the style of architecture best adapted for the new houses of Parliament, 174—179.

**Homer*, influence of his writings in forming the character of the Greeks, 198.

I.

James, G. P. R., considered as a romance-writer, 183—185; very successful in his landscape painting, 185, 186; does not depict original character, 188; free from exaggeration either in character or incident, 188, 189; his Attila, 189, 190; extract from, 190—193.

**Inductive method*, vulgar notions of what is called the, 87; considered as to its practical use in improving the understanding, 88—94.

**Irvine's, George*, translation of Schiller's Bride of Messina, 239; character of the translation, 246, 247; plot of the piece, 247, 251.

Digitized by Google

L.

Laing's, Samuel, Journal of a Residence in Norway, 39. See *Norway.*
Lanes, Edward William, Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, 146; character of his book, 147—149. See *Egypt.*
**Lords, House of,* its fate as a house will depend entirely on the nature of its differences with the House of Commons, 212.

M.

**Metropolis, The Great,* 104, 107, 108; treats the subject of literature in an original manner, 108, 109; Authors and Publishers, 109, 110; Stock Exchange, 110, 111; sketch of the hanging-loving Mr Curtis, 112—114; extract from the chapter in Newgate, 114; character of the volumes, 114, 115; influence of the Reform bill on the character of young fashionables, 115—118.
**Montague's, Basil,* edition of Lord Bacon's works; partiality he continually shows for Bacon, even when his character or actions cannot be justified, 1—4. See *Bacon.*
**Moorsom, Richard,* Letter to Lord John Russell on the abolition of Church-rates, 178; plan, as stated in his letter, almost followed by Government, 195, 196.
**Messina,* by Schiller, translated by George Irvine, 239; character of the translation, 246; plot of the piece, 247, 251.

N.

Norway, Laing's Journal of a Residence in, 39; possesses a constitution thoroughly democratic, 40—42; structure of the Storthing, or Parliament; its power and duties of the electoral body and the mode of election, 43—46; similarity between, and the constitution of America, 47; modes of procedure in the Storthing, and their manner of constituting a Second Chamber, or Upper House, 47, 48; Norway separated from Denmark and attached to Sweden, and obligations Sweden came under, 49, 50; Sweden's attempts to break these obligations, 50; reasons for the hostility, ib.; freedom of the press, 52, 53; education in, 53; Church Establishment, 53, 54; cause of the depression of general education, 54, 55; Court of Reconcilement, the principal feature in the legal system, 55; the greatest punishment that can be inflicted is 'the loss of honour,' ib.; Mr Laing's observation on, 56; domestic habits and mode of life, 56, 58; life of the border (Farmer), 58, 59; great equality of all classes, 59, 60; land equally divided among all the children, 60; inducements the people have not to remain stationary, 60, 61.
**Newspaper Literature,* one of the most important means of civilisation, 197; The Examiner, 199; necessary qualities of an editor, 199—201; difficulties under which he lies, 201, 202; character of the newspaper press dependent on the opinions of the contemporary public, 202, 203; considered as a public instructor, 204—206; editors ought to be superior to their body of readers, 206—209; character of Mr Fonblanque, editor of the Examiner, 209; merits of a writer, as well as a political theorist, 209—213.

Digitized by Google

P.

Pampas, La Cruz's expedition across the. See *Cruz*.
Parliament, new House of, letters of R. W. Hamilton, Esq. on the style of architecture, best adapted for, 174—179.
**Philosophy*, object of ancient, 65; comparison between, and the Baconian Philosophy, 65—84. See *Bacon's Philosophy*.
* *Parliamentary privilege of Publication*, 252; House of Commons come to the decision of publishing its proceedings, ib.; action brought against its publisher, ib.; defence of the Messrs Hansards, 253; opinion of Lord Denham adverse to the defence, ib.; powers of both Houses and precedents of printing and publishing, 254—256; resolutions of the House of Commons, 256; inconsistent and inexplicit language in which they are couched, 256—258; new trial to be defended by the Attorney-General, 258; ought the Houses of Parliament to be entrusted with the privilege claimed? 259—264.
Playfair, Professor, supporter of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth, 6; eulogy on, 10, 11.
**Plato*, his philosophy and that of Bacon's compared, 73—81. See *Bacon*.
**Politics*, beneficial influence that the cultivation of, has had on the energies of the young men of Britain, 115—118.
* *Peel, Sir Robert*, character of, as a statesman, 279—281.
Prior's, James, Life of Oliver Goldsmith, 204—206; character of the book, 206—208; displays much credulity in the collection of his materials, 208; site of Auburn—the Deserted Village, 208, 210; character of Goldsmith—opinion of his contemporaries, 210, 213; Sir Walter Scott's erroneous suspicion of Boswell, 212; alterations necessary in a new edition, 213, 214.

R.

* *Radicals*, policy of the, 267—271.
**Reform of Criminal Law*, reports from the Commissioners on, 214; names of the Commissioners, ib.; object of the Commission, ib.; sketch of their first report, 214—217; of their second report, 217—220.
Rio Negro, exploration of the, 103; rises in the lake Alomini, 103, 104; island of Choelechel, 104; junction of the rivers Sicu Leuvre and Sanguel branch, 105; southern branch examined, ib.; country explored—its appearance, 106; Rio Negro navigable to the very foot of the Cordilleras, 106, 107; advantages to be derived from settlements on, 107, 108; the Indians benefited by their connexions with the whites, 108, 109.
**Rigauds, Professor*, Life of the Rev. Dr Bradley, 119. See *Bradley*.
Romances, recent English, 180; state of romance writing since the death of Sir Walter Scott, 180—182; difference between Mr James's and Mr Ainsworth's writings, 182, 183. See *James* and *Ainsworth*.
Russia, actual state of her policy, 172.

S.

Scott's, Captain C. R., rambles in Egypt and Candia, 146; character of his book, 149. See *Egypt*.

Digitized by Google

Seneca, Philosophy of, 65, 66; compared with that of Bacon's, 66, 69.
Spain, War in, note to the article, No. cxxix., on the, 265, 266.
Steam Navigation, advancement of, 118, 119. See *Atlantic*.
**Strafford, a Tragedy*, by J. Browning, 132. See *Browning*.
* *State of Parties*, 266; policy of the Tories, 267; of the Radicals, ib.; of the Whigs, 267, 268, 279, 281; Whig party indispensable for the real interests of the country, 268—270; Radical party a new feature in the House of Commons, 270; its members not always the most prudent in their declarations and actions, 271; duty of the Legislature at the present time, 272—274; difficulties in the way of the practical working of the Legislature, 274, 275; business not well conducted in the Commons, 275, 276; character of the Government affects the character, temper, and harmony of the freest people, 276; Tories too exclusive in the tendency for selfish favouritism, 277; Tory party have done more to separate the Union than all the motions of Mr O'Connell, 278; character of Sir Robert Peel as a statesman, 279, 281; letter of the Earl of Durham to the electors of North Durham, 281, 282.
Sugar, beet-root and cane, 110; consumption of, in Europe and America, 110, 111—113; absurd policy of the French government in patronising the growth of beet sugar in preference to the importing of cane sugar, 111, 112; consumption of, in France, 112; sustained by France on her revenue, shipping, and external commerce in consequence of encouraging the growth of beet sugar, 114, 116; beet cultivated to a considerable extent in Belgium, 116; prospect of the beet growers in Great Britain, 116, 117.
Sweden, Norway united to, 49, 50; attempts of its inhabitants to have its institutions reformed, 50, 51.

T.

Taxes, commodities on which they are absurdly raised, 110.
* *Tories*, policy of the, 267; too exclusive in their pretensions to loyalty as well as place, 277.
**Translation*, difficulties attending a proper, 239, 240; Dryden as a translator, 240, 241; Pope, 241; Cowper, ib.; Carey, ib.; defects of German translations, 242; extraordinary skill with which the Germans translate, ib.; our versions from the German generally deficient, 244, 245.

W.

**Waller*, influence he possessed over the public during his life, 33.
* *Whigs*, policy of the, 267.
**William the Fourth*, benefits derived from the reign of, 265, 266.
Wyse's, Thomas, Esq., speech in the House of Commons on National Education, 245. See *Education National*.

Printed by Ballantyne and Co., Paul's Work, Edinburgh.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google